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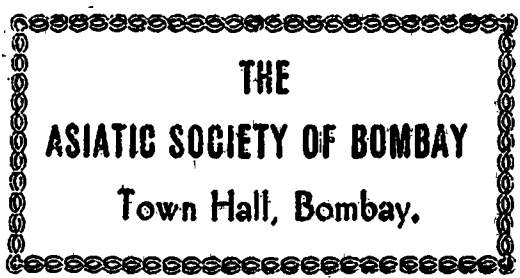

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AN HISTORICAL,

POLITICAL AND STATISTICAL ACCOUNT

OF

CEYLON

883

AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

BY

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AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF MAURITIUS," ETC.

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Ἦν δὲ λέγωσιν ὡς οὐ δίκαιον τοὺς σφετέρους ἀποίκους ὑμᾶς, δέχεσθαι, μαθέτωσαν, ὡς πᾶσα ἀποικία εὖ μὲν πάσχουσα τιμᾷ τὴν μητροπόλιν, ἀδικουμένη δὲ ἀλλοτριοῦται· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοῖοι τοῖς λειπομένοις εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται.

Speech of the Corcyrean Ambassadors at Athens. Thucydides, Book I. Cap. 34.

Embassies from regions far remote,
* * * *
From India and the Golden Chersonese,
And utmost Indian isle Taprobane.—*Milton.*

VOL. I.

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LONDON:

. AND W. BOONE, 29, NEW BOND STREET.

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PREFACE.

In presenting to the English reader a detailed account of an island, which, though uniting in itself no slight share of earthly advantages, is but little known, to the majority of the public, I am compelled to trench on his patience, while I explain the state in which I found its history, and to enter upon topics somewhat personal perhaps, yet topics that from their distastefulness to myself I should have been induced to omit, were it not for the appeal made to me by more than one of the press to enter more fully upon them, with a v w to the more perfect elucidation of the subject.

The collection of materials for the history of Ceylon, was commenced towards the close of 1846. The whole of 1847 was further spent in collation and arrangement; and the greater part of 1848, has been devoted to the task of revision, and carrying it through the press. There are various modes of carrying on such a work, but I find by experience, that they are all resolvable into the same effect—collation and arrangement, printing and revision. Unless due importance be attached to the latter branch, a work is sure to be valueless the moment it appears; and I have it on the highest authority, that from inattention to this particular, a recent work of considerable merit, in some respects, was known to be worthless on the day of publication. I am pretty well acquainted with the modes pursued by writers engaged in works analogous to some of the topics contained in my book; to some, I repeat; for my book is, I believe, unique in the comprehensiveness of its scope and purpose, and I certainly do not intend to follow their example. My ambition is to do a little, and that little, as far as possible, well; rather than, with breathless haste, to aim at bringing out a number of volumes, which, from the nature of things, could not fail to mislead. I, at all events, will not introduce the system of the Minories into colonial literature. I have no desire to institute invidious comparisons between other works and my own, but for the sake of the

great subject I have at heart, I could wish both the public and the press would exercise greater discrimination, and look more narrowly into what they are called on to approve. In the work before me, nothing has been taken for granted, but that I beforehand positively knew. Again, I have not, to save trouble, recorded information which I knew to be false or incorrect, because I thought the great majority of my readers would never inquire into its veracity, but I have endeavoured to set myself up as the severest critic, not only of the work itself, but of the agency employed in its execution. I have no wish to underrate the advantages of combination for carrying out a mighty undertaking. It is, perhaps, indispensable in the field of natural science; it is alike useful for the general purposes of life. The greatest political engine of modern times is its most successful embodiment. But there are certain conditions deemed essential to its right application. When, however, you turn to the till lately untrodden fields of commercial statistics and colonial research, you are still more disposed to examine the agency through which a given object is proposed to be consummated. You scrutinize the means to the end. If you find them in every case ridiculously disproportionate, and you should hear a man's contributors themselves avow their dislike for the task they had undertaken, you must deplore that a writer, even though you may accord with his notions of political economy, should lend his name to the propagation of incorrect data, and thereby, erroneous conclusions. Again, in the field of colonial research, where you see a writer, who, if he can be said to hold any principles, worthy of the name, holds such as would be scouted by the intelligent mind, who is incapable of handling anything beyond the surface, employing copyists, unfit for anything beyond ordinary penmanship; certainly incapable of testing, comparing, fusing, recasting, and the various processes to which such materials should be subjected; and you find such a writer merely putting them into shape, and at once rushing into print, you can scarcely restrain your indignation, at such inconceivable charlatanry. You are of opinion, that if a man borrow never so little from others, he should at least make such information his own, by the intelligence with which he groups, the philosophy with which he handles, and the critical manner with which he reviews it. To you a colony per month appears the most outrageous form of scissors and paste, alike removed from the regions of calm and philosophic. I in-

quiry, as from critical disquisition. Such a work appears to you more than a negative evil, it is a positive mischief, hardly a whit less derogatory to the reader who can peruse, than to the author who has composed it. The result of this monster evil is, to bring into disrepute all works, in any way or in the slightest degree tending to the same purpose, whether they may or may not be obnoxious to a similar charge, and thus to discourage the bringing science itself to an occasional standard of comparison, by which alone the errors and misconceptions, of constant occurrence, can be effectually grappled. In the conduct of this work, therefore, I have, with the exception of some of the departments of natural history, relied upon myself alone. I felt, from the first, that unless there were perfect similarity, nay uniformity of view between an editor and his contributors, and their whole sympathies were not cordially enlisted in a common object, such assistance were rather an impediment than an advantage. In any point, then, wherein I have felt myself deficient, I have studied, by diligent application, to remedy that deficiency, and I shall continue to be personally responsible for the contents of every volume I issue, for I feel sure that accuracy,[1] the great desideratum in a work of this description, can be guaranteed in no other manner. From the earliest age, my views have been directed to the colonies of this

1 It may not be generally known that the Colonial statistician has to run the gauntlet through no ordinary maze of bewilderment, a specification of a few elements may, however, suffice to indicate the necessity of vigilance and caution. Thus the difference between the official and declared value of any given return, in general far exceeds the proportion between the rent of a house in England and the amount it is rated at to the poor-rate. If then, through inconsiderate haste, such a return for any given year be taken down and grouped with returns of other years, based on a different calculation, as I know to have been of constant occurrence, it must be obvious that such a return is a far greater evil than no return at all, if the use of statistics be but rightly understood. Their advantage, I take it, consists in demonstrating progressive or retrogressive tendencies, and by laying bare to the eye of the statesman the operation of his policy, to encourage him to proceed with his amelioration if the result be successful, or to apply a corrective in case it should be injurious. I might shew that errors of a different nature are capable of arising from this same source, but I will pass on to clerical errors, a circumstance of too frequent occurrence. This source is divisible into three or more heads, and its importance may be imagined when I state that the carelessness or incompetency of a clerk may neutralise the development of that very tendency which I have already explained to be the essential object of statistics. Another source of error may arise in the discrepancy between the local and imperial returns. Precision has never been even attempted till within the last few years, and much as Messrs. Macgregor and Porter have laboured to systematise this branch of their late department, much still remains to be done before the returns are entirely removed from the category of uncertainty.

empire. The web that romance had weaved, calmer inquiry saw no reason to drop; the reality, if painted in more sober colours, has been found far to exceed in grandeur the most glowing sketch of the imagination. Can the reader wonder, then, that from imagining, I have finally been led to describe; that from forming opinions myself, I have at last endeavoured to form the opinion of others, on a subject of the highest personal interest, and of an importance scarcely less vital to my country?

With regard to the degree of credibility to be attached to the Singhalese annals, something remains to be noticed. The question was formerly disposed of in a very summary manner, and resolved itself either into a total disbelief of their veracity, or into a conviction, that so large a proportion of fable was interwoven with such almost imperceptible particles of truth, that it was alike useless and unprofitable to attempt to disintegrate the latter, and that it was far better to leave them to float on the realms of fiction, than to compromise genuine history, by suffering them to be recast in her purer cauldron. Time, if by chafing and fretting, he widen the gulf that separates us from the past, leaves on some jutting promontory of space a relic, alike available to man in his researches into the affairs of man, as in his inquiries into the habits of inferior animals, or the mysteries of inanimate nature. Impelled by some such belief, a gifted Englishman undertook the task of examining and translating the annals of Ceylon. To this labour he brought all the qualities essential to success, a profound knowledge of the language, a secret conviction that a hidden vein of truth pervaded that long despised mass—a belief, in his case, subdued by a severe and cultivated taste—a power of concentrating into a focus the elements of elucidation that lay strewn around him; and last, though not least, an indefatigable spirit of inquiry. In the midst of these labours, he met with an unlooked for coadjutor.[1] Guided by the experience of his predecessor, the new aspirant directed his attention into a distinct, though subordinate channel, the task

[1] To my assertion, that we are indebted to Messrs. Turnour and Forbes for the history of Ceylon in its genuine form, some exception will, perhaps, be made, seeing that neither of those writers ever submitted it in the ordinary shape to the European reader. Such an exception, however, would be more literal than well founded, since the one by his epitome and translation of the Mahawansé, and the other by his inquiries into the scenes of the Ramayana, his desultory historical notices and his translation of inscriptions, have fairly won the title I have accorded.

of verifying the statements of the historian, by a personal investigation of relics. He, too, brought no ordinary qualities to the task. To a classic taste, was, in his case, joined an innate vein of poesy, that enabled him not only the readier to detect similitudes, but to invest the subject with such charms, that everything connected with the antiquities of Ceylon, will long continue to interest the European reader.

The result of his labours,[1] has tended to confirm our belief in the general fidelity of the Singhalese annals. It has done more; it has satisfied us, that in judging either the facts themselves or the hyperbolical mode of expression, in which they are conveyed by an European standard of comparison, we cannot fail to err. Given but the raw material and the human machines to work it into shape, any edifice however vast might be reared, any work however inconceivable might, in process of time be accomplished. Both these elements we have elsewhere shewn to have been at the illimitable disposal of a Singhalese monarch. What then would otherwise appear hyperbolical, ceases to remain so, and sinks into authenticated matter of fact. Numerous examples are offered by Forbes, some shewing that circumstances that would be deemed incredible by the European, from their magnitude, others utterly improbable from the manner in which they have been declared to have been executed; a third, apparently false, from the remarkable literalness with which they have been described, have severally taken place in the proportion, manner, and minuteness, with which they have been actually recorded in these long rejected annals.

With regard to the legendary tales of the Singhalese, pro-

[1] In some respects the work of Forbes has been shorn of much of its value by an inattention to features, the presence of which was essential to enable the uninitiated reader to comprehend the full scope of Singhalese history. I will illustrate my meaning by a simple metaphor. In being carried through a new and unexplored country with which he desires to form a better acquaintance, the traveller looks every now and then for the termini where he may rest and compare actual facts with preconceived notions. If, on the contrary, he be whirled along at a rapid rate, he abandons himself to a lethargic indifference, under the conviction that an attention to the character of the country will no more avail him than indifference. So is it with the reader of the annals of a strange, and as he may think, uncivilized country; he requires various aids and appliances on which the mind may, for a time, repose, and thereby enable him to unravel the web of the narrative. To supply this deficiency has been one of the aims of this work, and with a view to a combination of ideas, and present the scene of description in as vivid a light as possible, the aids of Geography have been called in without stint; and the author, at a great sacrifice of labour, has there determined the site of all the ancient capitals and remarkable places of Ceylon.

perly so called, I have little to remark. They are little, if at all, more enveloped in fiction than the earlier mythi of Greece, and the history of Gautama is truth itself in comparison with that of the Gods of the Hellenic peninsula. Where the expressions used and the incidents recorded are unmistakeably hyperbolical, it can be attributed alone to that love of ornament and amplification, of which even nature herself has in these climes held to man the pattern. But if on this account we reject a nation's history, Scripture itself must be rejected. Hyperbole has, from her birth, sat in the East at man's right hand, and we are reminded by a sad experience, that many of the inferior peoples of the West, have dipped their pens in her ink of gold.

To sum up the share each writer has had in the treatment of the annals of Ceylon. The diamond was first discovered by Turnour, and purified from the excrescences that encrusted it. It was tested, valued, and finally adorned by the glowing language of Forbes. To me has merely been reserved the task of setting it, I fear in a manner far from workmanlike, but yet, methinks, it has rather been from want of power than of will, if I have failed to interest the reader in this portion of the work. Thus much for the Singhalese annals.

In respect to the ancient geography of Ceylon, and of the links in that chain of civilization, by which it may be said to be connected with the nations of the west, I believe I may lay claim to having furnished the first complete account. I have, also, largely added to the narrative of the Portuguese conquest, to which no less than twelve writers, including Ribeiro, Botelho, Castanedes, Osorio, &c. have contributed, and for which numerous and valuable MSS. have been placed at my disposal. For the narrative of the subsequent supremacy of the Dutch, and their exclusive but ineffective policy, I am indebted to a nearly equal number of writers, and a variety of private documents. The history of the British occupation of Ceylon, I have brought down to the latest date, and have availed myself, as far as I could, of the appliances which time, reflection, and investigation, had set to work in the colony, in solving certain disputed points. In Part II. I have fully treated of the laws of the Singhalese, compiled from various unpublished documents, and nearly identical with the code framed, for the Courts of Ceylon, by Mr. Armour, from the oral testimony of the united chiefs. The question of slavery, scarcely alluded to by any other writer, has been fully entered upon in the

succeeding chapter. The reader, already acquainted with the published descriptions of the Singhalese manners and character, will see that I have endeavoured to scan it from various and novel points of view, and to watch it while subject to successive combinations, or while yielding to conflicting influences. Every chapter, in Part II., may also lay claim to original information, in one form or other. In Part III., I give the *first* published account of coffee and sugar planting in Ceylon. This is the more worthy of observation, inasmuch as several works on Ceylon have appeared since this branch of agriculture has become its professed staple. The Great Tank[1] question, in which every interest in the colony is in some way or other involved, but, where rightly understood, that of the coffee planter pre-eminently, forms the next subject of discussion unhandled by preceding writers. The succeeding topics of Coolie immigration, waste lands, and public works, naval and military defence, &c. were, in a similar manner, before unnoticed. A detailed account, then, follows, of the introduction of Christianity into Ceylon; of the mission of Xavier, of the career of Vaz, of the success, or otherwise, of Christian missions, and the present aspect of religion in the colony. The progress of education is then viewed, through its several stages, till the reader is awakened to a notion of the success now beginning to attend a well directed energy in this direction. To this succeeds a complete account of the Yakkas, now called Veddahs, the Aborigines of Ceylon; and my *English* readers, for the first time, learn the origin and history of the Tamulians in the Northern Province, and the arrival and settlement of both the Mookwas and Moors, in the same portion of the island. The long chapter, forming nineteen-twentieths of Part IV. with the exception of certain fragments, for

[1] If evidence were wanting to shew the direct application to the real interests of the planter, of every question affecting the supply of food to the labouring classes, proof might be furnished in the case of Ceylon (independently of the known law that wages even where not positively regulated, are indirectly influenced by the price of food), to illustrate the serious loss the planter has sustained from the exorbitant price of rice. The trade in this article, now in the hands of Moormen and Chitties, is subject to whatever fluctuations it may please that body to decree. One of the conditions insisted upon by the Tamul Coolies before they would hire themselves out to the planter was the being supplied with rice at a fixed price, in all cases approaching the minimum rate. What with the influence of the monopoly on the one hand and the greatly augmented cost of carriage, the result has been to add a large item of loss to the expenses of every estate, and that at a time when such an increased outlay may almost decide the fate of coffee planting altogether.

which I am, particularly indebted to Major Forbes, and in a less degree to Casie Chitty, the Malabar Member of the Legislative Council, and a number of other writers, has been, in a great measure, compiled from original information, furnished from various reliable sources, and forms the only complete and connected account of the physical aspect and topography of Ceylon, as yet published. By a singular piece of good fortune, the appearance of the work has been delayed, until, by the arrival of Mr. Templeton, who has been engaged for fifteen years in exploring the natural riches of Ceylon, I am enabled to present the reader with a comparatively perfect account of every department of the natural kingdom. Mr. Templeton, in the most handsome manner, at once completed the list of mammalia, and besides furnishing me with the list of all his verified insects,[1] gave me the benefit of his revision to other portions. The revision has been rendered complete, by the kind assistance of Messrs. White and Doubleday of the British Museum, and the botanical section, based on Mr. Moon's Catalogue of the Plants of Ceylon, has with considerable additions, and under due correction and revision, been subjected to a similar ordeal by Mr. Teale of Versailles, and a pupil of Jussieu. The Appendix contains a proportionate amount of novelty for the English reader. Finally, I will complete this bird's-eye view of the work, by assuring my readers, that with every diffidence, as to the manner I have performed this work, a diffidence arising from the varied circumstances of youth and inexperience, I have considerable confidence in the value of the matter contained in it, and this I may be allowed to express, since success, in this particular, is earned by the ordinary qualities of patience and perseverance.

I have, certainly, every reason to feel grateful to the heads of departments for the prompt and effective assistance I have received at their hands. Every possible facility and indulgence has been extended to me, and I have enjoyed unlimited access to the State Papers, comprising, among other documents, the

[1] After considerable research and personal inquiry in several directions, I found that little was definitively known by English naturalists of the zoology of Ceylon. Though, then, a portion of this department may not be arranged quite so methodically as I could wish, still I am assured it is generally to be depended upon, and when the results of Mr. Templeton's researches, and the invaluable labours of Dr. Gardner and other naturalists in other departments of natural science have been more fully set forth, I hope that a future edition will leave nothing to be desired under this head.

Memoirs of the Dutch Governors, the reports of their subordinates, and other rare MSS. To the Directors of the East Indian Company, I am in like manner indebted for free and unreserved access to every document that could illustrate the subject. To Sir Alexander Johnstone, my best thanks are due, for the warm interest he has taken in the progress of the work, and for the valuable information he has, from time to time, furnished me, in reference to the administration of the Portuguese and Dutch, with which he is particularly conversant. But I should weary my readers, if I were to recite at length the various quarters from which I have received a zealous co-operation; suffice it, then, to say, that I have been peculiarly fortunate in the command of materials, have consciously omitted no means of obtaining the best and most original information, and in reference to topics of recent or ephemeral interest, have only to observe, that that department of the work has been brought down as nearly as possible to the date of the last mail. Henceforth the reader may reasonably expect the more frequent appearance of the subsequent volumes; as it is my intention, in order to save much of the time in testing information, to visit the more accessible colonies and dependencies. With this view, I am now on the point of departing for the dependencies in the Mediterranean, which, with Heligoland, already visited, will form Vol. III. of this work.

I should ill discharge the duty which I have imposed upon myself, of laying the actual state of the Colonies before the British public, were I to omit noticing, as briefly as the importance of the subject will permit, the advantages Ceylon offers in her mountain zone, for the settlement of the European immigrant. That this fact should have been so long hidden under a bushel, when a redundancy of population, in the one country, and a plethora of sustenance, in the other, mutually suggest a remedy on which one would suppose the merest instinct would have long ago acted, must, under the circumstances, appear incomprehensible to the obtusest reasoner. Here is a country, equal to the county of Lincoln in extent, blessed with an equally temperate, but far more salubrious climate, watered by perennial streams, adapted in nearly every direction for the growth of European grains, now at a great expense imported, and, generally, for European grasses, where the useless Andropogon now revels in wild luxuriance, within actual sight of markets with no ordinary demand—markets, such

as three-fourths of the British colonies are unable to enjoy, and then only at a considerable disadvantage; and yet this country, far too chilly for the children of the sun, has, for years, been sighing in its loneliness, for the stalwart sons of the west to lay open its untold riches, and bear them as a hecatomb at the shrine of civilization. That one of the fairest portions of earth, should for ever be fated to hear but the deep lowing of the elk, or the shrill trump of the lordly elephant, it were safe to pronounce impossible, but from whence the *Deus ex machinâ* is to arise, and bear the hum of humanity into these silent plains, it would be equally idle to decide. Fancy might picture the little nucleus at Nuwera Elliya, gradually radiating over this untrodden region, but reflection dashes down the cup, and asks a century for that snail-like operation. Ignorance, at home moreover, deep-seated, bids men doubt how the climate of 7° N. lat. can compare in temperature with their own bracing abode, and heeding not elevation and other disturbing causes, treats as a fiction of the geographer, the intelligence of meteorological identity.

With respect to the recent emeute, and the causes that have contributed to it, considerable misapprehension has, with one or two exceptions, prevailed in this country. By that portion of the press, which arrogates to itself the exclusive right of tirade against a particular department of the Government, such a misconception were natural and consistent. But that an erroneous view should be formed by any of those whose range of vision is not broken by the film of prejudice, is inconceivable. If, under every conceivable case, an inferior people be justified in resistance to the will of a superior, as conveyed through its Government, simply because, in weaning it from the rude habits of a primeval barbarism, the latter demands some sacrifice from those it is about to elevate, then were the Ceylon insurgents justified in their hostile movement. If after long upholding a lie, still tolerating one, a Government, urged by the majority of its subjects, by ceasing to endorse it in its own person should thereby merit the undying hatred of the priests of a fading faith, then was the yellow-robed follower of Gautama unjustly hung at Kandy. But if the contrary could be shewn to be the case, if it could moreover be shewn, that more has been done, within the last three years, to raise the people from their unfortunate apathy, into any active course of industry than was ever before attempted, then were such reproaches unjustifiable in the extreme.

A recent repartition of the Western Province, and the creation of a North-western out of that portion north of the Mahaoya, together with the extension of the Central Province over a considerable portion, of what went to form the Southern, have led to a corresponding modification of the Map. From some unexplained cause, the intelligence of the change did not reach me until I had completed the topographical portion of the work. Had it arrived before, however, reflection suggests I could have made no use of it, since it is obvious, for many reasons, either that the Provinces will revert to their original proportions, or that *all* will be subjected to subdivision. The reader will, therefore, be pleased to bear in mind that the text treats of the bounds of the respective Provinces, as they stood prior to the recent modification, but that the Map, with a view to the convenience of the reader, has been altered accordingly.

An impression of the Seal of the Colony will be found on the cover of the volumes.

Canning Place, Kensington,
Jan. 15th, 1849.

CEYLON,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

Ancient Names of the Island—Geographical Position and Outline—Area, &c.

THE island of Ceylon[1] is situate within the tropic of Cancer, and between the parallels of 5° 55′ and 9° 49′ north latitude, and 79° 42′ and 82° 4′ east longitude from Greenwich,[2] the former being com-

[1] The ancient names of Ceylon are even more numerous than the writers who have attempted to describe it; and for the obvious reason that they were given in the most remote times, when the reminiscences of events were of a traditional and therefore unprecise character, they are necessarily obscure and indefinite.

LANCA, LAMCAB, LANGA, LAKA, LANKAWA or LANKOWEH, LANKA-DIVA, LANKA-DWIPIA, LAKA-DIVA, are different varieties of the true Sanscrit name according to Paolino, p. 371, to which have been prefixed the Sanscrit adjectives Tevé and Devé, famous and holy.

ELU, name, LAKKA, the World—Vossius ad Melan. l. 3, 7.

ILAM—Another Sanscrit name; perhaps joined with Lanka or Lanca, as Lanca-Ilam. Al Edrisi gives a fabulous island called Lanchialos, which he makes ten days sail from Serandib. This may be an error from Lanca-Ilam, according to Vincent. Forbes derives Lanka from Laka or Laksha one hundred thousand, in part from the fact that Singhalese traditions mention the submersion of the thousands of islands attached to the kingdom of Lanca.

SALABHAN—Another Sanscrit appellation signifying Sal, true, and labhan, gain, Paolino.

SALABHA-DIPA, or DIP—Sanscrit—The island of real profit, from its rich productions in gems, spices, &c. Paolino. Hence perhaps Sálicè.

TAPRÓBANA—So called by Onesicritus. Bochart supposes it to be Taph-Parvan; Burrows Tapo-bon, the wilderness of prayer. Ayeen Acbari, ii. p. 320.

[2] An account of the position of the following places, extracted from Lieut. Raper's work, may perhaps assist the reader.

	LAT.	LONG.		LAT.	LONG.
Calpentyn .	8° 14′	79° 53′	Adam's Peak .	6° 52′	80° 32
Colombo .	6° 56′	79° 49′	Dondra Head .	5° 55′	80° 38′
Galle . .	6° 1′	80° 14′	Great Bassas .	6° 11′	81° 33′
Palmyra Pt.	9° 49′	80° 20′	Trincomalee .	8° 33′ 5″	81° 13′ 2″

puted from Point Pedro its northern, and Dondra Head its southern extremity, and the latter from Trincolle its south-eastern, and Nedoentivoe, or Delft, its north-western extremity, is 275 miles in length,

Some think it should be Tap-raban or Tapravan. The root is said to be Tape, an island, and Ravan or Rawana, the king of Ceylon conquered by Rama. Forbes derives the origin of Taprobane from another source, viz. from the Pali words Tambapani or Tambapanni, Tambrapanni, which last he thinks were used by Vijeya in recounting the success of his expedition to his family in Bengal. It was in the district of Tamena or Tambana that he landed, and for a considerable time his force seems to have been confined to that part of the country: in fact, until the surprise and massacre of the inhabitants of Sri-Wasta Poora, or three years after his landing, when he founded the city of Tamena. The same writer is further of opinion, that the district of Tamana is the same as the present Tamankada. (Kada is limit or frontier). "There are many villages," he says, "called Tamana from a tree of that name, common in the flat and northern parts of the island, and there is a commonly received opinion among the Singhalese that one of them on the western coast near Putlam occupies the site of Vijeya's capital, though no remains are now left."

SALIKA—According to Ptolemy, who says it is the Taprobane of the ancients, subsequently called Simoondu, but in his time Sálika or Sálikè; the inhabitants Salæ. Sálikè, observes Vincent, is an adjective like Ariakè, Limurikè with γη or νησος understood. And the island of Salè approaches very near to Selendive. There is some reason in Vincent's remark, that the peculiar caste in Ceylon called Salè or Challe, and Challias, who were originally labourers and manufacturers of stuffs, but subsequently cinnamon peelers, and whose settlement in the island is of old date, though they are not a native tribe, may have derived their name from, or rather, perhaps have given it to the people in general. Sala is evidently the root of the whole of these words.

SERINDIP—SIELEN-DIP—SELEN-DIB—SELEN-DIVE—Σειλεδιβα—SERIN-DUIL—Σαραντιπ. Chysococcas in Vossius. Διβου γ' ἐσιν αὐτοῖς, νῆσος ἡ χώρα. Voss. ad Melam, 257. Var. ed. 569. Philostorgius. The Seren-dib or isle Seren. Selen of the Arabs; the Sarandib of Edrisi; the Divis and Serendivis of Ammianus Marcellinus, the first author of the Latins or Greeks who uses the name. Divis is a generic name for islands. Seledivis, Selen-dive the isle Selen, Am. Mar. lib. 22. p. 30. Hence the corruptions, Seren, Zeilan, Ceylon.

PALÆSIMOONDU—According to the Periplus—Pliny describes a river and city of that name, with 250,000 inhabitants. The natives were called Palæogoni, which Vincent derives from Bali, the Indian Hercules. Paolino interprets it Parashri-mandala, the kingdom of Parashri, the youthful Bacchus of the Hindoo mythology. Simoonti is considered, however, by Mr. Hamilton, as expressive of the utmost boundary or extremity, and Palisimoonti as the limit of the expedition of Bali the Indian Hercules. Pulo Simoon, so Vossius ad Melam. lib. 3, 7. Insula Siamensium, with the addition of the Persian Diu, Div an island. This etymology is perhaps fanciful, but it is indicative of the origin of the people from Siam.

SAILATTA—So called in Malabar, according to Paolino.

SINGHALA, SINGALA, dweepa—SINHALA-DVIHA (Paolino)—SIHALA—SIHALEN, or SINGHALEN—The true Sanscrit name according to Mr. Hamilton; the island of Singala. Singha or Siha (Pali) means a lion. Singhalais, lion-race, from the fable of a king of Ceylon said to be

by from 140 to 150 in extreme, and 100 in average breadth; the one being measured from Trincolle to Negombo; the other from the Kal-aar to Trincomalee.

It is likewise about 900 miles in circumference, with an area of 24,448 miles, being rather less than that of Ireland, and is deservedly considered one of the most fertile and beautiful islands in the world. Outlying the vast peninsula of India, from the brow of which it has been elegantly compared as a pearl to have dropped, it is claimed alike by the Bight of Bengal and the great Eastern Ocean. The direction taken by the island, whose form has been alternately compared to that of a heart, a ham (whence the name of Hamsheel or Hamenhiel, given by the Dutch to one of the islands off the north coast,) and a pear, is from S.S.E. to N.E.,[1] between Capes Comorin and Negapatam; and it is bounded to the east by the Bay of Bengal; to the south and west by the Indian Ocean; to the north-west by the Strait of Manar or Manaar, which separates it from India, and to the north by Palk's Strait.

The dependencies consist of the islands of Kalpentyn, Karetivoe, Manaar, Trentivoe or two brothers, Kakeritivoe, Paletivoe, Nedoentivoe or Delft, Mandetivoe, Poengertivoe, Katys or Leyden island, Nayntivoe, Anelativoe, Northern Karetivoe or Amsterdam island, Jaffna.

The natural or political divisions are five in number; denominated

born of a lion.—(See Mahony As. Res. 7.) Dwipa or Dweepa is equivalent to the diva or dua of the Arabs: hence, says Vincent, Singala-diva became their Selendive or dib, and Serendive literally the island of the Singalas, which Europeanized is Chingulays, Chingalese, Cingalese; Singoos or Hingoos is yet the native name. Vincent thinks this etymology of Hamilton's natural. In the Geographical Lotos of the Hindoos, which is supposed to be floating upon the vast expanse of ocean, Ceylon, described as Sinhala, lies between the southernmost upper petal, and the Maha Lanka or Malacca petal, upon the under south-eastern petal.

CALA—The name said by Renaudot to have been used by the Arabs, p. 61. Vincent proposes Sala.

ILANARE—TRANATE HIBENARO — TENARISIM, *i. e.* TENACERAM—These are probably supposititious. Found in Harris, vol. 1, 677.

SINDO CANDÆ—A name given by Ptolemy to a town and people on the west coast; Galibi and Mudutti in the north; Anurogrammi, Nagadiba, Emni, Oani, Tarachi on the east; Bocani, Diorduli, Rhodagani and Nagiri (Nayrs) on the south.

The name given to Ceylon during the first Buddha, Kakusanda was Oja-dwipia;

In the time of Konagamma, Wara-dwipia;

In the time of Kásyapa it was called Mada-dwipia.

Naga-dwipia—island of Nagas, if not used for the whole island, is a name employed by Buddhist writers for that part of its western coast which lies round Kellania, but does not appear to have been employed after the conquest of Vijeya, B.C. 543.

[1] The distance from Manaar to Ramisseram, an island attached to the Indian peninsula, does not exceed 30 miles, nor is the isle Amsterdam more than 40 miles from the mainland.

the Eastern, Western, Northern, Southern, and Central Provinces. These are again subdivided into districts. Of the Judicial division I shall speak under the description of the Courts of Law, &c.

The distance of Ceylon from the undermentioned countries is as follows: —From Colombo to Cape Comorin about 180 miles; from Trincomalee to Madras 335, to Calcutta 1080 miles; from Colombo to Bombay 1175 miles; from Point de Galle to Aden 2650; and from thence to England, *via* Marseilles, about 5550 miles; from Galle to the Cape of Good Hope (Algoa Bay), about 5480 miles; from Galle to Singapore 1850; from Galle to Java Head 2060 miles; from Galle to Swan River, Western Australia, 3880 miles.

CHAPTER II.

Knowledge of Ceylon possessed by the ancient writers—Herodotus—Onesicritus—Diodorus Siculus—Ovid—Strabo—Dionysius Periegetes—Pomponius Mela—Solinus Polyhistor—Pliny—Author of the Periplus—Ptolemy—Arrian—Agathamerus—Marcian—Rufus Festus—Ammianus Marcellinus—Cosmas—The Arabian Geographers—Edrisi—Consideration of the relative claims of Ceylon and Sumatra to the ancient designation Taprobane—Theory of Eustathius respecting the Maldivian Archipelago—Traditional submersion of a part of the coast of Ceylon, &c.

Before proceeding further, we shall endeavour to elucidate, as far as possible, the ancient geography of Ceylon, previous to an examination into its annals. First, by a brief record of what was known respecting it by the ancients; presenting the reader with a summary of the statements of each writer arranged chronologically. Secondly, by an investigation of the alleged proofs, causes, and probabilities of the physical mutation it is supposed to have undergone; and thirdly, by a consideration of the conflicting claims of Ceylon and Sumatra to the ancient designation of Taprobane, together with the views advanced by the most able commentators.

A comparatively correct information of the geography of a country is always indispensable to a thorough knowledge of its history, and if the ancient writers of different epochs are to be credited, or native traditions to be believed, Ceylon is no exception to the rule. Nor should we omit to notice, that the connection of the different facts and circumstances respecting Ceylon, as related by the ancient writers, is in itself an addition to its history, though like the earlier annalists of all countries, their statements will have to be received with caution, and considerable qualification. The possession of such links, though each of them will necessarily have reference to entirely

different epochs, and we might add, phases of society—did not our knowledge of the immutable character of Eastern customs overthrow such an assumption—may contribute somewhat to the unravelment of the web of mystery in which the native annals are everywhere involved, and by enabling us to view them through a medium, different at least, if it can lay no greater claim to veracity, may, by the variety in the manner of handling, afford us a ray or two from the light of contrast.

[B.C. 484.] That the earlier Greeks had some, though probably an indefinite knowledge of the countries and islands eastward of the Indus, is plain, from Herodotus; but as the result of an investigation into its precise state will hardly warrant the labour expended over it, we shall pass on to Onesicritus, [B.C. 330.] the next writer by whom reference was made to Taprobane, and who, though vehemently assailed by Strabo for his geographical errors, and by other writers for his sycophancy, is entitled, if interpreted aright, to the merit of correctness in the description, as well as to the discovery of Taprobane, an honour due to very few of the ancient geographers in distant regions. To make amends, however, he adds that it lies twenty days' sail from the continent.

[B.C. 44.] Of all the later Greek writers, Diodorus Siculus[1] had the most certain and correct information of its position and extent. His description of the inhabitants, of their manners, institutions, of the products of the country, &c. though blended with much of the marvellous, and even fabulous, is given with a breadth of detail and general fidelity, to which none of his successors have in any respect an equal claim.

It may be cursorily noticed, that the circumference of the island is estimated by this writer at 5,000 furlongs, or about 625 miles, which, though it does not approach by a third its present ascertained admeasurement, is as correct as we could expect from the state of science at the time, and does not differ by more than 40 miles from Rennell's estimate.

[A.D. 5.] The words used by Ovid in reference to Taprobane, which

[1] An abridged account of the narrative of Iambulus, from whom Diodorus professedly derived his information, will be found in the Appendix, and is perhaps worthy of the attention of the curious. In mentioning this, I may venture to add that there are grounds for believing that if an individual were even now cast on the shore of Ceylon under similar circumstances, and thrown among the natives of the southern coast, he would bring away with him tales scarcely less marvellous than that of Iambulus. When, then, the age in which the narrator lived is considered—an age in which every thing was viewed through the lens of the "heroic," as in after ages of the "romantic,"—the people among whom he was thrown, the circumstances of his shipwreck, the superstitious character of the natives, their love of deception, is it not, I would rather ask, a subject for wonder, that his story is so strongly stamped with veracity as it undoubtedly is? In many respects there is a striking resemblance between the descriptions of Iambulus and Knox, both of whom viewed Cingalese manners through a similar medium, but at a widely remote age.

he describes as too far remote to have heard of his fame, would seem to imply, that the Romans of that day possessed an accurate knowledge of its insular form,

"Aut ubi Taprobanem Indica cingit aqua,"

and would almost seem to warrant us in further inferring, that Sumatra must have been their ideal commencement of the new and unexplored Austral continent.

[A.D. 8.] Taprobane, said to have been the extreme limit of Strabo's eastern and southern Geography, is described by that writer as an isle on the high seas, abounding, according to Eratosthenes, in elephants, the contiguous seas swarming with amphibious creatures resembling land animals, such as oxen and horses; the distance from the southernmost part of India, or that inhabited by the Coniaci, or more properly Coliaci, he computes at seven days' navigation, and borrows from Eratosthenes the erroneous notion that its length, which he estimated at 8,000 stadia, extended *from* E. to W. and its *breadth* from N. to S. He adds, that Onesicritus made it a voyage of seventy days' sail from the continent, and gives it an extent of 5,000 stadia, without specifying whether he refers to length, breadth, or circumference, and remarks, that the strait navigation, in itself extremely difficult, was further increased by the construction and deficient equipment of the vessels employed in the trade. In lib. 2, p. 119, he thus observes: "Men say that there is an island called Taprobane, by far the most southern part of India, inhabited, cultivated, and opposite to an island of the Egyptians, and the cinnamon producing region." There is indeed a resemblance in their respective temperatures. And again, in p. 192: "In the most southern sea, and in front of India, lies the island of Taprobane, not inferior in size to Britain."

In another place he remarks: "There are other islands between Taprobane and India, but the latter is the most southerly."

[A.D. 35.] Dionysius Periegetes, whose claims to the designation of poet were thought to be proved by his description of Taprobane and its monsters, thus speaks of this island: "And from thence the vessel's course being turned towards the west, immediately in front of the southern promontory of Kolis, you will come to a large island, Taprobane, mother of Asia-born elephants, &c."

[A.D. 43.] Pomponius Mela considered it either a continent, or an immense island, but rather inclines to the former opinion, as no one was known to have circumnavigated it at the time he wrote, though the island lay so directly in the course of vessels sailing eastwards from Cape Comorin, that one would naturally suppose that some navigators, more adventurous than their fellows, would have set the question at rest by sailing down its eastern coasts.

[A.D. 65.] Solinus Polyhistor, who flourished in the first century according to some writers, and in the middle of the third according to

others, improves greatly on Strabo's account, though by some involuntary perversity, each writer in succession frequently contradicts or invalidates the statement of his predecessor where he has arrived at the exact truth, and substitutes in its stead some fable of his own. After premising that Taprobane had been thought to be another world, inhabited by Antichthones, before the valour of Alexander the Great dispelled the error, and carried his renown into those remote places, he relates, in cap. 65, that Onesicritus, the admiral of the Macedonian fleet, searched out the land, described its extent, productions, and state; mentions that it was divided in two by a river, one of which was solely occupied by beasts and elephants larger than those of the continent, and the other by men, goes on to observe, that it was abundantly stored with mother-pearls and all precious stones, was situate between the east and the west, beginning at the Eastern Sea and lying before India. From the Gulf of Persia it was twenty days' sail in the rude bamboo boats of the country, but did not exceed seven in well built ships. The Gulf of Manaar is spoken of as a shallow sea, not above five fathoms deep in most places, but in others of such a depth that an anchor could not be used. The stars are said to be of no use in the voyage, neither Charles's Wain nor the Pleiades being visible, but rather likely to mislead, and the moon was only visible for eight days out of the sixteen. Canopus, a very large bright star, might be seen. The sun rose on the right and set on the left; hence the course of a vessel should be determined by the flight of birds in making for the land. Navigation was confined to four months of the year. Such was the knowledge possessed by the Romans of Taprobane prior to the reign of Claudius. Solinus then relates the story of Annius Plocamus, and adds a few details of that event, which I shall here transcribe.

The Cingalese monarch treated the shipwrecked navigator with great courtesy, but found it difficult to account for the want of discrepancy in the weight of several Roman coins, the same being stamped with different faces. A headman, of the name of Rachias,[1] was eventually sent as ambassador to Rome, who doubtless added much to the stock of Roman information respecting his country. The natives, continues Solinus, excel all others in height and figure. They dye their hair, are gray-eyed, of a grim countenance. The minimum duration of life was 100 years. The hours of repose were few, as they rose before the dawn of day. Their houses were never built high from the ground. The corn crop lasted but for the year, for they had no barns. Of apples and various kinds of fruit they had a good supply. Hercules was their god. In the election of their king noble birth did not avail, for the people chose him who was most gentle and discreet, and without children. A father was

[1] Principe eorum *Rachiâ*.—Pliny. Paolino interprets this Rajah, in which opinion he has been supported by other commentators.

never elevated under any circumstances, and should he become one after his election, he was deposed. The sovereignty was strictly elective, and not hereditary. Moreover, though the monarch had ever so great a regard for justice, he was never permitted singly to dispense it, but in all matters of life and death was assisted by a council of forty, and there was finally a court of appeal presided over by seventy judges. The king was apparelled in a dress called Syrma, resembling that of Bacchus, and unlike that of his subjects. If the monarch were caught in an offence and convicted, he was adjudged to die, not by the hands of the executioner, but by abstinence from food and all communication with his subjects. The people lived on good diet. Sometimes they spent their time in hunting, and that of the most dangerous kind, the pursuit of tigers and elephants. The seas they ransacked for fish, especially the sea tortoise, whose dimensions were such that the shell of one would make a house capable of receiving a large number of people without inconvenience. A considerable portion of the island was parched with heat, and another was a waste. The sea that beat on the shores of the island was encompassed by such large shrubs of a green colour that the tops of trees were often brushed away by ship's sterns. From their mountains they beheld the sea-coast of the Seres.[1] Gold was their delight; with it they garnished their cups, and adorned them with jewels. They hewed out a chequered sort of marble, and gathered the largest mother-pearls.

[A.D. 72.] Pliny frequently refers to Taprobane, of which indeed he gives a detailed account, but his information was acquired, perhaps, through sources questionable as regards accuracy, if indeed the greater part was not borrowed from Onesicritus or Diodorus Siculus, so that the observation we have made in another place, in reference to the increase of confusedness in every succeeding age with respect to the knowledge of this part of the world, applies to him no less than to his predecessors. The principal features of his account in respect of their novelty, are an account of the monsoons and the use made of them by the Egyptian fleets, the embassy from the King of Ceylon to Claudius, and the navigation of the straits. As Pliny's description of Ceylon, and the remarks to which it will necessarily give rise, would greatly encumber the text, I must refer the reader to the Appendix for as concise a notice as would be justified by the interest of the subject.

Neither the name of the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, nor what is more, the epoch in which he lived, have been determined with a sufficient degree of accuracy to enable us to speak positively thereon, but the general voice seems to run in favour of his priority to Ptolemy, principally on the ground of his naming Ceylon

[1] Indicating, if any credence is to be attached to it, the existence of a Chinese settlement on the western coast.

Palæsimonda, while Ptolemy calls it Salice. Though he extends Ceylon towards Africa, his information with regard to the pearl fishery and the features of the coast is very precise.

Ptolemy thus fixes the position of the ancient cities of Taprobane:

	LONG.	LAT.
Talacoris emporium . .	126° 30′	11° 20′
Nagadiba	129° 0′	17° 0′
Maagrammum Metropolis	127° 0′	7° 20′
Prasodes Sinus . . .	121° 30′	1° 0′

[A.D. 156.] His notion of the size of the island was most erroneous, being an extent of upwards of fifteen degrees from north to south, two of which he supposed to be south of the equator.[1] The rivers of Taprobane, according to the same geographer, were five in number; Phasin, Gangem, Baracum, Azanum, and Soana. The length of the island he estimates at 1050, the breadth 700, the circumference 2450.

[A.D. 235.] Arrian speaks in his Periplus of the island of Palæsimundus, called Taprobane by the ancients, describes the northern part as cultivated, and its produce as conveyed by swift sailing ships to the promontory opposite Azania, *i. e.* one of the emporia on the Arabian coast. Besides pearls and gems, he mentions, "Sindones" and "testudines" in the list of its products.

[About A.D. 272.] Agathamerus, a geographer posterior to Ptolemy, and perhaps of the third century, relates as follows, in lib. ii. c. 6:—"At the end of this continent (Asia) and in the Indian Sea, lies a very large island, formerly called Simonda, but now Salice, in which are found all the necessaries of life, and every kind of metal. The natives[2] cherish their hair as women among us, and twist it round their heads." And again, in c. 8:—"Among the largest islands Salice evidently stands foremost, next Albion, and third likewise, Ireland." Hudson observes, that the island of Palæsimundus is likewise called Salice by Ptolemy, and infers, therefrom, that Agathamerus and he were nearly, if not quite, contemporaries.

[A.D. 350.] Marcian of Heraclea, in his Periplus, thus describes Salice:—"Opposite the promontory of India, called Côry, is a promontory of the island of Taprobane, called 'Boreum.' Taprobane, indeed, was formerly called Palæsimundi ('insula,') but now Salice. This promontory, called Boreum, is distant from the oriental horizon 16,460 stadia, from the western 62,026, from the meridian and equator to the north 6350 stadia. After this there is another circumscription, and the Periplus of Taprobane is after this manner; in longitude 9500 stadia in diameter, in latitude 7500 stadia. It has

[1] "Ptolemy," says Hudson, "learnt his information on Taprobane from merchants of Alexandria, whose direct commerce with India was then daily increasing.

[2] Hence called "imbelles" by Paul the Venetian, and "Varto manus."

thirteen provinces, or satrapies, and twenty-two remarkable emporia and cities. There are two remarkable mountains, five large rivers, eight notable promontories, four good harbours, two large bays, and the circumference is 26,385 stadia."

It will be seen from the above that Marcian, though well informed in many respects, amplifies its circumference threefold; hence we need not wonder at his falling into the common error of its being one, if not the very largest, island in the world.

[A.D. 363.] Rufus Festus Avienus, who lived in the fourth century, and is supposed to have derived some of the information contained in his "Descriptio Orbis terræ," from Carthaginian writers, thus introduces his description of Taprobane:

> "Contemplator item qua se mare tendit in Austrum,
> Inque notum Oceanus freta ponti cærula curvat;
> Altaque coliadis mox hic tibi dorsa patescent
> Rupis, et intenti spectabis cespitis arces.
> Pro quibus ingenti consistens mole per undas
> Insula Taprobane gignit tætros elephantos,
> Et super æstiferi torretur sydere cancri,
> Hæc immensa patet, vastisque extenditur oris.
> Undique per pelagus," &c.—L. 772—780.

[A.D. 378.] An embassy is recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus, to have been sent to Julian, lib. xxii. 7, by the Ceylonese, ("absque Divis et Serendivis,") but that writer enters into no account of the object or result of the mission.

[A.D. 563.] Cosmas Indicopleustes, who was a monk, and not the most learned either of his profession or nation, and who had never visited Ceylon, is far more distinct and comprehensible in the sixth, than the two Arabs of the ninth, or Edrisi in the twelfth century. His account was derived from Sopatrus, a Greek merchant, whom he met at Adouli, but who died thirty-five years previous to his publication. Roman citizens are never found engaged in trade with the east, perhaps from the jealousy of the emperors, who, by forbidding them to enter Egypt without permission, likewise excluded them from embarking in the fleets engaged in the eastern trade. The intelligence derived from Sopatrus is so perfectly consistent with all that has been hitherto adduced, and so correspondent to the Arabian accounts, which commence 350 years later, that it carries with it every requisite mark of veracity.

Cosmas reports, first, that the Taprobana of the Greeks is the Sieli-diba of the Hindoos; that it lies beyond the pepper coast or Malabar, and that there is a great number of small islands (the Maldives) in its neighbourhood, which are supplied with fresh water and produce the cocoa-nut in abundance. The cocoa-nuts he calls Argellia; and Argel, or Nargel, is said to be the Arabic name of the cocoa-palm. He adds, that it is 900 miles in length and breadth, which he deduces from a native measure of 300 gaudia, but

if gaudia are cosses, this is excessive, for 300 cosses are short of 500 miles; a computation too large indeed for the island, but more moderate than previous or succeeding geographers. He proceeds to inform us, that there were two kings on the island; one called the King of the Hyacinth, that is the country above the Ghauts, where the ruby and other precious stones were found, and a second king had the remainder, in which was the harbour and mart, that is, the sea-board, where in different ages the Arabians, Portuguese, Dutch, and English were established. On the coast, too, there were Christians from Persia, with a regular church, the priests and deacons of which were ordained in Persia. These were Nestorians, whose Catholicos resided at Ctesiphon, and afterwards at Mosul; in point of fact, they were the same as the Malabar Christians of St. Thomas, and occupied nearly the whole of the low country on the coast, while the native sovereigns above the Ghauts were Hindoos.

We learn also that in the age of Sopatrus, Ceylon was considered the centre of commerce between China and the Red Sea. The commodities obtained from China or other countries east of Ceylon, or found there, are silk thread, aloes, cloves, and sandal-wood. Cloves were obtained by the Chinese from the Moluccas, and were re-exported from China to Ceylon. These articles were exchaged with Malè, or the Pepper Coast, or with Kalliana (Tana) for brass, sesamum-wood, and cottons. Its commerce likewise extended to the Indus, where the castor, musk, and spikenard are found, and to the gulf of Persia, the coast of Arabia, and Adouli, when the several commodities of these countries are again exported from Ceylon to the east. After this we are informed that Sielidiba is five days' sail from the continent; that its king sells elephants by their height; and, that while elephants in Africa are taken only for their ivory, in India they are trained for war. He notices also a custom which has till recently prevailed, viz. the remission of the duty on horses imported from Persia, and refers to a conference between the king of Ceylon and Sopatrus, in presence of a Persian who had boasted of the power of his sovereign. "Well, Roman," [1] says the king, "what have you to say?" "Look," replied Sopatrus, "at the coins of Rome and Persia; that of the Roman emperor is of gold, well wrought, splendid and beautiful, while that of Persia is an ordinary silver drachma." This argument was conclusive; the Persian was humbled, and Sopatrus, placed upon an elephant, was paraded through the city in triumph. Cosmas has faithfully described what came under his power in natural history, viz. the cocoa-nut with its properties, the pepper-plant, the buffalo, the camel-leopard, the musk-cat; he makes no mention, however, of cinnamon, but derives this spice in common with Iambulus, Pliny, Dioscórides, Ptolemy and Hippalus, from

[1] A term used in India to express any inhabitant of those countries which once formed the Roman empire.

the cinnamon country, as they called it, on the eastern coast of Africa; whence some commentators have inferred that it was introduced and acclimatised in Ceylon, the similarity in the latitude of the two countries having encouraged the traders of the return ships to venture the propagation of the precious spice on what they knew to be rich and virgin soil.

[A.D. 1145.] The Arabian geographers do not appear to have availed themselves to the extent we should have supposed of the numerous facilities for defining the position of the several countries of the remote east, and correcting the errors of European and Egyptian geographers. For instance, Edrisi has apparently made two islands out of Ceylon. "Saranda," says he (p. 28), "is 1200 miles in circumference; and Sarandib (p. 31), is 80 miles long and 80 miles broad." Vincent argues that both are intended for Ceylon, because the pearl fishery is spoken of in reference to both, and both are mentioned as having been a great resort of merchants for spices. From this view I venture to dissent; principally, I confess, on account of the position given by Edrisi to Komr or Madagascar, which he actually placed to the eastward of Ceylon, and consequently might consider distinct islands. If I recollect right, the Arabs described Madagascar under the name of Sarandib to Marco Polo.

The knowledge of Ceylon, or more properly, the notions of the ancient writers, as arrived at through the medium of navigators, having thus been elicited seriatim, we shall now be in a better position to judge between their conflicting accounts, and form a comparatively correct estimate of facts. And here we may observe, that we shall not consciously be led to act as some writers, to whom impartiality is a matter of secondary consideration, and who, in their wish to establish a favourite dogma,[1] enhance and give a preponderating influence to every circumstance that may accidentally, or otherwise, tend to confirm their argument, while they keep in the back ground, or suppress every incident that may tend to subvert it, but as we have no controlling bias in favour of any particular theory, or system, we shall rather be disposed to deduce our conclusions from the coincidence of a particular writer, with the evidence

[1] The long and tedious disquisition of the erudite Dodwell, on the age of the Periplus, which he strives to prove cotemporaneous with Marcus and Lucius Verus, and far posterior to that of Ptolemy, is a striking proof of this. Thus the Periplus styles Ceylon, Palæsimundus, and adds, it is the same island as the ancients called Taprobane. But in the time of Ptolemy, it had acquired a third name, Salice, and he accordingly writes, "Salice, formerly named Palæsimundus." It would follow then, that the author using the latter, must be prior to the one using the former appellation. Dodwell, in order to obviate this self-evident truth, is compelled to argue, that the author of the Periplus, though an Alexandrian, had never seen the work of Ptolemy of Alexandria, but that he had referred to Pliny, who was a Roman; and to support this strange hypothesis, he ventures to maintain, that the Palæsimundus of Pliny, is not Ceylon or the Taprobana of the ancients, but the Hippocura of Ptolemy on the coast of Malabar.

afforded by nature, and the relics of antiquity, which are yet to be found in every part of Ceylon, than from any predisposition to bring about a conclusion from premises originally defective.

First, then, let us briefly examine the relative claims of Ceylon and Sumatra, to the ancient name, Taprobana. In favour of the former island, may be mentioned the identification of the native names, as found in the works of Ptolemy, and as this, if we exclude natural evidences, is the most important step to a solution of the question in dispute, we may be excused dwelling for a time upon it.

The identification we have alluded to, warrant us in inferring, that some merchants or travellers had reached the capital and interior of the island. By them the capital was found where Kandy now is, and called Maagrammum, the great city, or metropolis, which was placed on the river Ganges, still called the Ganga, Gonga, or in its entirety, Mavali-gonga, or Mahavelli-ganga, the great river of Bali, which flows into the gulf of Kottiaar. The Hamallel mountains, including Adam's Peak, are laid down in their proper relative position, and called Malè, the Sanscrit term for Mountains, and above all Anurogrammum is preserved in Anurod-borro, Anurod-gurro or poora, a ruin first discovered by Knox in his escape to the coast, and fully described by Forbes, which lies 90 miles N. W. from Kandy, and in a position corresponding with the account of Ptolemy. Sindocanda is another name expressive of the mountains of the Hingoos, the name by which the natives call themselves, and Hingo-dagul is their name for Kandy, which had a fort on a mountain, and Hingo-dagul the city of the Hingoos, perverted into Chingos-lees, or more properly Cingalese. Bochart has traced many other names, in which he finds a resemblance, and some of those who know the country, and have resided in it have continued to discover others, but those already specified may be sufficient to raise our astonishment how a geographer, who was ignorant of the true dimensions and even position of a country, could nevertheless obtain an accurate knowledge of the names of its places. There is yet another remarkable particular to be found in Ptolemy, who, while placing the northern point of his Taprôbana opposite to a promontory called Kôru, has an island Kôru, between the two, and an emporium called Tala-Côri, on Ceylon, and adds that Kôry is the same as Kalligicum.

D'Anville judiciously separates the two capes, and makes Kôry the point of the continent at Ramisseram, and supposes Kalligicum to be Kallymere, which would tally with Dionysius if we could be sure he had a correct notion of the position of the various points. Ptolemy, however, has nothing to correspond with the northern head of Ceylon, now called Point Pedro, but erroneously makes his Boreum, or northern cape, opposite to Kôry, while his three Kôrys on the continent, on the intermediate island, and on Ceylon, correspond with circumstances actually existing. Another allusion to this name is the Raman-Koil, or temple of Rama at Ramisseram. This

Koil, Vincent assures us is the origin of Kôru, and the repetition of it three times in Ptolemy, is in perfect accordance with the various allusions to Ram at the present day.[1]

The identity of the ancient with the native names, having now been traced, we shall proceed to investigate as briefly as possible, a question of scarcely inferior importance to our decision, and that is, whether the ancient navigators, with the exception of the Arabians, ever penetrated beyond Ceylon. That Ceylon was the centre of the remote eastern commerce with Europe, or rather a central depôt between China and the Red Sea in the sixth century, we are informed by Cosmas, and here it probably remained till the ninth century, when Coulam in Travancore became in its turn the central depôt. From thence the trade migrated to Calicut, after the establishment of that kingdom by Ceramperumal, where it remained till the arrival of the Portuguese, but even up to this period all knowledge

[1] Vincent observes, that Kôru is likewise called Kôlis by Dionysius, and the natives called Kôniaki, Kôliki and Kôliaki, by different authors. But unless he here refers to the Kôru, which Ptolemy also calls Calligicum, and to which Dionysius alludes in his προπαροιθε κολωνης αιψα κε κῶλιαδος, he is in error. The fluctuation in the orthography suggests, according to the same writer, a connection with the Kolkhi of Ptolemy, and the Periplus, which both name as the seat of the pearl fishery; and if, continues he, Soosikoorè be Tutacorin, as D'Anville conjectures, the relation of Kolkhi to that place will lead us naturally to the vicinity of Ramana—Koil, for Tutacorin, was the point where both the Dutch, while it was under their hands, and the English for some time after it was in theirs, conducted the business of the fishery. But Koil, whether we consider it with Ptolemy, as the point of the continent, or seek for it on the isle of Ramisseram, is so near and closely connected with Manaar, the principal seat of the fishery, that there can be little doubt it was the Kolkhi of the ancients, and of the relation of Koil and Kôlis, and Kolkhi and Kalligicum, I have a strong opinion. The Kolkhi of Ptolemy, is on the coast, indeed previous to a river called Solên, and such a river appears in some maps with the name of Sholavunden, a town on its bank; or Solen may be the Greek term signifying a shell fish, in allusion to the pearl fishery in the vicinity. If then, we adhere to Ptolemy the issue of this river would give the position of Kolkhi, but the description of the Periplus would lead us directly to Koil, on the isle of Ramisseram, for it is there that the bay of Argalus succeeds immediately after Kolkhi. Now the Argalus of the Periplus is the Orgalus of Ptolemy, which he places after his promontory Kôru, and if we suppose this promontory to be the extreme point of the continent north of Ramisseram, which it is, we obtain the position of the Kolkhi of the Periplus. The island Kôru of Ptolemy is placed erroneously at a distance from the main as all his islands are, but as it is the same as Ramisseram, which is separated from the continent only by a narrow channel, the island Kôru and the Cape Kôru may have been confounded together. I certainly think that Kôru, Kôlis, Kolkhi, and Koil, are the same, but I am not so much led by the name as by the position assigned to Kolkhi in the Periplus immediately preceding the bay of Argalus. The deduction is contrary to Ptolemy, whose authority has induced D'Anville, Rennell, and Robertson, to assume Kilkhare at the mouth of the river. On one point, however, all testimonies agree, which is, that Kolkhi cannot be Colechi as Paolino asserts, for it is not possible that it should be to the westward of Cape Comorin.—(Vincent, pp. 458, 9.)

beyond Ceylon was doubtful and obscure, for here the marvellous, the sure attendant upon ignorance, commences.

Within the limits of Ceylon, all the general concerns of commerce were certainly confined in the age when the Periplus was written, and whatever might be the extended attempts of the Arabs, very few of the Egyptian vessels ever reached Ceylon. What this commerce was, by whom, and in what manner conducted, it may not be improper to enumerate in this place. Who were its first possessors is described by Agatharcides, in his description of the wealth of the Sabæans, which he says, arose from the position of their country, it being the centre of all commerce between Asia and Europe. That the Arabians also were the first navigators of the Indian Ocean, and the first carriers of Indian produce, is evident from all history, as far as history goes back, and antecedent to history from analogy, necessity, and from local situation. And although it was for a time transferred to the Greeks of Egypt, and to the Romans when masters of that country; yet on the decline of the Roman[1] power, it again reverted to the Arabians, and remained with them till Gama opened the new path to the east. What the articles composing this commerce were, and for what other articles of European and Egyptian merchandise they were exchanged we have learnt from the extract from Cosmas already quoted. Of the quota furnished by Ceylon itself, we are informed by Ptolemy and Edrisi: it consisted of rice, honey, ginger, sandal-wood, aloes, camphor, the beryl, ruby, gold, silver, and all metals, tigers and elephants. The eastern half of the voyage, that is from China to Ceylon, was in the hands of the Tzinitzes, or Chinese themselves; and it is not improbable that the Seres shared a part, which they carried by land over the Emodi or Himalaya mountains. From these facts it may be deduced that Ceylon continued to be the limit, not only of commercial intercourse, but of geographical knowledge, so far as the nations of the west were concerned, and that if the Arabians had relations with Sumatra, they kept its position a secret, when their interest would have prompted them the other way; that their own writers in the ninth century were comparatively, if not entirely, ignorant of its resources, and more than all, that it could no more be confounded with Ceylon than Madagascar, which Ptolemy, as we have before observed, places to the eastward of Ceylon.

One leading argument insisted upon by those who hold that Sumatra was the Taprobane of the ancients, is the circumstance of the latter island having been placed under the equator by Ptolemy;

[1] During the decay of the Roman Empire, the luxury of its citizens was carried to the greatest height, which, though hastening the fall of the parent state, had a beneficial effect on the countries from whence the objects of commerce were drawn; thus Ceylon greatly increased in opulence and maritime wealth from the ray caught from the setting sun of Rome.

and in truth this would be sufficiently convincing, if it had occurred during an age when geographical science had arrived at any thing like preciseness, but when we recollect the numerous other instances of similar errors, and how such errors were, if any thing, extended by the navigators of the latter part of the middle ages, when the compass and nautical science in general had made some progress, we shall be the rather disposed to attribute these mistakes to the imperfect means of arriving at the truth possessed by the geographers of the time of Ptolemy. We have already had an example in the preceding volume of the delusion entertained by trading navigators in the sixteenth century, respecting St. Apollonia, a figment of their own brain; we shall have less difficulty then in comprehending how the coasting voyages of the ancients, by whom the shore was so devotedly hugged, favoured these errors. Nor were these mistakes rectified as science increased, for, though nautical and geographical discovery took a wider expanse, no additional pains were devoted to certifying that which was already discovered, while on the other hand the confusion of new names and new places with old ones naturally increased. Viewed in this light, the singular fact that the knowledge of Ceylon by the ancients rather deteriorated than otherwise, since the works of Onesicritus and Diodorus were written, will no longer appear strange, for succeeding writers being geographers, not voyagers, and therefore not eye-witnesses of facts, were content to borrow from their predecessors, or arrived at their information through the medium of traders, whose objects being alien to science, were not directed to the exploration of truth, but were satisfied either with what was already known, or with the very imperfect and frequently deceptive information obtained from the natives.

Admitting then, that the evidence in favour of Ceylon is circumstantial and negative rather than positive, yet if it can be demonstrated that the animals and natural productions[1] described as being found in the ancient Taprobane, are not to be found in Sumatra, but are still in existence at Ceylon, it will go far we submit to settle the question in dispute; for if we adopt the supposition that Taprobane is not Ceylon, we must consider the former to be only the offspring of the imagination; as there is certainly no other island in Asia to which the description referred to can be so attributed with so great a degree of probability. The only impediment in our own mind to a full belief in the conclusion which cannot fail to be drawn from what we have already said and quoted from others on this topic, is the difficulty in crediting that the later geographers, that is about the time of Ptolemy, could ever have supposed Taprobane, in spite of all their absurd notions as to its size, to have been the commencement of a new or austral continent. And it is this circumstance alone we take

[1] True cinnamon of an inferior quality has, I believe, been discovered at Sumatra, but it cannot for a moment be compared with that found in Ceylon.

it, which entitles Sumatra to take ground in the dispute, for it is just possible that the ancients through the Arabians might have that indistinct and shadowy notion of the new hemisphere, which should enable them to speak of it as they have done. But that the Greeks themselves, who were seldom or never accustomed to lose sight of land, should venture across the vast Gangetic bight, without which they could not well light on Sumatra; or, on the other hand, that they should periplise the widely extended coast of Coromandel, &c. and descend down the boundless coasts of Pegu and Siam to the Golden Chersonese, in quest, not of discovery, for science had then but few patrons, but after new commercial openings, when every object of oriental commerce could be obtained in profusion at Ceylon, is in either case equally incomprehensible to those who are aware of the timidity exhibited in that age by every maritime nation, excepting, perhaps, the Arabians.

The scholiast of Dionysius is the only writer of authority that we are acquainted with who leans to the conjecture of the Maldivian archipelago having once been an immense island, and the ancient Taprobane. Translated, he thus speaks:—"Others on the contrary have it, that Maldivia was originally one vast island, but that a resistless ocean burst in upon it far and wide, and formed a countless number of islets (*νησους απειρεσιας*)." The only circumstances in any degree countenancing this supposition, is the alleged site of Sri Lanka-poora; and the fact that the archipelago is under the equator, where Ptolemy places his Salice. Colonel Lambton, it is true, has fixed the meridian of Lanka as 75° 53′ 15″ east of Greenwich, which corresponds sufficiently with the position of the Maldivian archipelago, but is to the westward of any part of Ceylon by nearly three degrees; and the opinion of Sir W. Jones would seem to tend the same way, though he does not attempt to make Lanka an island independent of Ceylon. "Silan," says he, "was peopled time out of mind by the Hindu race, and formerly perhaps extended much farther to the west and to the south, so as to include Lanka, or the equinoctial point of the Indian astronomers." A later writer, though differing from the preceding in his views as to the position of this island opines, that as the same authorities, who mention these different irruptions of the sea, and consequent diminution of the size of the country, allude to the several thousand islands attached to the kingdom of Lanka which have disappeared in these successive visitations, it is no unnatural conjecture that the Maldive and Lakadive islands were at one time dependencies of Lanka, when its capital of Sri Lanka-poora was in longitude 75° 53′ 15″ east. Laka-diva is the Elu (old Cingalese) name of the island from which Lanka is probably derived, and its derivation might then be accounted for, as Laka the ten thousand, and diva islands. This position would also serve to explain the immense extent of territory said to have been overwhelmed by the sea; although many persons find an easier

solution of these records by total disbelief, or by considering them as the exaggerated statements of oriental writers. Yet the ancient geographers and historians of the west have recorded (as we have already shewn), what all those of the east asserted, that Ceylon was formerly of much greater extent than it is at present. That the sea has encroached on the Coromandel coast at no great distance from the northern point of Ceylon, is sufficiently proved by the remains of a city, in the destruction of which ocean seems to have been stayed midway: for ages its baffled waves have been unable to secure, and earth has had no power to reclaim, the site and ruins of Maha-Balipoor.

In closing our remarks respecting the ancient geography of Ceylon, a passing notice on the alleged disruption of its original physical conformation hinted at by the ancients, maintained with positiveness by the native, and credited by certain English writers, may not be deemed unworthy of attention. We are not able to define the exact period in which the submersion in question first occurred, though to judge from the numerous inundations, related in the Singhalese annals, and traditions, it must have occurred more than once. In the reign of Tissa, an encroachment of the sea on the western coast is recorded, by which nearly fifty miles of country, in a direct line, east and west, were submerged, inundating upwards of 900 villages of fishermen and 400 belonging to the pearl divers. Such a subsidence of the land cannot surely be considered as entirely imaginary, however it may appear exaggerated. Again, ancient Lanka is said to have been an extensive region[1] of some thousand miles in extent, and to have owed its diminution in a great measure to the largest of the many inundations which occurred shortly after the death of Rawana,[2] B.C. 2387. By the further encroachment of the sea in the reign of Panduwasa, the second king of the Mahawanse, another large portion was cut off, and as we have before mentioned, by the yet more extensive calamity in the reign of Devenepiatissa, and his feudatory Kellania Tissa, Ceylon was reduced, according to the Singalese topographical works, Kadaimpota and Lanka-Wistric, to 920 miles in circumference. Another element of destruction at work has doubtless been the *gradual* encroachment of the sea upon the land; and that this agency was not alone confined to Ceylon we are assured by the fact, that an ancient city on the Coromandel coast, called

[1] As a counterbalancing incident to this supposition, it is right to state, that Marco Polo, who could be under no mistake as to the position of Ceylon, mentions it as 2400 miles in circumference, and adds, that it had formerly been 3600, but that part of it had been swallowed up by tempest and inundation. His error in the first statement naturally weakens our confidence in him as regards the second, though it may nevertheless be true with some modification.

[2] From the Ramayana it might be deduced, that the island of Mainaca to the westward of Manaar had sunk below the level of the ocean, or been overwhelmed prior even to the era of Rama, but that tradition thus preserved its name, and noted the fate that had befallen it.

Maha-Balipoor, is now half imbedded in the ocean. Another circumstance in corroboration of this event is the situation given to Sri Lanka-poora, the meridian of the eastern astronomers and the ancient capital, which they placed in 75° 53′ east longitude, while the western extremity of the present island scarcely reaches 80°.

To a person of ordinary intelligence and acuteness, who scrutinizes the causes of things, and is able to form a comparison from existing traces of what the past has been, it will be plain that in no part of the world have greater convulsions on the face of nature been effected than in this part of the Indian ocean. Whether Adam's Bridge is but the remnant [3] of that which once went to form one land, but being submerged by an ocean agitated to fury by the antagonist influence of conflicting masses of water, left but these isolated and castellated rocks to proclaim where earth had once been; or, on the contrary, whether it is as it were a protusion or desiccation from the extremities of the continent on the one side and the island on the other, will perhaps ever be involved in mystery, though science and analogy should lean to the former opinion. One thing is certain however, that it is on the west and south-west coast we must look for the inroads of the briny element announced by the native writers; for it is on this coast that the ocean would meet with the least degree of repression. Soundings at the distance of from three to eight miles along this coast, would perhaps decide the question, for the intermediate distance is in all probability a channel formed either by the disruption of the newly inundated earth, or was originally a plain, or but slightly elevated tract of country.

[3] The existence of leopards and other noxious animals in Ceylon, almost proves, remarks Vincent, an aboriginal communication with the continent by means of this Bridge. Elephants might have been imported, not so a cargo of chetahs. This is surely an impotent conclusion; for the passage of chetahs over a narrow causeway, such as he would imply, is only by a shade less improbable than their swimming the strait. For ourselves, we hold the existence of these animals in Ceylon to be a substantial argument in favour of an original connection between the island and the main land.

CHAPTER III.

Supposed origin of the Singhalese, and conjectures of the native, Portuguese, and Dutch historians respecting it—Wars of Rama and Rawana; their origin and result—Gap in the Singhalese annals till the arrival of Wijeya—Politic conduct of Wijeya, and his success through the instrumentality of Koowané, whom he subsequently discards—Wijeya leaves the throne to his nephew Panduwasa—Six of the principal cities of the island, including Anuradhapoora, afterwards the capital, are founded by his brothers-in-law—Reign of Abhaya, who is dethroned by his nephew Pandukabhaya—Ganatissa—Mootasewa—Devenipeatissa during whose reign the religion of Buddha was revived, if not introduced—Mihindo and Sangamitta are sent from Dambadiva to superintend the infant Church—Defection of Mahanaga, and his seizure of the principality of Rohona.

VARIOUS as are the characteristics which distinguish civilized from uncivilized, energetic from effeminate peoples, the desire of the credit accruing from a renowned ancestry, is nevertheless a common rallying point, or centre, towards which all are found to converge, nor is this desire found to be less prevalent among individuals than communities. One great advantage attached to it is the consequent care with which the annals, legends, and traditions of preceding ages have been preserved. Men will seldom be found to cherish reminiscences in which they, or their predecessors have appeared to disadvantage, or in which they themselves have been unfortunate, unless there is a preponderance of great men and great actions to outweigh at some period of the history, while they will nevertheless carefully and proudly perpetuate every thing in any degree soever administering to their honour. Hence all history. Thus in Ceylon, whether we meet with Singhalese, Malabars, or Moormen, there is an equal tendency to look back as far as possible, nay by the last named, to the very beginning of time for the origin of the people. Thus the first assure us that the regenerators of mankind, the long line of Buddhas, frequently resorted hither to remodel the institutions of the island, and purify and raise the character of the degenerate inhabitants. The second maintain, that it was on this spot that Vishnu vanquished his enemies, and that on this land of delights, Rawana confined the beautiful Seeta. The third, as before observed, profess that Adam here enjoyed his earthly paradise, and that from hence the human race was originally propagated. Notwithstanding these assertions, the three peoples are equally unable to define the exact period of their arrival, any more than the country from whence they emanated. Whether Ceylon, however, was originally a part of the continent, or whether it was always an island, both analogy, reason, and tradition, all point to the Indian peninsula, as the country from whence it was first peopled;

and the resemblance between the Singhs and Rajpoots of the continent and the natives, lends, if not certainty, at least probability to the conjecture. The Portuguese historians, and especially Ribeiro, nevertheless assert, that China was the fatherland, and that a Chinese vessel wrecked upon the coast, was the origin of the inhabitants. They endeavour moreover by a fanciful, but ingenious hypothesis, to account for the name Chingalais. 'The Chinese, says Ribeiro, in his Introducão to the Historie d'Ilgha de Zeilan, having been at a very remote period the masters of oriental commerce, some of their vessels were driven upon the coast near the district which they subsequently termed Çhilau, the mariners and passengers saved themselves upon the rocks, and finding the island fertile and prolific, soon established themselves upon it. Shortly afterwards the Malabars having discovered it, sent thither their exiles, whom they denominated Galas. The exiles were not long in mingling with the Chinese, and from the two names were formed at first Chingalas, and afterwards Chingalais. Valentyn and Baldæus, the Dutch historians, though repudiating this etymology, and denying this to have been the origin of the people, yet represent a Chinese ship giving a sovereign to the island, the natives having elected the Captain to that office.

In the opinion of the natives themselves, the etymology of Singhalais or Chinghalais is derived from Wijeya, the Indian king, by whom the island was conquered, and who was fabled to have sprung from a lion (Singha). That an island remarkable for producing every requirement of man, whether it be the product of the tropics, or of a northern clime, should remain long uninhabited after its discovery by any people, it is impossible for us to conceive. Whenever, therefore, the extremity of the peninsula was reached by the increasing and expanding family of man, the occupation of Ceylon followed as a matter of course. Hence perhaps the aborigines. For the origin of the present Cingalese, we must look to another source, and after considerable attention to the subject, we are bound to state that, while the hypothesis of Ribeiro, may be thought undeserving of serious consideration as a whole, its foundation is nevertheless correct, and even sustained by evidence. We feel the less hesitation in declaring this, and promulgating our own opinion, inasmuch as it is a question to be decided by diligent examination, and weighing of the evidence we already possess, rather than by a personal inspection of existing races and relics, and we are bound to add, that a cumulation in some respects of direct, but more especially of collateral testimony, is in favour of Chinese, or what is much the same thing a Siamese immigration. Whether this was undertaken by the Seres, or the Sinæ or Thinæ, or both, will ever remain a matter for conjecture. Solinus tells us indeed, that the natives of Ceylon could view the sea coast of the Seres from their mountains, which is enough in itself to shew, by whom the maritime parts of the island were occupied and settled. Without adducing the many links which yet remain to

indicate in part the Chinese descent of the dominant native people, is not their terrace cultivation and irrigation, a present proof of the source whence they have sprung, and the habits of industry they have thence acquired. Of the other constituent of the subsequent amalgamated race, we cannot long be in doubt, for where can we look but to India, nutrix gentium. And here more than one question naturally arises.—First, did the continental immigration precede or succeed that of the Chinese? Secondly, in what position and under what circumstances did the immigrants from the main land arrive? Whether, were they outcasts? as asserted by Ribeiro; conquerors in quest of plunder and power? or on the other hand, immigrants in seach of a new home? which they had learnt would reward them for the toil and sufferings of the pilgrimage. Again we are perplexed for a reply. And yet from the midst of the nebulous mass accumulated by time, a ray of light appears to beam forth, which may serve as a guide for speculation, if not for inquiry. On the eastern coast are yet to be found the wild Veddahs, indisputably the autocthones of the country. From the bearing of the Cingalese towards them, even in the present day, we cannot fail to comprehend the terms under which they were permitted to occupy the corner of the island in which they are now alone found. In those terms are to be traced the bond of servitude, by which as a conquered race they were subjected. Every thing indicates their expulsion; first, perhaps from the western coast, and eventually from the interior, till in despair they fled to the quarter which Solinus tells us was solely inhabited by beasts. To the assertion of the improbability of a fusion between the Chinese and the Indian immigrants, I can only reply that the circumstances under which it is supposed to have taken place, were strong enough to preponderate over any natural tendency of either party; but even on the supposition that it took place in the regular way, I confess I do not see the impediments to such a union, which, judging them by a European standard, we should be disposed to imagine would intervene.

In the earliest ages of which tradition has preserved any reminiscences, the people of Lanka would seem to have bent to the yoke of the Brahmin invaders, whose energy and success, while extending their dominion, imbued their followers with a high notion of their prowess, and their native countries with a sentiment of gratitude. Hence on their decease, respect ripened into veneration, and veneration terminated in hero worship. In such a manner was deified Ramachandra[1] now an Avatár of Vishnu, but originally a Prince of Oude and conqueror of Lanka.

Previous to that event, Lanka is said to have been partitioned into three kingdoms, governed by the Princes of Malee, Sumalee, and

[1] Rama and his brother Lakshmana are both worshipped in Ceylon by the same name Saman, the statues of the former are painted blue, and the latter yellow.

Maliawan, who along with their subjects are called Asurs and enemies of the gods. The country at that period is described as being of immense extent, surpassing fertility, and containing unbounded wealth. Vishnu (an incarnation previous to Rama) in his wars against the Asurs, having killed Malee and Sumalee, Maliawan attended by his daughter escaped into the forests, and Kubheran or Kuweran[1] ruled over Lanka. This king was son of the Brahmin Vishravas of the race of Pulastya, and afterwards became an object of worship as Kuweran god of riches, but he was expelled from the throne by his half brothers, Rawana,[2] Kumbukarna and Weebeeshana, the three sons of Vishravas, by Maya the daughter of Maliawan the Asur. The epithet Asur, appears to have been bestowed by Brahmins on the infidels of Lanka and southern India, but it is also used as a term of general opprobrium in reference to giant, demi-god, devil, or innovator. Rawana is described as having devoted himself to the practice of austerities and works of benevolence, prior to his establishment on the thrones of Lanka and Pandi: then corrupted by prosperity he neglected the admonitions of the Brahmins and priests of Buddha, and aimed at the undivided sovereignty of the Peninsula. He adorned his capital of Sri Lanka-poora with many noble palaces, and fortified it with seven walls strengthened by towers; the whole being encompassed by a ditch of great width, supplied with water from the ocean. Several of Rawana's relatives having been slain, and his sister Soorpanukha being insulted and mutilated by Rama, Prince of Yodhya (Oude), Rawana revenged himself by surprising and secretly carrying off Seeta[3] the beauteous wife of Rama, whom he detained in concealment in the forests of the interior of Lanka.

[1] "Cuvera the Indian Plutus, one of whose names is Pulastya." Sir W. Jones. Cuvera is also called a chief of Yakshas.

[2] Rawana appears to have become early formidable. "Where Rawana remains, there the sun loses its force; the winds through fear of him do not blow; the fire ceases to burn, the rolling ocean seeing him, ceases to move its waves. Vishravana (Cuvera), distressed by his power, has abandoned Lanka and fled." Ramayana, Book I. section 13. The names in many places of Ceylon afford support to the histories of the Ramayana, and the Singhalese traditionary legends of the wars of Rawana, may be considered, either as the uncollected materials or shattered fragments of an ancient history.

[3] In Upper Ouva, adjoining the rocks of Hakgalla, are the Nandanodiyana (pleasure grounds) and Asoka Aramaya (Asoka groves) of Rawana, which are sanctified to Hindoo pilgrims, by the events of the Ramayan and the traditions of Rama and Seeta, which are still preserved by the Brahmins of Katragamma. This district is included within the steep ranges of mountains in ancient legends, called the walls of Rawana's garden, which extended from Samanala to Hakgalla, and from Pedrotalla-galla to Gallegamma Kandé. At the northern end of Hakgalla mountain, is the Seeta Talawa (plain of Seeta), where the goddess is said to have been concealed with Trisida, the niece of Rawana, who was her sole companion. Hanuman, eluding the vigilance of the guards, contrived to penetrate to their bower, and having delivered to Seeta the ring of Rama, with assurances that her release would be effected, he proceeded to set fire to the neighbouring forests. It was this conflagration which cleared Neuwara-ellia and other plains in this region of genii, according to the Hindoo and Cingalese legends, and

The Ramayana,[1] a poem in which the lives and deeds of Rama and Rawana are described is the first notice afforded us by Oriental literature of this island. This poem, which is probably the oldest Epic in the world, relates also how Rama, having ascertained the cause of his wife's disappearance and the place of her captivity, like another Menelaus, raised a powerful army and proceeded to the

rendered them barren of useful productions, in which state Vishnu has doomed them for ever to remain. A basin, where the Seeta-ella bursts from under the rock, after an underground course of fifty yards, is called the Seeta Koonda; here, round holes formed by the eddying stream, are pointed out as the marks of the feet of the elephant ridden by Rawana when Seeta vanished, and re-appeared where the stream now does, in her exertions to escape from the persecution of the demon king. One of the plains of Upper Ouva, that extends towards the base of the higher mountains, is Nuga Talawa (banyan-tree plain), and a portion of it retains the name of Malegawa-tenne (the palace flat): here a peepul, known by the name of the Deewu-ran-gaha (tree of the oath), grows from a corner in the lowest of three terraces, which are surrounded with stone walls. The palace flat is now a rice field, watered by a stream, which, after being conducted for several miles along the summit of a projecting ridge of hills, is allowed to rush down the rocky side of Balella Kanda, and then meanders round the green knolls towards the Malegawa-tenne. Tradition states, that the formation of this watercourse was directed by Rawana; that on this plain he had a palace, to which Seeta was conducted after his death and her release; and the tree is said to mark the spot where the goddess offered a solemn oath that during her captivity she had preserved inviolate her fidelity to Rama (Vishnu).

[1] Whatever credence we may be disposed to place on the narrative of events contained in the Ramayana, we cannot fail to admire a work that contains such passages, as that put into the mouth of Rama, while consoling his younger brother Bharata, after the death of their aged parent the king Dasha Ratha. "All compounded substances hasten to decay; all that are elevated must fall; all things compacted will be dissolved; and all who live must finally die: as there is no other fear respecting ripe fruits besides their falling, so death is the grand thing feared by all who are born. As a large and firm edifice when become old, falls into ruins, so the aged subjected by death sink into dissolution. The night once past never returns; the waters of Yamoona run to the sea; days and nights are passing away; the time of life appointed for all living is constantly wasting, as the rays of the sun in the summer dry up the moisture of the earth. Grieve for thyself! why should'st thou grieve for others? What has that man to do with what continues, or with what passes away, whose life is every moment departing? Death always accompanies us; death stays with us; after having travelled to the greatest distance, death ends our course: wrinkles are already in the body; grey hairs cover the head; decrepitude seizes on man. Why should man be anxious for future enjoyments? men rejoice when the sun is risen; they rejoice also when it goeth down, while they are unconscious of the decay of their own lives. They rejoice on seeing the face of a new season, as at the arrival of one greatly desired; yet the revolution of seasons is the decay of human life; as pieces of drift wood, meeting in the ocean, continue together a little space; thus wives, children, relatives and wealth, remaining with us for a short time separate, and their separation is certain: no one living can escape the common lot; he who mourns his departed relatives, has no power to cause them to return. One standing on the road, would readily say to a number of persons passing together, I will follow you, why then should a person grieve when travelling the inevitable road, which has been assuredly trodden by all his predecessors. Viewing the end of life, which resembles a cataract rushing down with irresistible impetuosity, every mind ought to pursue that which is connected with its own happiness, even virtue."

Wilds[1] of the island, whither Seeta had been borne by her ravisher. Sri Lanka-poora, Rawana's capital was soon besieged by a numerous force, and after a protracted and sanguinary warfare of twelve years duration, Rawana was slain; and the conqueror, happy in the recovery of his lovely wife, relinquished the administration of the subjugated country to Weebeeshana, and returned to his native land, where he was received as a hero, and subsequently deified.[2] The date of Rawana's[3] death is fixed by the Singalese annals at 2387 B.C., but Sir W. Jones places the conquest of Silan by Rama about 1810 B.C., or a few centuries after the flood. Our information of the state of the island at this period is exceedingly vague, and we have at once, even if we take Sir W. Jones as our guide, to leap over a gap of 1300 years, during which we are entirely ignorant of the island, except that at the end of that period, the character of the people is described as effeminate and unwarlike.

Weebeeshana it appears was the brother of Rawana, whose cause he betrayed, and went over to the invader, and in return for his treachery, received the crown and deification. Rama seems to have owed his success principally to the wisdom and powerful aid of his continental ally Sugriwa, a chief, who, notwithstanding his eminent services, has suffered deification in the form of an ape, and under the name of Hanuman. The traditions speak of the defeat and death of Rawana as but parts of that judgment which the pride and cruelty of the Rakshases had provoked. The doom extended to their country, whose fairest provinces sunk beneath the ocean, while the waves of oblivion closed for ever above the beauty and wealth of

[1] Seetawaka, formerly called Seetawadé, is said to have obtained that name, from its being the spot, according to Hindoo tradition, where Indragit caused a figure resembling the captive Seeta to have been beheaded, in order that Rama, abandoning all hopes of recovering his consort, might abandon the war he was then waging against Rawana for her recovery.

2 In all accounts of the war between Rama and Rawana, the principal actors are either exalted into gods or branded as demons, a proof that they were champions of adverse faiths, as well as for love and empire. From the Ramayana it may be inferred that Rama was the friend and champion of the Brahmins, and Rawana of the antagonist principles of the Buddhas prior to Gantama, as well as a follower of the Bali (planetary) and Yakka or Rakshase superstitions. Though Rawana is depicted as a monster, and denounced as a cruel tyrant by Valmika and Kalidás, in the Ramayana and Raghuwanzae, yet from their own details, it may be inferred that Rama was the aggressor, and that Seeta was carried away as an act of retaliation: if victory then had sanctified the cause of Rawana, the virtues attributed to the deified hero might have attached to the victorious demon, and Lanka's tyrant would have been a god of India.—(Forbes, pp. 255, 56.)

[3] It is believed by the Hindoos, that Rawana's queen (Wandódarie) invented the game of chess during the tedious siege of Sri-Lanka-poora. The name of this game, and the designation of the different figures are words common to the Singhalese language, but like most of its expressions are originally Sanscrit. The game itself is called Chaturanga, the four forces or members of which an army is composed.

Lanka-poora. Its name, however, survives as the meridian point of Indian astronomy, and in legends of Ceylon and the continent of India, it is maintained that the splendour of Lanka's brazen battlements still gleam from the depth of ocean, illuming the sky at close of day, and before night has put on darkness.

Shortly before the supposed death of Gantama Buddha, Singha-bahoo; believed to have sprung from a lion, (whence his descendants obtained the patronymic of Singha), had ascended the throne of Lalaa in Bengal,[1] then called Wango, or Waggoo, the elder of his two sons, Wijeya Coomarayo, broke out into violent acts of licentiousness, and accompanied by followers as reckless as himself, perpetrated the grossest oppression and crimes. The people, incensed at his continued misdeeds, vehemently demanded redress, and his father, in his anxiety to save the life of his son from the indignation of his subjects, sent him with 700 followers to seek his fortune on the sea. After failing in an attempt to land at Sooppaarakapatana, a town of Dambadiva, on the continent, he proceeded to Ceylon, and landed in a district afterwards called Tambapanni, near the town now called Poottalama, or Putlam, in the year 543 B.C., according to the Cingalese annalists. On his arrival, Wijeya conducted himself with equal prudence and cunning. The island he found uncultivated, and inhabited only by innumerable demons. By an alliance which he formed with Koowanè or Kuwani, a native princess of great beauty, he managed to insinuate himself into the good graces of the various petty princes of the Yakha, at that time the predominant race. His designs, however, soon assumed a tangible shape, and in carrying them into effect, he was in no slight degree assisted by his wife, whom he solemnly promised, in the event of his success, to make his queen also. Through her agency, he and his partisans obtained access to a nuptial feast, given by one of the superior chiefs of the island, and rushing at a signal given by the Yakhine Kuwani in the midst of the revel on his unsuspecting hosts, he and his party[2] slaughtered in cold blood those deemed likely to resist his ambitious schemes. In this manner the power of the usurper extended over the island, and he soon found himself in the enjoyment of supreme

[1] Valentyn's account of the origin of Wijeya by no means corresponds with that of Mr. Turnour's given in the text. He remarks, "The most learned among the Singhalese report, that Wijeya Rajah was the son of a king of Tillingo, which borders upon Tanassery, and is a dependency of the kingdom of Siam." This position would agree with that of the present province of Tenasserim, which is moreover directly to the eastward of Ceylon. As this coincidence with the theory of Ribeiro's does not appear to have excited the attention of those long and zealously engaged in Singhalese research, I am not disposed to lay much stress upon it; though, if Valentyn's authority were good for any thing, it is remarkably significative.

[2] The Singhalese believe, that the weapon used on this occasion was the state sword, still preserved in Ceylon.

authority; but his treacherous spouse[1] had no long enjoyment of her perfidy; for Wijeya becoming disgusted with her, and being desirous of allying himself with nobler blood, sent an embassy to the King of Pandi, whose power extended over the southern provinces of the peninsula, requesting the hand of his daughter. Thus repudiated, Kuwani endeavoured to revenge her disgrace, but her designs were frustrated, and she was put to death, while the new princess, accompanied by a large train of 700 female attendants, whom Wijeya married to his followers, was on the point[2] of landing on the island.

[B.C. 505.] In Neurecaleva, the district where he had first landed, Wijeya founded a city called Tamana or Tammaneura, which he designed as the future capital; in this, however, he was frustrated by his prime minister, Upatissa, who having assumed the temporary sovereignty, on his death, which took place after a long and successful reign of thirty-eight years, transferred the seat of government to a city founded by himself at Ella Sattara, and called after his own name.

[1] Kuwani thus discarded, wandered towards her former residence; and having left her two children by Wijeya in the vicinity, entered the town of Lanka-poora. A Yakha recognizing her, thus accosted her:—"Is it for the purpose of again spying out the peace we enjoy she is come?" followed up his words with a blow that killed the unfortunate woman. Kumara, her uncle, enabled the children to escape to the mountains near Samantakuta, where they were brought up, and their numerous descendants retained the characteristics of the Yakha race. The spirit of Kuwani is still supposed to haunt the country and inflict misfortune on the race of Wijeya. Kuwani is said to have given vent to her grief by the utterance of the following pathetic lamentation, which the natives believe to have been recorded verbatim. "It was foretold, that when I should see the man destined to be my husband, one of my three breasts would disappear; one breast did disappear when I saw you, and did not you become my husband? Have I not been a faithful wife, and loved you dearly, and respected you? Why then talk of our parting? Can you be so cruel to me who brought you from a banyan tree to a palace—who complied with all your wishes, supplied all your wants, sacrificed every thing to your welfare? Oh, gods! where shall I go—where shall I find an asylum and support for myself and children? Oh, cruel Wijeya! where can my heart find comfort?" Kuwanigalla is a bare mountain of rock on which are two stones, one slightly resembling a human figure in a standing attitude, the other looking like a seat. It is on this that legends assert the Yakhini sometimes appears and casts the withering glance of malignant power over the fair fields and fertile valley of Asgiri, in the district of Mátalé.

[2] Another version of this historical romance describes the Pandian princess as having previously arrived, and Kuwani as having watched her opportunity; and one night, when the royal pair were sleeping together, as having darted through seven doors in the form of a tiger with a diamond tongue, and as being in the act of piercing the hearts of the king and queen, when Tissa, one of the king's companions, who was on guard, with a blow of his sword cut off the organ of intended mischief, and deposited it under a lamp. The tiger vanished, but re-appeared the next morning when Wijeya uncovered the tongue. A battle ensued, in which the king was victorious and his mistress fell. The family of Tissa, the instrument of Wijeya's preservation, is said to be still found in the Seven Korles.

Not long before his demise, Wijeya,[1] who was childless, perceiving that the prize he had so unjustly obtained was about to depart from him,[2] sent a messenger to his father requesting his younger brother to be sent as his successor. Previous to this, however, Singha-bahu had died and left his throne to his second son, Somittra, who being unwilling to resign so noble a heirloom as Ceylon, sent his youngest son, Panduwasa, to take possession of the throne, upon which Upatissa vacated the crown, having enjoyed it but for a single year.

[B.C. 504.] Following the example of Wijeya, Panduwasa sought a consort from the continent, and married the cousin of Gautama Buddha. On her arrival in Ceylon she was raised to the throne, and her six brothers who attended her, after settling in various parts of the island and obtaining local rank, endeavoured to make themselves independent of the supreme power.

The principal cities supposed to have been founded by these princes are, as detailed in the Mahawanse, Rohona, a city and castle, long the seat of tumult and outrage, by a prince of that name; Anuradhapoora, built by Anuradha, subsequently the capital; and Wejittapoora by Wejitta, remarkable for a siege during the wars of Elaala and Dutugaimono, 200 B.C. After a successful, and on the whole a peaceful reign of thirty years, during which the first of the huge tanks mentioned in the Singhalese annals, and a palace were constructed at Anuradhapoora. Panduwasa died,[3] leaving ten sons and a daughter; Abhayo, the eldest, succeeding to the throne.

[B.C. 474.] The reign of the new monarch seemed from its very outset destined to become a scene of disturbance through the jealousy of his brothers, and the ambitious designs of his nephew Pandukabhayo, the son of Panduwasa's daughter. The destruction of his uncles, and the dethronement of Abhayo by the son to be born of this princess having been predicted by the Brahmins, the brothers were anxious to sacrifice Unmansit (called also Chitta and Unmada Chitta), to their fears. So extreme a step was negatived by Abhayo; but to prevent the fulfilment of the prophecy, he ordered her to be placed in solitary confinement. In this state being beheld by a nephew of Panduwasa, the princess, who is said to have been possessed of great attractions, engaged in a secret correspondence with

[1] In a Singhalese work there is a fanciful account of the descent of Wijeya from Sammata Rajah, king of India, a scion of the solar race, who is described as being the first mortal who was elected and acknowledged as a chief by those who inhabited the earth after the fall. The powers voluntarily conferred upon Sammata Rajah are declared to have been unlimited; and from the wealth of his subjects, his necessities were to be supplied.—*Forbes*, pp. 70, 71.

[2] Wijeya died from a leprous disease he is supposed to have received as a punishment from those gods whom he had called to witness the oath which he swore to Kuwani and afterwards violated.

[3] In this reign a great part of Raamanaaga (situated between the continent and Ceylon), was overflowed and lost in the sea.

him, which being brought to the ears of Abhayo and his brothers, they determined on giving their consent to the marriage, intending the immediate destruction of any male offspring that might be born.

The princess having learnt their resolution, obtained a female infant, and substituting it for her son, Pandukabhayo, saved his life. This stratagem did not remain long concealed from her brothers, who took active, but nevertheless futile measures, for the destruction of the youth; and the young prince, protected and assisted by a Brahmin, raised an army and posted himself in an almost impenetrable position near the river Mahavelliganga. From thence his uncles were unable to dislodge him, and here he remained blockaded for four years, satisfied with the negative success he had already obtained. Roused at length by the erection of a fortress on the Dhumarrakho mountain (probably identical with the modern Dombara), he on a sudden abandoned his camp, and making for that of his opponent, succeeded after a short encounter in capturing it, and forcing the army of Abhayo to recross the river in confusion. The apathy and indecision common to the natives restrained Pandukabhayo from following up his success. In the place of terminating the war by a march upon the capital he remained for two years in the captured entrenchments, during which anything in the shape of energetic action would have placed him in possession of the throne. Meanwhile Abhayo, apprehensive of the issue of the conflict, made a proposal to divide the sovereignty, stipulating for each that part of the island which was in their possession. This step, though highly politic and likely to have been successful, was defeated by the unyielding character of his brothers, who, jealous that an embassy had been sent without their sanction, deposed their brother Abhayo, and set up Tissa, one of their own number, in his room. Tissa's advancement to the sovereignty, however, by no means benefited their cause, for Pandukabhayo, having resolved on vigorous measures, called in the assistance of the Yakhas or aborigines, by whose means he succeeded in crushing the army of his uncles, and wreaked his revenge by sacrificing eight of their number, and dethroning Tissa. The object of his ambition being after a protracted struggle of seventeen years thus attained, he ascended the throne B.C. 437.

We have already observed that Anuradhapoora, previously an insignificant village, had been founded by Anuradha, whither the new sovereign now transferred the seat of government from Upatissanowera, and by the erection of new and magnificent buildings, rendered it a capital not unworthy of the rich and beautiful Lanka. Unlike most adventurers, who have no sooner succeeded in the object of their ambition, than the agents to whom they are in a great measure indebted for their elevation, are forgotten, Pandukabhayo appointed Chando, son of the Brahmin from whom he had received supplies of men and money, to the rank of adigar, and appointed his uncle Abhayo, to whom he owed life and protection, to the

government of the capital, still keeping him under his eye, and the Yakhas, his coadjutors, he pensioned from the public revenues. By this means, and by the marriage of his cousin, he consolidated his dominion and gained the attachment of his people. By the construction of large and capacious tanks the resources of the island began to be developed. The adornment and civil government of the new capital occupied a no less share of his attention. Several hundred of the lower classes were employed in keeping it clean during the day, a lesser number acted as guards during the night, and others were engaged in the interment of the dead. He effected also a division of the whole island into villages, fields, and gardens, and enclosed and erected stone pillars, containing the figures of lions, from which the royal family was fabled to have owed its descent, along the sides of the lake Bengan Warwa, which was eighteen leagues in length.

Pandukabhayo is stated in most of the native annals to have associated his son, Ganatissa, with him in the government, but the Rajawali makes that prince succeed his father, and reign thirteen years, at the end of which, Mutasèwa his son, who is generally but erroneously represented to have been the son and successor of Pandukabhayo, ascended the vacant throne. This account is most consistent with the reputed length of Pandukabhayo and Mutasèwa's reigns, the former of which is said to have been of seventy, and the latter of sixty years' duration. By interposing the reign of Ganatissa, the improbability is, to say the least, diminished. Of Ganatissa's reign little is recorded, perhaps owing to the eventful reign of Pandukabhayo; remarkable alike for its extraordinary length, as for its peace, prosperity, and honour.

[B.C. 367.] Mutasèwa is said to have constructed the Maha Maiwoona, a royal garden, adorned with a great variety of fruit and flower-bearing trees, which derived its name from a heavy shower of rain that fell while it was being planted. His reign is almost passed over in silence by the native annalists as not being deserving of mention in comparison with that of his energetic grandsire.

[B.C. 306.] Tissa, mentioned as an exceedingly pious prince, and hence surnamed Devenipeatissa, *i. e.* Tissa the delight of the Devos, or heavenly spirits of Buddhism, was chosen out of the ten sons and two daughters of Mutasèwa as his fittest successor. No sooner had he ascended the throne than many wonderful miracles are said to have happened; thus gems and precious stones, once buried in the earth, rose to the surface by their own impetus; treasures raised themselves from the bottom of the ocean and placed themselves on Lanka's shores at the requisition of the pious monarch; bamboos bearing gems, precious metals, and the richest flowers, sprung spontaneously from the earth, and a variety of wonders equally extraordinary and true. Without venturing so far as to assert that the mission which came from India during Tissa's reign, was

the first propagator of the Buddhist faith in Ceylon, we may reasonably conclude that its object included the extrication of that faith from the crude and vitiated state into which it had there fallen. The Mahawanso particularises one individual as the instrument of the change. Tissa being on terms of amity with Dharmasoka king of Dambadiva, or Maghada, despatched a costly present of gems and fruits by the hands of four Cingalese headmen, viz.: Maha Aritto, chief of the embassy, the Brahmin of the Hali mountain, Malla, the minister of state, and Tissa, the chief accountant. Embarking near the modern Jaffna, the embassy reached Pattilipatta in Dambadiva in seven days, and proceeding at once to the capital, presented the gifts to the king. Dharmasoka, not to be outdone in generosity, received the ambassadors with much ceremony, and sent them back attended by ambassadors of his own, bearing gifts in return. A list of these gifts may serve to elucidate the respective degrees of civilization enjoyed by the two countries. They consisted of a diadem, a sword of state, a royal parasol, golden slippers, a head ornament, a vase of gold, water taken from the sacred Ganges, asbestos towels, and a number of minor articles. The king further enjoined on Tissa to take refuge in Buddha, his religion and priesthood, and sent his son, Mihindo, a virtuous prince and Buddhist priest, to aid him in establishing on a permanent foundation the religion to which he had devoted his life. Tissa, besides treating the young prince with respect and attention, afforded him every facility in his missionary character. The chroniclists of Buddhism, however, are not satisfied with ascribing to Mihindo the ordinary accomplishments of the priestly office, but hesitate not to assert that he had the power of working miracles, such as flying through the air, an intuitive knowledge of places where Buddha had rested his foot, making the earth quake, &c.[1] It is not surprising then that vast multitudes of hearers

[1] A yet more romantic version of the advent of Mihindo is related in the native chronicles, which I shall make no apology for subjoining, as something of glowing hue seems fitting to relieve the ordinary and too frequently *jejune* annals of the Solar race. "A Rahatoon (a priest of Buddha of extraordinary sanctity and powers), called Mihindoo-maha, with the title of Maha-Tirinanxy, having been commissioned by Dharmasoka king of Maddadisay, a country to the eastward of Ceylon, to visit the island and convert its inhabitants to the true faith, passed through the air and alighted on a rock near Anuradhapoora, at the moment the king was passing, returning from hunting. His appearance in yellow robes, his head and eye-brows shorn, puzzled the party not a little, and made them doubt whether he was a man or a demon. He apprised the king of his commission, and to sound the depth of his majesty's understanding, and ascertain if he were qualified to comprehend the discourse he meditated, he put to him a few interrogatories:—Rahatoon: 'Have you relations?' The King: 'Many.' R. 'Have you people who are not your relations?' K. 'Yes.' R. 'And besides your relations and those who are not related to you, are there any else in your kingdom?' K. 'Only myself.' Satisfied by the manner in which these and other questions were answered that the monarch was by no means deficient in

congregated to hear him in the Mahamaiwoona, or pleasure garden, where he took up his post.

Unwilling to be surpassed in religious enthusiasm by the other sex, the females collected in crowds to hear the divine message, and being informed of the establishment of ceremonies, and his ordination of priests, they, led by the king's sister-in-law, demanded to be made priestesses of the Buddhist faith. Professing his inability to accede to their request, Mihindo nevertheless told them that he had a sister, named Sangamitta, resident at the capital of his native country, who was a celebrated priestess, and whom they might induce to come by sending an embassy for that purpose. Aritto, the minister of Tissa, again therefore embarked for Dambadiva, and communicated his object to the royal priestess. The king, already regretting the absence of Mihindo, on learning the message of the envoy, endeavoured to dissuade her from the enterprise. "Honoured priestess and daughter," said he, "bereft of thee and separated from my children and grand-children, what consolation will be left wherewith to alleviate my profound affliction." The devotion of Sangamitta to her aged father was greatly outdone by that to her religion, and she urgently pressed upon him the necessity of complying with the entreaties of her brother, pointing out the good that might thereby ensue, and the injury that might result to their religion by her remaining at home. Thus urged, the king reluctantly consented to the departure of his daughter, and she, taking with her a branch of the sacred Bo-tree, dedicated to Gautama, set sail for Ceylon. This branch which accompanied her was a gift of transcendant importance, and was therefore placed alone in a highly-wrought vessel, while innumerable prodigies bore witness to the divine protection. The vessel in which it was carried glided briskly on the surface of the water through this protecting agency; for nearly twenty miles on every side the sea was unruffled, while flowers of every kind were scattered on its path, and seraphic strains of melody impelled the sacred vessel on its course. Thus, according to the Buddhists, was a removal of a branch of the tree sacred to their deity effected. Its arrival in Ceylon was attended with no less honour, and an agency no less superhuman. From the sea-shore to Anuradhapoora it was conveyed by a dense multitude, and planted on the spot where the sacred trees of former Buddhas had stood, with all the pomp and circumstance Tissa could display.

The ceremonies and offerings being terminated, Sangamitta en-

intelligence, the Rahatoon addressed him on the subject of religion, and preached on the beauty and propriety of the actions of Buddha, till he converted him and all his people. A branch of the identical tree under which Sidharté became Buddha was planted at Anuradhapoora in a bed eighty-six cubits high; where it took root contrary to the nature of the tree, which can be propagated only by seed, and it has lived ever since in perpetual vigour, neither growing nor decaying." Letters are said to have been introduced on this occasion.

gaged herself in ordaining and converting with great zeal and success. The queen, along with other fervent women, became candidates for the priesthood. Religious houses were established, Dagobahs [1] and Wihares multiplied; rock temples and cells of priests were scattered over the whole island; the right jaw bone of Buddha was obtained from Sackrayaa himself, and a cup full of other relics from Dharmasoka, and every effort was made to consolidate in the strongest manner the Buddhist religion in Ceylon. Planted in this manner by the united exertions of Mihindo and his sister, Buddhism flourished luxuriantly, and Sangamitta, satisfied with her labours, retired to the exercise of her religious duties in seclusion.

The political events of Tissa's reign were of no moment. Anula, his queen, fearing lest Mahanaga, the king's brother, would seize the kingdom on his demise, and thus deprive her infant son of his rights, attempted to take him off by a present of poisoned fruit. Tissa's son was living with Mahanaga at the time, and being innocently asked by him to taste the fruit, ate it and died. His uncle, on learning the catastrophe, fearing the vengeance of the royal family, fled to the southern division of the island, then uncultivated, and called Rohona, and there set up a local sovereignty, which he designated Maagama, maintaining, nevertheless, the religion of Buddha.

Though superstition and want of energy were even in this age the characteristics of the people, yet the construction of the Tissa-wewa tank is a proof that they had already arrived at a considerable degree of refinement.

The principality of Maagama, now severed from the central authority, was presided over by Jataalatissa, son of Mahanaga, who appears on the death of the latter to have extended his rule to Bintenne, on the north-east, and beyond Saffragam on the north-west. The new prince fixed his capital at Kellania. He was succeeded by his son, Gotaahbhaya, who went to Maagama to succeed his grandfather, leaving Kellanitissa, whose relationship to him is not stated, to reign at Kellania. In the reign of Kellanitissa,[2] a great part of the coast

[1] The chief of the religious buildings erected during the reign of Tissa, were the Toohpaaramaya dagobah; sixty-eight rock temples, with thirty-two priest's cells, on a mountain called Mihintallai; the Maha wihare, or great temple; the Issaramooni wihare; the Saila-chytiya dagobah, Tissaramaya dagobah and wihare.

[2] One of the most romantic legends of the Singhalese had its origin during the reign of Kellania Tissa. His queen having been seduced by Uttiya his brother, and their intercourse being detected, the latter fled to Gampola, whence he shortly sent an emissary, disguised as a priest. This person was instructed to mix in the crowd of priests, who with their superior daily attended at the palace to receive oblations, when the messenger was to watch for an opportunity of safely delivering a letter, with which he was entrusted to the queen, who always assisted at the distribution of alms. The emissary, on his entrance into the palace with a crowd of priests, dropped the letter as soon as he caught the eye of the queen; but the sound of its fall caught the attention of the king, who instantly turned round and seized it. After a hurried perusal of the guilty correspondence, and in

adjacent to Kellania was overflowed by the sea, with what result has been elsewhere mentioned, reducing the distance from Kellania to the sea to one gow. His daughter, Wihara Daivi, married Kaawanatissa. Gotaabhaya was succeeded at Maagama by Kaawanatissa his son. He had by Wihara Daivi two sons, Dootoo-gaimono and Saidatissa; and built many edifices in different parts of his kingdom.

the first ebullitions of fury, the king concluded that the chief of the priests must be aware of the intrigue, or the messenger could not have come in his train. Moreover the handwriting went to establish the accusation against him. He was immediately, therefore, thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil: the queen herself was bound and cast into the river, and the emissary was hewn in pieces. Soon after the real writer was ascertained; and it transpired that Uttiya had been a pupil of the unhappy priest, and had learnt his exact mode of writing. Not long after an irruption of the sea took place, and the king tracing its cause to the cruel and unjust sentence against the high priest, resolved, as a propitiatory offering, to sacrifice his virgin daughter Sudhádéwi; and having secured her in a covered golden canoe, on which her rank was inscribed, he caused it to be launched into the ocean. The waters continued their approach; and the monarch, mounted on his elephant, was viewing their destructive effects, when the earth opened, and the king disappeared amidst flames, which burst from the sinking wreck of his richest provinces. The vessel containing the princess, on drifting to the south-west, was discovered and brought to land by some fishermen in the Mahagampattoo district, which was then a separate government under the control of Kawantissa Raja. Hearing of the mysterious appearance of the golden canoe, he proceeded to the coast, and after reading the inscription, released the princess, whose name he changed to Wihara Daivi, and subsequently married. Wihara Daivi became the mother of Dootoo-Gaimonoo, a prince who restored the Singhalese power, and expelled the Malabars, to whom both Kellania Tissa and Kawantissa had been tributaries. Many Buddhists believe her merits to be so great, that in a future transmigration she will become the mother of Myrtrée, the expected Buddha.

CHAPTER IV.

Reigns of Uttiya—Mahascewa—Suratissa—Insurrection of the Malabars, who dethrone the reigning monarch, and under Sena and Gutika occupy the throne for twenty-two years—Their expulsion by Aséla—Second invasion of the Malabars under Elaala of Sollee, by whom Aséla is dethroned—Rohona alone remains under its own princes—Dootoo-Gaimono resolves to expel the invader, and after a protracted and severely contested war, finally slays Elaala with his own hand in single combat—Remarkable bravery and generosity of Gaimono—He devotes himself to the aggrandisement of the national faith—Detail of the gorgeous and magnificent monuments of his piety—Is succeeded by his brother Saidaitissa—Reigns of .Toohl, Laiminitissa, Kaloonna—Walagambahoo—Third invasion of the Malabars who defeat the king and compel him to take refuge in the mountains—Complete anarchy for the fourteen years of their supremacy—Are at last expelled by Walagambahoo, during whose reign the tenets of Buddha were first reduced to writing—Mahachoola—Chora Naaga—Koodatissa—Anoola, her depravity and debauchery—Makalantissa—Baatiyatissa—Maha Dailiya—Addagaimonoo—Kanijaantissa—Choolabhaya—Sewalli—Elloona, his expulsion and return—Chanda—Yasa Siloo—Subha—Wasabha's insurrection—Is succeeded by his son Wanka Naasika—Invasion of the Solleans—Gajabahu—Batiyatissa II.—The Wytoolian heresy—Abhaya—Sangatissa—Gotabhaya—Mahasen's impiety and repentance—Kitsiri Majan—Detoo-tissa—Budhadasa—His reforms—Upatissa II.—Mahanama—The Malabars—Dhaatu Sena—Kaasiyappa—Various other kings—Invasion of the Malabars—Suicide of Mihindo—Kaasiyappa—Pandi invaded—Udaya II.—Rebellion—Kaasiyappa V and VI.—Sekka Sena and Dapulo—The king of Pandi seeks refuge in Ceylon—Udaya III.—Rebellion—Sena II. III. and IV.—Anuradhapoora—Ceylon tributary to Sollee—Wickramabahu—Wejayabahu—Embassy to Siam—Ceylon independent—Fresh invasion—Weerabahu—Sollee invaded—Jayabahu—Usurpation of Wickramabahu—Prackramabahu's birth foretold—His early life, manhood, and prosperous reign.—Wejayabahu II. and other kings—Kirti Nissanga, his reforms and character—Weerabahu—Wikramabahu—Queen Leelawatee dethroned—Re-elevated—Again dethroned—Wretched state of Ceylon—Wejayabahu—Removal of the seat of government—Kalikala and his learning—Invasion of the Malays—Improvements of—Kalikala—Bosat Wejayabahu IV.—Fall of Mitta Sena—Prackramabahu III.—The Dalada taken by the Malabars and restored—The Mahawanso—Buwaneka Bahu IV.—Prackramabahu V.—Ceylon invaded—Buwaneka Bahu V.—Prackramabahu VI.—Buwaneka VI.—Rebellion quelled—Prackramabahu VII.—Arrival of the Portuguese.

At length, after a reign of forty years, devoted to piety and propagandism, Tissa died, and was succeeded by his brother Uttiya, [B.C. 266.] Eight years after, the demise of Mihindo, who had filled so prominent a place in the preceding reign, and in Uttiya's also, took place. The native annalists speak of him as a luminary, little inferior to Gautama himself, in dispelling the benightedness of Lanka. The celebration of his funeral is particularised as follows. His body, embalmed in perfumed oil, was placed in a golden coffin, filled with

odoriferous scents, and encased in a second of sandal-wood. This placed on a gorgeous canopy, was borne amidst a vast multitude through the streets of Anuradhapoora, to the Maha-wihare, where being deposited, the funeral pile was set on fire by the king, who with the people was overcome with grief, and the ashes of the missionary were enshrined in the dagobas of Mihintallei. The following year witnessed the death of his sister Sangamitta, who in fulness of years, "exchanged her earthly solitude for a heavenly paradise with Gautama whom she had imitated." Thus departed the apostles of Dambadiva; Mihindo and his sister, both of whom so strongly evidenced the absence of selfishness, worldliness, and pride from their minds, the one in renouncing his father's throne for a priesthood, the other in deserting friends, relatives, comfort, honour, to establish her religion in a foreign land. Mihindo continued to the last his itinerant course of teaching the mild and humanizing tenets of his faith, in the place of the brutal ignorance and superstition before predominant. Sangamitta, as before observed, retired after having ordained a considerable number of priestesses to preside over a convent of nuns, who had abjured the world.

In mentioning the death of Uttiya, which took place in the following year, the Mahawanso remarks, that if man would but reflect on the "irresistible, relentless, and all powerful nature of death, in the place of desiring an immortality he cannot attain, he would, by reflecting on the shortness of his span, be led into a virtuous line of life, and virtue in her turn supporting him, would obtain for him the only practicable eternity." Mahaseewa, Uttiya's younger brother, ascended the throne [B.C. 256], over which he likewise reigned ten years. A beautiful wihare was erected by this monarch in the eastern quarter of the capital. His pious successor Suratissa, also erected numerous temples in the provinces. [B.C. 246.] His reign, however, was destined to be cut short, by the imprudent step of taking into his pay two Malabar adventurers, with a body of cavalry attached to them, who murdered Suratissa, and for the first time instilled into their people the desire of settling in the rich and fertile Lanka. [B.C. 236.] Whether the aim of Suratissa was by these means to quell the spirit of turbulence exhibited by the provincial headmen, or to minister to the pomp and circumstance of his court, remains undecided, but the bloodshed which followed is at all events to be traced to this source. At length, after a peaceful and fortunate reign of twenty-two years Sena and Gutika were dethroned and slain by Aséla, ninth son of Mootasewa, and one of the royal[1] family. [B.C. 214.] Nothing is recorded respecting the acts of the two princes; but though they ascended the throne by perfidious

[1] "The different children of Mootasewa were the issue of different queens. Supposing him to have been born even the year his father died, this king," says Mr. Turnour, "must have been one hundred and two years old when dethroned by Elaala."

means, the justice of their subsequent conduct is attested. But the Malabars had tasted the sweets of Lanka, and the effect upon them was such as was not soon to be effaced. Elaala, of Sollee (Tanjore) on the Coromandel coast, hearing of the success of Sena and Gutika, determined to contend with their victorious rival for the same goal. Landing his army at the mouth of the Mahavelli-ganga, he marched directly upon Anuradhapoora, where meeting with Aséla, who was unable to oppose his progress, he soon beheld his authority acknowledged by the native chiefs, and extended over the whole island but Rohona, the southern division, which was still governed by a branch of the old family. [B.C. 204.] And here for the first time he met with anything like a formidable opposition. It will be recollected by the reader, under what circumstances this dynasty arose. Mahanaga, who had paid tribute to Tissa, left the peaceful succession of the throne to his son, during that monarch's reign. His son's successor, Kaawantissa, had two sons, Gaimono and Tissa, the former of whom seeing the dethronement of the elder branch of the family, and chagrined at the success of Elaala, resolved to enter the field against the usurper, and determine his right by the sword.

His mode of collecting an army was oriental in the extreme. Having selected ten redoubtable warriors, he bade each of them enlist ten men. The hundred in like manner enlisted ten, and the process being repeated, an army of 10,000 men was finally enrolled. Gaimono was eager to march against the enemy, and brooked with impatience the delay occasioned by his more prudent father, who was apprehensive of a combat with a veteran like Elaala. After thrice asking, and thrice being denied permission to march, Gaimono, exasperated to the highest pitch, sent a number of female ornaments to his timid father, with a request that he would assume with them the garments most befitting his character. Enraged at his insolence the king threatened punishment, but was anticipated in it by the flight of his son, who, on hearing his intention, fled to Kotta, in Udapalata, the mountainous part of the island, and hence obtained the title of Dutu, the "Disobedient." He made no long stay in his new retreat, for tidings of his father's death having soon after reached him, he at once advanced to Magaama, the capital of Rohona. Here he received intelligence that his brother Tissa had proclaimed himself king at Dighawapi (Dhigawewa) in the Batticaloa district. Gaimono, who, but for his father's interposition, would have measured his strength with Elaala, was not to be deterred by a younger brother from maintaining his right. Having, therefore, collected a small body of troops, he marched with all possible promptitude against Tissa, and defeated him in a sanguinary and hotly contested encounter. A second battle, during which the two brothers engaged in a personal conflict, had the effect of demonstrating to Tissa the hopelessness of any further opposition, and by the intercession of the priests a reconciliation was effected

with his brother, who left him as lieutenant over Magaama. Gaimono now saw himself in a position to carry his designs against Elaala into execution, for the army he had collected for that purpose remained in a great measure intact. This circumstance arose from the prudent conduct of his father, who foreseeing that a contest would ensue on his death for the crown between the brothers, had bound the ten leaders who had formed the nucleus of the army before collected, under a solemn promise not to assist either of his sons in their internecine strife. This promise having been faithfully kept, on the restoration of peace they no longer hesitated to offer their services to Gaimono. After reviewing his forces, which consisted of a body of cavalry and infantry, supported by mounted elephants and chariots, he crossed the Mahavelli-ganga, and driving in the outposts of Elaala, he arrived before Wejittapoora, a strongly fortified town, founded, as we have before observed, by Wejitta, the brother-in-law of Panduwasa, 300 years before. The siege of Wejittapoora, by some said to have continued four, by others six months, was concluded by a general assault, and the four huge iron gates of the fort, which was strengthened by three lines of lofty battlements, were simultaneously attacked by divisions of Gaimono's army. The outer intrenchments were forced, but the ponderous iron gate by which the inmost passage was defended resisted for a long time every effort of the besiegers. The largest elephant in the army, which had long been inured to war, and on most occasions was reserved for the monarch, rushed on against the gate with the utmost fury, but was soon forced back by a stream of molten lead and huge stones hurled on him by the besieged. The maddened animal was no longer to be directed, and made for the nearest tank wherein to mollify the pain of his wounds, but a covering of buffalo hides having been wrapped round him, he once more rushed against the gate, and with a force that nothing could resist, burst it open. Meanwhile the others had been breaching the walls, and Gaimono entering the city with his army dispersed or slew the whole Malabar force. The smaller towns between Wejittapoora and Anuradhapoora fell an easy prey to the conqueror. Girilako was captured and razed, Casaw, Totta and Mahaw-wetta respectively surrendered, the first after a siege of two, the last of four months, and the greater part of the forts raised by Elaala for the protection of the level country were either taken or abandoned by their defenders. Maliélo, a fort near the capital, which for four months resisted every assault, was finally surprised. Gaimono now directed his attention to an attack on the capital, and recognising the skill and valour of his opponent, prudently constructed lines, wherein to fall back in the event of a defeat. Elaala, who up to this time had regarded the proceedings of Gaimono with contempt, and had left to his generals the guidance of the force employed against the youthful rebel, now began to look upon the state of affairs in its true light,

and summoning his officers, an immediate attack upon the invader was resolved on, and a plan of the campaign defined. As an evidence of his lingering remnant of disdain, he sent a messenger to his rival, desiring him, as he wished to take no undue advantage, to prepare for the encounter. Gaimono thus warned, lost no time in hastening the completion of his defences, and soon found himself encompassed by a fortification consisting of thirty-two separate redoubts. When, therefore, the army of Elaala appeared advancing, Gaimono, supported by his chiefs, sallied out of the lines and hurried forward to meet it, leading on the centre of his army in person. Elaala mounted on his elephant, and accompanied by Digajantu, the chief of his officers, led on his army to the sound of the trumpet. A fierce onset was made on Gaimono's front by this officer, which was no less resolutely received. Nothing, however, could resist the unyielding valour of the Malabars, and Gaimono's army was compelled to retrace its steps to the towers, and there make a stand. The reckless courage of Digajantu promised to render this no safe retreat. Redoubt after redoubt fell a prey to the army of Elaala, and all appeared lost, till the impetuous course of Elaala's general was cut short by one of the officers of Gaimono, who by a fortunate stroke terminated for ever his victorious career.

The intelligence of this disaster had, as may be expected, a proportionate effect on either army, the one viewing it with dismay and the other with a return of hope and confidence. The Singhalese now became the aggressors, and hurling the invaders from the lines into the open plain, their retreat became a flight, and if Elaala had not interposed with a chosen body of troops, the field would have been lost. Meeting with Gaimono, who as well as himself was mounted on an immense elephant, he resolved to terminate the contest by single combat. Elaala now hurled his spear, which Gaimono avoided by a dexterous movement, and then urging on his elephant with the most vehement force, the two animals rushed upon each other, and that of Elaala falling, the monarch was crushed to death, and with him expired the dynasty of the Malabars. The native accounts of the reign of Elaala are entirely at variance. In the Raja Ratnacari and Rajawali, he is pictured as an intolerant heretic, who without scruple demolished and defiled the temples erected by his predecessors, and was guilty of the greatest injustice and cruelty. In his reign, says one historian, the beautiful and holy city of Anuradhapoora, became a sepulchre of filth and corruption, the images of Buddha were destroyed, and the wicked savages were more like wild beasts than men; another account states that he kept up his army to destroy the temples and dagobahs, and that his wicked reign was of forty-four years duration. In the more impartial Mahawanso, these statements are qualified by an admission, that, though he destroyed many temples and was not a follower, but an enemy of Buddha, he was nevertheless a good prince,

and an impartial dispenser of justice alike to friend or foe. This discrepancy will cease to astonish us if we bear in mind, that the fervour of fanaticism will often view a heretic and a monster of iniquity in the same light. After the death of Elaala, Gaimono entered Anuradhapoora in triumph, and once more re-established the Singha dynasty in his own person on the Singalese throne. [B.C. 164.] The generosity of the young prince was strikingly manifested on this occasion. In the midst of success, he was not forgetful of the respect due to the obsequies of his brave competitor, the body of Elaala was burnt with much ceremony on the site of his death, which was commemorated by a monument and pillar, and an ordinance was promulgated enforcing that royalty in passing the tomb should refrain from rejoicing and dismount; marks of respect most punctiliously observed up to the British[1] occupation of the Kandian dominions. Gaimono, however, was not destined long to enjoy his new honours and kingdom unmolested. Another Malabar prince, by some said to have been the brother, by others the nephew of Elaala, receiving intelligence of the struggle between his kinsman and the southern invader, hastily collected, according to the Rajawali, an army of 30,000 men, and at once set out for Ceylon. Having landed at Matura he sped towards the capital, expecting to find the conqueror inactively reposing on his laurels. If this were so, the vigour of Gaimono soon dissipated the illusion. That prince had marched with no less speed to interrupt his advance, and having taken up an excellent position directly in his opponent's line of march, there awaited his approach with his elephants, cavalry, infantry, and chariots. The invader rushing on with the characteristic impetuosity of his race, was slain in the first encounter; and the Malabars thus bereft of their leader, fell an easy prey to the again victorious Gaimono. Festivals and religious ceremonies now celebrated his success, and rewards were lavishly distributed among his faithful followers.

The energetic spirit of Gaimono could not endure to become enfeebled by inactivity, though the object of its ambition had been in a great measure attained. He had already far outshone his predecessors in the martial virtues, but he was inferior to Tissa in piety and devotion to the progress of Buddhism; he now, therefore, endeavoured to rival him in the more peaceful, but not less laborious task, of becoming celebrated as a Buddhist king. Other motives besides ambition are assigned for the change of conduct in Gaimono, and his erection of religious buildings; nor has selfishness been omitted to be urged. It is said his anxiety respecting a future state

[1] In 1816, Pilamé Talawé, the head of the oldest Kandian family, when attempting to escape after the suppression of the rebellion in which he had been engaged, alighted from his litter, although weary and almost incapable of exertion, and not knowing the precise spot, walked on till he was assured that he had passed far beyond this ancient memorial.—(Forbes, vol. 1, p. 233.)

where he would have to answer for the great sacrifice of life that had taken place during his wars, whereby he might be considered to have forfeited his own hope of mercy, was his great incentive. However it might be, he devoted all his resources to the erection of temples, dagobahs, and houses for the priests.

It would be needless to particularise these erections, one of which, the Ruwanwellé-saye,[1] is said to have been 270 feet in height, (now a conical mass of bricks overgrown with brushwood, and 189 feet high) and to have stood on a square mass of building 2000 feet in circumference, paved with large stones of dressed granite, and surrounded by a fosse seventy feet broad; the scarp or sides of the platform is sculptured to represent the fore-parts and heads of elephants, projecting and appearing to support the massive structure to which they form so appropriate an ornament. Within are contained numerous relics of the Indian saint. This monster temple Gaimono was unable to finish, and it was left for his successor to add a spire. This work, massive and extensive as it was, was exceeded in grandeur and extent by the Lowa Maha Paya, or Great Brazen Palace, — so called from its roof—which forms one side of the square in front of the Maha-wihare, intended for the priests. It was 180 cubits, or 270 feet square, and of an equal height. In the embankment surrounding the fosse, a pillar sunk deep in the earth still projects sixteen feet above the surface, and is four feet in diameter: this stone is believed to have been removed from the spot where the palace now stands, and bore at one time an inscription and prophecy, which in a superstitious age brought its own fulfilment. The prediction ran, that where the stone stood a superb dagoba, of 120 cubits high, would be reared by a fortunate and pious monarch. The apartments rested on 1600 granite pillars, placed in forty parallel lines, forty pillars in each, the relics of which at the present day evidence the reality of the native account. The pillars in the middle of this ruin are still eleven and a half feet above the ground, and are two feet broad by one-and-a-half thick; the middle pillars are slightly ornamented, but those in the outer lines are plain and only half their thickness, having been split by wedges. Over these were nine stories containing 900 apartments, the whole metal roofed; hence the name Brazen Palace. The interior of the edifice was magnificent in the same degree as the exterior was vast. A spacious hall occupied the centre, adorned with gilt statues of lions and elephants, while at one extremity a beautiful ivory throne was raised, on one

[1] During his last illness, Dootoogaimono caused himself to be conveyed near to this monument of his piety, and when all hopes of completing the spire during his lifetime were at an end, his brother had a model of timber made, and placing it on the dome covered with cloth, thus satisfied the aspirations of the dying monarch. The place to which the king was conveyed is a large granite slab surrounded with pillars, near which a stone, hollowed out into the shape of a man's body, is shewn as the bath which he used when suffering from the bite of a venomous snake.

side of which was placed a golden emblem of the sun, and on the other a silver one of the moon. Among the holy tenants of this building the priests most eminent for their piety were exalted to the uppermost story, while those who possessed fewest claims to sanctity were lodged nearest to the earth. "As native stairs," remarks Forbes, "only differ in name from ladders, the ascent of nine stories must have been a severe trial to the bodily infirmities of the elder priests, though a violation of the custom by which a superior always occupied a more elevated seat than his inferiors, would have been tenfold more irksome." The other remarkable monuments left by Gaimono were the Mirissewettiya dagoba, 120 cubits high; the Mayangana dagoba of thirty cubits high, encased in another eighty cubits high, and the splendid stone canoe, twenty-five cubits long, for the priests' beverage. "These particulars of the Mahawanso," says Colonel Sykes, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, May, 1841, "are confirmed circumstantially by Hian the Chinese traveller, who visited Ceylon in A.D. 412, and had the best opportunities of examining, and no object in exaggerating the greatness of the structure."

The moral of Mahanama, author of the Mahawanso, in describing these various edifices, is worthy of record: "Thus do the truly wise obtain for themselves imperishable and most profitable rewards from their otherwise perishable and useless wealth." The religious reputation of Gaimono now spread far and wide, and priests of Buddha remarkable for their piety flocked from the continent of India to behold his works, and share in the prodigality of his bequests. Thus flattered and caressed and in the enjoyment of both the martial and more sanctified virtues, Gaimono ended his reign [140, B.C.] of twenty-four years duration.

The native chroniclers minutely describe the events of his last end. On that occasion he had a memorial of his religious acts produced and read in his hearing; and he would frequently interrogate the priests around him as to the nature of the heaven reserved for him on quitting his earthly habitation, and being satisfied with their replies, he expired with the gratifying expectation of reigning with the future Buddha, Mettiyo. Between the Maha-wihare and the Ruwanwellé-saye, six carved stones define the limits of a small mound which was the spot where an admiring people and a grateful priesthood performed the last duties to this great monarch, who restored the Buddhist religion. The character of Gaimono, selfish and audacious as it was, was interwoven with the political and moral advancement of Ceylon in no slight degree: his energy, bravery, and perseverance, restored to the island its old royal dynasty, and by the expulsion of the Malabars, removed also a source of oppression. During the latter part of his reign the embellishment of Anuradhapoora, and the erection of temples, &c. instilled a taste for the arts, and humanized the character of the people. Some of the native annals speak of

other works of public utility, such as hospitals, and the appointment of physicians; of these, however, the Mahawanso is silent; and as that history gives a full account of his other actions,[1] the truth of the other accounts should be received with qualification.

The ambition of Gaimono does not appear to have been hereditary. Thus his son, Sali, having fallen in love with a beautiful maiden of the Chandalas (scavengers and corpse bearers), a low caste, preferred retaining her as his wife to the exercise of regal power.

[B.C. 140.] In order that the Mahawanzae (great solar dynasty) might be preserved in all its purity, he was therefore superseded by Dootoo-gaimono for his uncle Saidatissa, who found himself without a rival, and in the tranquil possession of a peaceful and well-ordered government, over which he presided for eighteen years. The religious ruins of Gaimono, among which was the Lower Maha Paya, which was lowered by two stories, were completed by this monarch, who finished the incomplete temples, and established others at regular distances from the capital. Many considerable tanks, such as the Diggaawewa in the Batecalo district, had been previously formed in Magaama by this monarch, to whom also the erection of the Digganakhya dagobah, and the Mulgerigal wihare in the Matura districts have been assigned.

[B.C. 122.] The two sons of Saidatissa, Laiminitissa and Toohl, or Thulathanaka, were respectively lieutenants of provinces at the death of their father, the younger son having chanced to be at the capital when his father died, unhesitatingly ascended the throne, in which for upwards of a year he was supported by the priests, and his authority was recognised throughout the island. At length, however, while in the act of superintending the erection of a dagobah, near Anuradhapoora, he was stabbed by an assassin, in the pay of his elder brother, and immediately expired. [B.C. 121.] Laiminitissa now ascended the vacant throne acquired by fratricide. This fatal example was the cause of much subsequent bloodshed, the descendants of the respective brothers having each resorted to this mode of ridding themselves of each other's adverse claims.

[B.C. 112.] The reigns of Laiminitissa and his successor, Kaloona, which were of nine and six years respectively, were employed in ornamenting and extending the edifices of Gaimono. We are left, however, entirely ignorant of the political acts of these reigns, of the state of Ceylon, and of the character and proceedings of the inferior princes, with the exception of the cause of Kaloona's death, who was murdered by his adigaar in a moment of irritation.

[B.C. 104.] Walagambahu, the successor of Kaloona, who ascended

[1] According to Forbes, there is a tradition preserved to this day in Kotmalia, that Dootoo-gaimono formed a connexion with a woman of the Goyawanza, or cultivator class, the issue of which was the Prince Sali Koomaraya, by whom a similar violation of caste was committed, and that from hence he acquired the prefix of Dutu.

the throne 104 B.C., was not long in avenging his father's murder. His sovereignty, however, was from the first beset with difficulties and danger. Instigated by a prediction that on him should one day devolve the duties of royalty, a prince of Rohona took up arms against him, while an army of Malabars, led by their chiefs, appeared on different parts of the coast, and concentrating their forces, marched against the devoted Walagambahu. Thus menaced on every side, his situation appeared hopeless. By a politic recognition of the pretended rights of the Rohona chief, he induced him to divert the force intended for his own destruction against the common enemy, while he himself, in the character of a spectator, was anxiously preparing to attack the victor, weakened, as he would necessarily be, by the previous contest. He had not long to wait; the raw levies of the Rohona chief were no match for the disciplined force of the Malabars, and he himself was taken prisoner. However he might have been adapted for intrigue, the virtues of Walagambahu were not of a military character. In an encounter near the capital he met with a decided repulse from the northern invader, and was compelled to seek refuge in an adjoining forest, leaving his wife in the hands of the conqueror. The Malabars entered Anuradhapoora, plundered it of every thing portable, and two of the chiefs returned home, leaving the rest to contend at their pleasure for the sovereignty. The victorious army being divided into five parts, each under a separate and independent leader, was not long maintained in a state of unanimity. The first, Pulahattha, held the sceptre but three years, and was deposed and murdered by a second, Baayiha, who reigned two; and in this manner murders, proscriptions, and usurpations succeeded each other for fourteen years, till the irresolute Walagambahu, deeming that the hour was come for making an effort to regain the throne which he had been compelled to abandon so precipitately, succeeded in expelling Dathiya, the last of the Malabar chieftains.

[B.C. 89.] Imbecile as was the reign of Walagambahu, it formed a new era in the history of Buddhism, for during it the sacred works of that faith were transcribed. Previously to this period its doctrines and laws had been orally transmitted from one generation to another, from which much *interpolation*, admixture and corruption, had arisen, and it was to remedy this yearly increasing inconvenience that the priests, to the number of 500, were convened by the king at Mátalé, at the very cave where a part of his exile had been passed. There, 92 years B.C., the Banapota, or Buddhist scripture, the Pitakattaya, or exhortations of Buddha, with commentaries affixed, the Atthakatha, were transcribed in Pali, the sacred language, and together formed the esoteric system of Buddhist doctrines, simple, pure, and religious, and greatly at variance with the external rites and ceremonies and unmeaning ordinances super-imposed thereon by a wily and degenerate priesthood, and forming what be called their

exoteric system. Emulous of the reputation acquired by Tissa and Gaimono from the erection of religious buildings, the king resolved to leave his name to posterity linked with a similar source of fame. Besides the Damboolla wihare, and several rock temples, the Abhayagiri, one of the most remarkable temples and dogabahs in Anuradhapoora, now become a wonder of the east, was erected by this monarch. We are assured that it was upwards of 400 feet in height, while the length of the outer wall at the present day is a mile and three quarters. This temple, whether from its size or sanctity, appears to have been an object of particular veneration, and was the mother edifice of Anuradhapoora.

The levity with which the Cingalese monarchs ordered the construction of these stupendous edifices is proved, if indeed proof were wanting, by the fact, that Walagambahu celebrated the recovery of his queen, who had been carried off by a party of Malabars, by the erection of the Suwana-ramaya, one of the largest dagobahs in Anuradhapoora. This building, the native chroniclers assure us, was 313 feet in height. The state of Ceylon at this period, if we are to judge of it by the devotion paid to architectural embellishments and other improvements, must have been prosperous.

[B.C. 77.] In the year B.C. 77, and after a reign of twelve years, Walagambahu died, leaving his throne to his nephew, Mahachoola, or Mahadailitissa. The increase of superstition had now so far extended itself as to supersede, among all ranks, every political restraint, and the king, on hearing that the penance undergone by mortification arising from personal labour was of far more avail than the bequests of a redundant treasury, disguised himself in the dress of a peasant, and cultivated with his own hands a field of rice, whose produce he made over to the priesthood. On another occasion he served at a sugar manufactory for three years. This conduct was, of course highly extolled by the priests, and hence we may cease to wonder how from so infectious an example so large and valuable a part of the land of Ceylon is at present in their hands. The reign of Mahachoola was remarkable for nothing but its fanaticism, and the contrast presented by it to that of Chora Naga, the son of Walagambahu, and successor of the last king.

[B.C. 63.] That prince having been excluded from the throne on account of his impiety, had collected a band of outcasts, in company with whom he engaged in depredations and incursions; and now finding the throne empty, placed himself on it in opposition to the will of the people. Without substituting for the religion of Buddha any system of his own, Chora Naga used his utmost efforts to extirpate it from the land. Eighteen temples were by his orders razed to their foundations. At length, Chora Naga was murdered by one of his subjects, after a reign of twelve years. The Buddhist historians wreak upon his memory the revenge they were powerless to accomplish during his life. The depths of a lower hell than is reserved

for ordinary mortals is said to have been reserved for him, wherein he will for ever remain.

[B.C. 51.] At the death of Chora Naga, Koodatissa, the son of Mahachoola, succeeded him. His reign was soon terminated by poison, given him by Anoola his abandoned wife, who ascended the throne [B.C. 48], and to gratify her passions, took for her consort an obscure individual, called Balat Sewama, with whom she shared the regal power. The inborn fickleness of uncontrolled love soon, however, produced a change in her views, and growing disgusted with her old paramour, she transferred her affections to a Malabar of great stature, having first ridden herself of Balat, who had possessed the sovereignty for a year and two months, by poison. The new paramour was raised to the vacant throne, but was unable to satisfy the cravings of Anoola any longer than his predecessor. Again she sighed for change, and poison was again used for the removal of her victim. In the same manner, and in less than three years, a Brahmin and two other ambitious aspirants were respectively elevated and dispatched. But the career of Anoola had run, and the whole kingdom had now become polluted by her crimes. She could no longer hope to find a partner either for her crown or her bed, and after a wretched isolation of four months, an end was put to her wickedness and life.

[B.C. 42.] Makalantissa, her son by Koodatissa, who had been compelled to conceal himself in the thinly inhabited parts of the country to escape from her violence, hearing of the aversion in which she was held, raised a numerous and well appointed army, and after a slight engagement, in which the troops of Anoola were defeated, entered upon the siege of the capital. On learning its capture, the queen resolved to defend the palace, which being set on fire by the invaders, she herself perished in the flames.

One would have expected that the annals of the country in mentioning the reign of the murderess Anoola, would have pictured it in terms at least as strong as those applied to the character of Chora Naga, but a little knowledge of the springs by which the priestly historians are generally impelled, will lead us to infer, that the characters they portray are good in proportion to the funds lavished upon their religion and its followers, and bad in proportion as they may neglect or withdraw from the payment of the accustomed donations. Makalantissa found on every side grounds for dismay in the disorganised state of the kingdom. His first care was the repair and strengthening the fortifications of Anuradhapoora. This he accomplished by the erection of a stone rampart 10½ feet high round the gigantic city. These walls are said to have encompassed a space of four square gows, or 244 square miles, that area being a square, each side of which was sixteen miles long. Near Aliaparté the wall described is still to be seen running north and south, and forming the west face. Aliaparté is about seven miles from Anuradhapoora,

which confirms the account given of the extent of the wall, Mihintallai being about the east face. The old place was situated about a quarter of a mile N. W. of Lanka-ramaya, the foundations of the wall are so perfect that the ground plan may be traced throughout. A stone dagobah at Mihintallai, and the construction of several tanks are also ascribed to this prince, whose long and prosperous reign was of twenty-two years duration. He was succeeded by his son Batiyatissa, [B.C. 19.] remarkable only for his superstition and subserviency to the priesthood. For the repair of the public buildings, he set apart a portion of the crown lands, and fed a thousand priests daily, besides those at his own table. The marks of this prince's knees on the granite pavement surrounding the Ruwanwellé-saye, are still shewn as the evidence of his importunate piety. It is recorded of this king, that by supplication he obtained divine assistance to enable him to open the underground entrance into the interior of that temple, and that he succeeded in entering and worshipping the many relics of Buddha which it contained. At some distance from the outer enclosure of the dagobah, is a stone slab twelve and a half feet long, by nine and a half feet broad, which is supposed to cover the secret entrance by which the pious king, as well as the Malabar invader, gained admittance into the interior of Ruwanwellé-saye.

After a reign of twenty-eight years, he died in the year 8, A.D. and 551 of the Buddhistical system, and was succeeded by his brother, Maha Dailiya, of whom nothing is handed down except the erection of a dagobah called Saigiri, upon the summit of Mihintallai, reached by 1800 stone steps. After a reign of twelve years he was succeeded by his son Addagaimoonoo [A.D. 20], otherwise called Aamanda Gaamini, remarkable only for piety. Animal life was forbidden to be taken by this prince, and to serve in its stead, he planted a great number of fruit trees with which to supply the wants of the people. Such a prince could not long hope to retain possession of a throne, whose tenure depended upon something in the shape of manly virtues. He was dethroned, and *animal life* taken away in his own person by his younger brother Kinihirridaila or Kanijaani-tissa [A.D. 30]; styled cruel and impious by Mr. Turnour, but with the exception of the means by which he reached the throne, his conduct is scarcely open to such a reproach. "This raja," says the Mahawanso, "decided a controversy, which had for a long time suspended the performance of the religious ceremonies in the apósatha of the Chetiyo (the Giri wihare), and forcibly seizing the sixty priests who contumaciously resisted the royal authority, imprisoned these impious persons in the Kanira cave in the Chetiyo mountain." Kanijaani-tissa was succeeded by Choolabhaya the son of Addagaimoonoo, who was succeeded by his sister Singhawallee or Seewali, after he had reigned a year. [A.D. 34.] This princess was put to death after a reign of four months, by Elloona or Ilanaya, her cousin. A crown thus obtained was not long a tranquil possession. Accordingly, a

general rebellion[1] followed an infringement of the law of castes, where an inferior was placed as judge over a superior one, and Elloona was obliged to seek safety in flight. Three years after, he returned with a considerable foreign force, wherewith to punish the rebels, and landing at Rohona, his army was increased by volunteers among his subjects. Meanwhile the rebels made every preparation to receive him. The capital was strengthened, a large force was collected, and upon the advance of Elloona towards Anuradhapoora, he found an adjoining plain occupied by the enemy. A series of undecisive conflicts ensued, in the last of which the king's army was on the verge of a defeat, when he by boldly stepping out of the line, and charging with fury on his elephant, changed the tide of victory. A fearful carnage followed, and it was not long before Elloona entered his capital in triumph. After a reign of six years, he was succeeded by his son Chanda Mukha Seewa, or Sanda-Moohoona [A.D. 40], who having constructed a tank at Minigiri, dedicated it to a wihare called Issarasumano, and to the same wihare his consort dedicated the village from which her personal revenue was supplied. Hence it has been inferred, that a custom prevailed among the Cingalese similar to that among the ancient Persians, by which a particular town was appointed for a specific part of a prince's revenues. Chanda was murdered by Yasa Siloo or Yataalaka Tissa [A.D. 49], at an aquatic fête, on the Tissa lake or tank, but the latter was himself deposed by Subha, a man of low origin. [A.D. 56.] The manner of his death is thus related in the Mahawanso: Subha from bearing a resemblance in personal appearance to the king, was frequently invested by the latter with the royal robes, while he taking Subha's staff of office stood as porter at the gate. On one of these occasions Subha, resolving no longer to be made a pageant, quarrelled with the porter and slew the king in his disguise. The jealousy of the usurper was the eventual cause of his ruin. Having been informed of a prediction to the effect that he was to be dethroned by a person of the name of Wahapp or Wasabha, he determined to put to death all of

[1] Both the Mahawanso and Ratnacari contain a half mythical account of this king's deliverance. The queen it seems in despair had arrayed her infant son in his most costly apparel, and delivering him to the nurse, bade her carry him into the elephant's stable, and placing him before the royal elephant, motion to that animal to put him to death, and thus avert from him the indignities to which his father was evidently doomed. The order was obeyed by the nurse, but demurred to by the elephant, which eyed him with a countenance full of pity, and moreover sensible of his misfortunes. On a sudden, a thought seemed to have struck him, and bursting asunder by an exertion of strength the massive chain which bound him, he rushed through the guards, entered the palace where the king was a prisoner by breaking open the door of the great gate, placed the monarch upon his back, and carried him to the sea coast, whence the king sailed to the Malay coast, and having raised an army there, returned to Ceylon and regained his kingdom. On beholding his old protector, Elloona recognized him with affectionate joy, and appointed several villages for his sustenance and attendance.

that name in the island, and gave precise orders to that effect to the several Dissaves.

The spirit of fatalism so prevalent among the people of the east, rendered, however, these instructions completely futile. One of that name, in the service of one of the northern chiefs, hearing of the order and its aim, fled to the Maha Wihare for refuge. Having been left unmolested, he escaped from thence, and taking courage, collected a resolute and active force, and soon reduced the province in which he then was. Next, proceeding to Roohoona, the focus of every outbreak, he by degrees marched towards the capital. After a series of protracted and indecisive encounters, he was met by Subha at the head of a considerable force. Wasabha, however, was victorious, and Subha was slain, after a reign of six years.

[A.D. 62.] The new king, as if in remorse at the act of usurpation he had committed, dedicated his life to the service of religion, and the erection of religious edifices. Three wihares, the repair of dilapidated buildings, a number of priest's houses, and eleven tanks, are ascribed to this prince. The walls of Anuradhapoora were also raised by him to the height of eighteen cubits; and, after a peaceful reign of forty-four years, he left his son, Wankanaasika, in the tranquil possession of the throne.

[A.D. 106.] During the reign of this prince the Solleans from the continent landing in the north-west, ravaged that part of the country, and penetrating within sight of Anuradhapoora, retired with an immense quantity of plunder, and 12,000 of the inhabitants, whom they carried along with them. This insult remained unavenged during Wankanaasika's reign; but shortly after this his son, Gajabahoo, ventured in A.D. 112, at the head of a large army,[1] to march over the Saitubanda (Adam's Bridge), to the continent, and retaliate on the Solleans the outrages committed on his own people. The captive Cingalese were recovered, and the same number of the enemy torn from their country, upon which the army returned to Ceylon, the captives being chiefly located in the district of Aloot-Kuràkorla, a little to the northward of Colombo, the inhabitants of which to this day retain many marks of their continental origin.[2]

[1] The Malabar account somewhat differs from the Cingalese with respect to this prince's motives. In the former it is mentioned, that Gajabahoo, anxious to expiate the sin he had committed in *entertaining* the *intention* of pulling down the temple of Siva and erecting one to Buddha in its room, caused large grants of land to be made for the support of the pagoda, and sent to Solli to procure artificers and labourers, to whom he assigned lands, whose tenure depended upon the performance of services to the temples. The Cingalese annals are so far confirmed by the Tamul, but vary in the details. Thus the Cingalese account states, that the Solleans were brought as prisoners, while the Tamul notices it as a voluntary migration. These conflicting statements go to prove, however, that a Sollean colony was established in Trinkomalee in the reign of Gajabahoo, but that the north of Ceylon was under his control notwithstanding.

[2] Some families were placed in the other provinces, which are said to have de-

The most heroic deeds are narrated in the Singhalese annals as having been performed by Nela-Yodhaya, a warrior who accompanied Gajabahoo on this incursion, and who is said to have been no less distinguished for his diplomatic success.

[A.D. 131.] Gajabahoo was succeeded by his maternal cousin, Mahaloomaana or Mallaka Naga, so named from his great age when elevated to the sovereignty; his reign was of six years duration, and he constructed seven wihares. His son and successor, Batiyatissa the Second [A.D. 137], left several of the same monuments, in addition to many tanks. He was succeeded by his brother, Choolatissa [A.D. 161], from whom the crown descended to Koohoona or Choodda Naga [A.D. 179], who was murdered by his nephew, Koodanaama [A.D. 181]. This prince was in his turn deposed by his brother-in-law, Siri Naaga [A.D. 182], after the reign of a year.

The annals of Ceylon are without interest until the reign of Wairatissa [A.D. 201], when the Wytoolian heresy made an effort to engraft itself on the Buddhistical system. The king and his prime minister, Kapilo, being warm opponents of the schism, made every effort to extinguish it; and besides degrading its followers among the priests, burned publicly all books having reference to its tenets.

Abhaya or Abhatissa, the younger brother of the king, being discovered in criminal intercourse with his consort, was obliged to flee from the island, an agreement having been first entered into with the queen's father that he should remain at court to conduct intrigues, debauch the minds of the people, and carry on a constant correspondence with Abhaya. The plan succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of its concoctors, sedition everywhere reared its head, and the whole island was in a state of commotion. The insurgents being informed of this change in affairs, landed with a Malabar force quickly on the coast, headed by Abhaya, and marched for Anuradhapoora. The king found himself completely deserted; and no one being willing to lift up an arm in his defence, he was compelled to seek safety in flight. Abhaya, on entering the capital, hastened in pursuit of his brother, who had carried his faithless wife along with him, and on coming up with him slew him on the instant. He then returned to Anuradhapoora [A.D. 223], where, with his new paramour, he reigned eight years.

Abhaya's reign was by no means fruitful in events, nor were those of his successor and nephew, Siri Naaga II. [A.D. 231], or of that monarch's son, Weja Indoo or Wejaya II. [A.D. 233], any more remarkable, with the exception, that the latter was dethroned and put to death by the commander of his army, Sangatissa[1] [A.D. 234],

rived their names from the circumstance, thus: Hewahettè is expressive of sixty; Toompanè, of one hundred and fifty; Haraseapattoo, of four hundred; Panceapattoo, of five hundred; and Matelè, of many—a multitude.

[1] Sangatissa, who was one of the Laimini family, was carried off four years after his accession by poison, secretly administered to him in a jambo-fruit, by the

and two other princes who had been appointed to the highest offices of the state by him. This prince, to avert lightning, is said to have raised a glass pinnacle on the spire of the Ruanwellé dagobah, which has been urged as a proof the advanced state of Cingalese science.

[A.D. 238.] In the reign of his successor, Siri Sangabodhi, a great famine, with its seldom failing attendant, pestilence, thinned the population of Lanka. This dire misfortune was traced to the working of a demon with red eyes, to mollify whose wrath a rite, called the devil dance, was introduced. Sangabo, who was a prince devoid of all energy, and superstitious to an excess, having learnt that his prime minister, a descendant of the Laimini race, was engaged in a conspiracy to remove him from the throne, yielded it without an effort, and took refuge in a wihare, taking with him nothing but his pirankada (water strainer), used by devotees,[1] to prevent the destruction of animalculæ, which they would otherwise swallow in drinking unstrained water. Gothabhaya, however, offered a price for his head, and it was not long before he was murdered by a peasant while wandering as a hermit at the rock of Hattanagalla. [2]

inhabitants of the western villages, to which the king was in the habit of making excursions, when he probably subjected these people to the extortions usually practised on these occasions.

[1] Siri Sangabo was a rigid devotee, and had taken the vows of the order Atta-Sill, the ordinances of which, along with the observance of many rules of devotion and self-denial, prohibited the destruction of animal life. A feeble government, administered by so bigoted an enthusiast, soon led to anarchy. Crimes of the greatest enormity, committed with impunity, rapidly increased in all parts of the kingdom. When the malefactors were brought to the prison of the capital, as the king's vows prohibited their execution, they were secretly released at night after condemnation, and the corpses furnished by the usual casualties of a populous city, were exhibited at the place of execution on impaling poles and gibbets as the victims of the violated law. By these means, says the Buddhist historian, a pious king successfully repressed crime, and yet gave the criminal time and opportunity to reform. The result, however, was just the reverse, the whole frame of society was thereby disorganized. Siri Sangabo was of the Cshettrya race of the Okaaka dynasty.

[2] There is an extraordinary legend connected with Sirisangabo, which for wildness of fiction may compete with any production of monkery fabricated in the most credulous age. Three young princes are told by a blind sage, who forms his vaticination from the sound of their feet, that they are destined to be successively kings. The eldest succeeds his father and speedily dies. The second, Sirisangabo, the hero of the story, and a perfect model of virtue and piety, ascends the throne. After having performed many extraordinary actions, finding that his younger brother, in his impatience to fulfil the prophecy of the blind sage, is plotting his destruction, he abdicates in his favour, and retires to a hermitage. Not satisfied of the permanence of his power so long as Sirisangabo is alive, the young prince offers a reward of 5000 pagodas to the person who would bring in his brother's head. Many heads were presented, but not one was acknowledged as genuine. A very poor man who knew the place of the king's concealment, went at the instigation of his wife, tempted by the promised reward, with the design of murdering him. In the Hinnakorle he met with the king, and, ignorant of his person, entered into conversation with him; and when questioned freely,

[A.D. 240.] During the new monarch's reign the Wytoolian heresy again reared its head, and being supported by a portion of the priests, they were branded on their backs, degraded, and sixty of the more active were expelled the island. The education of his sons defeated this monarch's intentions, for their tutor, Sanganittra, a priest and secret admirer of the new doctrines, laboured hard to instil them into the minds of his pupils.

[A.D. 253.] The elder one, Makalan Dettoo-tissa, resisted the corruption, and on succeeding to the throne, on which he reigned ten years, he protected the established religion by every means in his power. Not so his younger brother, Mahasen. As soon as he ascended the throne [A.D. 275], he determined that the new sect should change places with the establishment, and forbade the bestowal of offerings on the recusant priests, its adherents. Thus deprived of sustenance, the latter in great distress took their departure for the orthodox province of Roohoona. Enraged at their obstinate adherence to the old religion, the king went so far as to order the demolition of their temples and houses. The Maha-Paya was razed to the ground, and its site ploughed up, and sown with grain, while the materials of three hundred and sixty-three other ecclesiastical buildings were devoted to the erection of temples to be employed in the service of the new faith. The priests banished by his father he recalled and placed them in the Saigiri wihare, and used every means he could devise to establish the new religion on a solid basis. An opportunity soon offered whereby to test the profundity of his attachment. A minister, once in his service, being averse to the change of religion, determined on an appeal to arms in its defence.. With this

confessed the nature of the business on which he was abroad. They presently came to Hattanagalla, where the king said they would stop and eat some rice together, with which he perceived the poor man had provided himself. The king took a handful of it and throwing it down, said, "If I am destined to become Buddha, this rice will immediately spring up;" and it instantly vegetated. After their repast, the king said, "I am the man you seek—I am Sirisangabo; do what you intended—carry my head to my brother; and should he be incredulous, as he probably will be, many attempts having been made to deceive him, put my head on a white cloth, on a chair, and it will answer for itself." The poor man now repented, and refused, for all the riches in the world, to be guilty of the deed he meditated. Then the king laid hold of his own head and said, "If I am to become Buddha, let my head separate from my body." It came off; but the body did not lose its life and powers till the hands had given the head to the man. He carried it to Anuradhapoora and presented it to the prince, who declared that, like all the rest, it was an imposture. The poor man, following the directions he had received, requested that it might be put on a white cloth on a chair; which having been done, the lips opened, and the head three times cried aloud—"I am the king Sirisangabo!" The miracle of course was conclusive; and one of the religious buildings or cupolas surmounting the Hattanagalla rock, was raised to the memory of the deceased monarch by Gothabhaya, and the subsequent erection of a dagobah and wihare, which he richly endowed, bore testimony to the prudence, if not to the reality of his repentance.

view he betook himself, with a small band, to the mountainous district around Adam's Peak, where, after fortifying himself, he resolved to march against his sovereign. Mahasen, fearful of the result, deemed a sacrifice of Sangamittra and of his Adigaar Soohoona, and a change of his religion preferable to the loss of the crown. The rebel was therefore recalled to favour, Sangamittra beheaded, and the old religion restored; and, to complete his repentance, the king rebuilt the temples he had destroyed, recalled the banished priests, re-erected their houses, and, in a word, made every effort to establish those doctrines which a short time before he had striven to uproot.

The formation of sixteen tanks and the Tallawattuella, a large canal, which served for the irrigation of 20,000 fields, is ascribed to Mahasen.[1] He appears to have been a man of energy, but deficient in judgment and perseverance. He is called in Cingalese history the last of the Mahawansæ (powerful or great dynasty), for though his race was not extinct, and two of his sons successively ascended the throne and continued the family, yet from that period the royal race of the Suryawansæ (solar race) is classed of the Sula-wansæ[2] or lower dynasty. Mahasen was succeeded by his son, Kitsiri Majan or Keerti Sreemeghawarna [A.D. 302], whose reign was chiefly spent in rebuilding the edifices destroyed by Mahasen, including the Maha-Paya, the reconstruction of which had been commenced by his father. The original pillars were now split to supply the places of those which had been broken. The celebrated tooth of Buddha was brought from Dantapoora in Kalingoo, in northern India, to Ceylon, by a Brahmin prince during this reign, a deputation having been sent by Mahasen to King Ghoohasewa for the purpose.

[A.D. 330.] Kitsiri Majan was succeeded by his brother, Dettootissa, renowned for his skill in painting and carving. A statue of Buddha, moulded with the most refined skill, is said to have been wrought by his own hand. His son and successor, Budhadaasa

[1] The Jaitawanaaraama wihare and dagobah, one hundred and forty cubits high, was erected by this prince; and the great tank at Mennairia, which he formed by damming up the Kara-Ganga, and turning its stream into it, is likewise a monument of his energy.

[2] Various but insufficient reasons are given by Cingalese traditions to account for this change of appellation. After Mahasen's death a series of disastrous seasons, accompanied by famine and disease, decimated the sinking population, who, in their superstition, invoked the deceased king as an incarnation of Kartikeya or Katragamdeyio (the Indian Mars), one of whose names is also Mahasen. They thought the power of this monarch as evinced by his great public works, supernatural, an impression which prevailed even before his death, and a century after the termination of the great dynasty, the fevered imaginations of a suffering people conjured up a dream which they adopted as a revelation, and then began to make offerings to Mahasen, claiming his protection if he were a god, and deprecating his wrath if he had become an evil spirit. Pestilence at that time abated, but Mahasen remained an object of fear and worship, and Ceylon continued to decrease in wealth, power, and population. Mahasen, from the situation of his principal temple, is called in Mátalé, Minneria-deyio.—(Forbes, pp. 405, 406.)

[A.D. 339], was no less celebrated for his devotion to the chirurgical art and rural economy. The Mahawanso thus describes him: "He was a mine of virtues and an ocean of riches." He is said to have effected several astonishing cures, and composed a work (still extant in Sanscrit), on the art of medicine, called Saratthasangabo; perhaps the only treatise of this kind Asiatic science ever produced. To every district which contained ten villages he appointed a practitioner in medicine, an astrologer, a devil dancer, and a priest. The establishment of hospitals and asylums for the lame, deformed, and poor, evinces the humane and benevolent disposition of this prince, as well as the regularity with which the internal administration of affairs was conducted, and is some proof that notwithstanding the anarchy and bad feeling engendered by the passions of the various usurpers, a love of humanity was also the characteristic of the people in general. The Monooroopaya wihare and the pirewenna of the same name were erected by this prince. Budhadaasa was succeeded by his son, Upatissa the Second [A.D. 368], a pious prince, who made religion and the welfare of its professors his study. He built a splendid temple at Hattanagal, and covered it with gilt-copper tiles: the Paloowatta pirewenna and the Toopaawewe tank near Pollonnaroowa, are also ascribed to him. Ceylon was visited with a terrible famine in his reign. Upatissa was murdered by his wife, who had conceived a criminal affection for her brother-in-law, Mahanama. The latter mounted the throne [A.D. 410], which he possessed in peace and prosperity for twenty-two years, and then died, leaving two children by his Malabar consort.

During his reign, Ceylon was visited by Buddhaghoso, a learned Buddhist from India, author of some profound commentaries on the Buddhistical discourses, and the celebrated Fa Hian, the Chinese traveller, who describes the flourishing state of the island, and the city of Anuradhapoora, which was inhabited by numerous magistrates, nobles, and merchants engaged in foreign commerce. The streets he describes as broad and straight; the houses as handsome, and the public buildings as beautifully ornamented. At all the crossings of the streets were built preaching-rooms whither the people resorted to hear an exposition of the law on the eighth, fourteenth, and fifteenth days of the moon. The son of Mahanama Senghot or Sotthi Sena, being put to death by his sister Singharaadoo on the day of his accession to the throne, her husband Laiminitissa II. or Chatagaahaka was placed by her in his room, [A.D. 432.] His reign, however, continued no longer than a year, when he was succeeded by Mittasena [A.D. 433], who had no sooner mounted the throne than the island was invaded by the Malabar chiefs who took the capital and put to death the king. The greater part of the headmen unwilling to recognise their authority, fled to Roohoona, and maintained their independence. Dhaatusena or Daasenkelliya, a young prince of the old royal family, whose ancestors had lain hid

since the usurpation of Subha, deemed this a fitting opportunity to rescue his country from Malabar thraldrom, and as soon as he heard of the demise of their first ruler Paandu, he commenced preparations in earnest. Paandu's brother, Parinda-kooda, was not, however, disposed to yield so beauteous an island without an effort for its preservation; and from his having the larger part in his possession, and the Malabar force at his beck, the struggle was tedious and protracted, lasting indeed for sixteen years, and till the end of his life. The Cingalese chieftain would appear to have had possession of the whole district of Roohoona, and to have received from thence his supplies.

As soon as the death of Parinda was announced, the Malabars elected his nephew, Khudda Paarinda, king, by whom, and his successors, Daatthiya and Pitthiya, brothers of Paandu, the contest was continued for upwards of three years and a half longer. At the end of that period Dhaatusena overcame all opposition [A. D. 459], and began to extirpate every Malabar in the island, confiscating the lands of their Cingalese adherents, which he bestowed on the nobles who had fled from the usurper, and rallied round him at Roohoona. By measures such as these peace and tranquillity were restored, and Buddhism reassumed its sway over the minds of the people.

The Mahawanso or history of Ceylon, from the date of Wijeya's arrival till the demise of Mahasen, was written by this prince's uncle and tutor, Mahanaama Teronnanse. Dhaatusena had two sons, and a daughter to whom he was much attached, who was married to the Adigaar. Incensed at some ill-treatment she had suffered at his hands, the king put this man's mother, who was his own sister, to death by way of retaliation. The Adigaar horrified by his cruelty, fled, in company with the king's eldest son, and by his aid a force was collected and Dhaatusena was dethroned and finally slain.[1] The

[1] The Mahawanso details the last end of this prince. In order to aggravate the misery of Dhaatusena, already wretched by the loss of his empire, the rebellion of his son, and his own imprisonment, the Adigaar thus interrogated Kaasiyappa. Rajah, hast thou been told by thy father where the royal treasures are concealed? On being answered no: Ruler of the land (observed the Adigaar) dost thou not see, that he is concealing the treasure for Moogallaana. Kaasiyappa incensed on hearing this remark, dispatched messengers to his father with this command, 'Point out the treasures.' Thinking that this was a plot of that malicious character to put him to death, Dhaatusena kept silence, and the messengers reported accordingly. Thereupon, exceedingly enraged, Kaasiyappa sent other messengers to put the same question. The imprisoned monarch thus thought: Well! let them put me to death after having seen my friend and bathed in the Kálawápi tank; and thus addressed the messengers: 'If ye will take me to the Kálawápi tank, I shall be able to ascertain where the treasures are.' Kaasiyappa rejoicing at the prospect of getting possession of the treasures, and assigning a carriage with broken wheels, sent back the messengers. When Dhaatusena was journeying along in it, the charioteer eating some parched rice, gave some to him. Pleased therewith, the Rajah gave him a letter for Moogallaana, in order that he might patronise him and make him Dwárinúko or chief warden.

Mahawanso remarks on this; "Thus worldly happiness resembles the flickering of lightning; what reflecting person would then devote himself to its pursuit!" Kaasiyappa or Seegiri Kasoomboo [A.D. 478], the eldest son, having in this manner obtained the crown of his father, was not long left in peaceable possession: the younger brother Moogallaana determining to revenge his father's murder, fled to the continent with the view of collecting an army. Kaasiyappa meanwhile, apprehensive of a general outbreak, or of the landing of his brother, left the capital to fortify himself on an inaccessible mountain and rock, which was called Seehagiri, from its having been imprinted with several figures of lions, and here he lodged his treasure and regalia. His impatience, however, soon drew him from thence to repel the incursions of his brother, who on landing with a force from Dambadiva, had posted himself at Colombo, on the west coast. Kaasiyappa being defeated in this encounter, chagrined at his ill-success, and fearing the vengeance of his brother, committed suicide. [A.D. 495.] On his accession to the throne, Moogallaana thought only of revenge, and the Adigaar was put to death with more than a thousand of his adherents. This reign is famous in Cingalese annals by the arrival in Ceylon of the Kaisadhaatu relic, or lock of Buddha's hair, brought from Dambadiva.

Moogallaana was succeeded by his son Kumaara Daas [A.D. 515], a prince devoted to literature. The celebrated Indian bard Panditta Kaalidaas (not Rishi Kaalidaas, who is styled by Turnour the Shakspeare of the East), visited the island during this reign, and is said to have lost his life in the following manner. One night when Kumaara Daas was in the house of a courtesan, he watched a bee light on a water lily, which on closing, confined it. In extempo-

His friend the Thero having heard the rumour, 'The Rajah is coming,' and bearing his illustrious character in mind, laid aside for him some rice. The Rajah approached, and bowing down to him, respectfully took his station on one side of him. From the manner in which these two persons discoursed, mutually quenching the fire of their afflictions, they appeared endowed with the prosperity of royalty. Having received consolation, Dhaatusena repairing to the tank, bathed delightfully in it, and drinking of its waters, thus addressed the royal attendants: "My friends, these alone are the riches I possess." On hearing this from his messengers, Kaasiyappa enraged, replied, "As long as this man lives, he will treasure his wealth for Moogallaana, and will estrange the people from me. Put him then to death." Adorned in the insignia of royalty, he walked to and fro in his father's presence; on which the old king thus reflected, 'This wretch wishes to destroy my mind in the same manner that he afflicts my body; he longs to send me to hell, what is the use of my becoming indignant with him? What can I do?' and then, benevolently remarked, 'Lord of statesmen, I bear the same affection towards thee as Moogallaana.' The usurper smiling, shook his head. The monarch then thought, 'This wicked man will put me to death this very day.' Stripped naked, and cast into iron chains, the aged king was built up in a wall and embedded in it, and his face being exposed to the east, the wall was plastered over with clay. What wise man (continues the writer) would covet riches, life or prosperity after this?

rising on the circumstance, the king is reported to have compared it to his own position, entangled in the toils of the courtesan, and wrote the following impromptu lines:

[1] "Siyatamberá Siyatamberá siyasewanée
Siyasapurá nidinolaba unsewanée;"

which Forbes thus translates:

"By beauty's grasp, in turmoil uncomposed,
He's kept a prisoner with eyes unclosed."

This riddle was written by the king on the wall of the house, accompanied by an intimation that any person who should finish the verse interpreting the riddle, should be gratified in any request he might make. The poet Kaalidaas, on visiting the house and seeing the lines, wrote as follows underneath, and sought therefore the reward:

"Wanebambara malanotala ronatawanee
Mahadedera panagalawa giyasawanee."

"But if all night the manel (water-lily) keeps the bee,
The morn beholds him gay, unhurt and free."

The courtesan, unwilling that any other than herself should carry off the prize, murdered the poet, buried him beneath the house, and maintained that she had written the distich. The king, incredulous, ordered a search to be made, and the murder being discovered, the murderess was put to death. The body of Kaalidaas was exhumed, and a funeral pile erected for its conflagration on the banks of the Neela-ganga. As soon, however, as the flames had reached the body, the king, who was present with his whole court, being distracted with grief at so irreparable a loss, rushed into them and was himself burned to death. The same occasion witnessed the spontaneous immolation of his five queens. The reigns of his immediate successors Kirti Sena [A.D. 523] and Maidee Seewoo or Seewaka [A.D. 532], scarcely offering an event for history to record, except that both were respectively murdered by their successors, we shall proceed to that of their successor Upatissa III. [A.D. 532], who was blind, and remarkable for his gloomy temperament. The son-in-law of this prince, by name Seela Kaala, availing himself of his maladies, aimed at subverting his authority, and though he was stoutly opposed by the king's son, yet the latter was defeated, and partaking of his father's gloom committed suicide, nor did the king long survive him, leaving to his unnatural son-in-law the throne he was incapable of defending. [A.D. 534.] The Wytoolian heresy,

[1] In the Cingalese, the arrangement of the letters, and the fact that they are the same in number in each line, are held to add much to the ingenuity of the riddle, which was explained by Kaalidaas in the same metre.

which had been apparently extirpated during a late reign, again revived during that of Seela Kaala, and was secretly adopted by the priests of Abhayagiri, but exposed by Jhoti Paali, a learned adherent of the establishment.

During the following century the annals of Ceylon present the most monotonous aspect, and the same unvarying detail of treachery and usurpation. The remark of Machiavelli, "Happy is that people whose annals are tiresome," is here, therefore, inapplicable; nor can it rightly be urged that the deposition of a monarch, and the usurpation of his throne, were events unlikely to disturb the tranquillity of the great majority of the inhabitants, because of their accountability to the petty chiefs with whom they were more immediately connected. The crimes which led to the rapid transfer of the supreme power, would, unless the nature of Asiatics be judged by a different standard to that which prevails in reference to human nature in other parts of the world, bring in their train every germ of demoralization and disorder, which in such a forcing school would rapidly spring up, and ultimately cohere into a Upas tree of ever-recurring anarchy and internecine strife. The native records may not always relate the contests between rival and subordinate chiefs, but we are not, therefore, to suppose, that they were of rare occurrence, any more than we are to shut our eyes to the fact, that the same parties more than once themselves contested for the throne with the reigning monarch. Seela Kaala was succeeded by his second son, Daatthaapa Bodhi or Daapuloo I. [A.D. 547], who murdered a younger brother, and committed suicide on being defeated in battle, while engaged in war with his elder brother Dalamagalan or Moogallana II. [A.D. 547], by whom he was succeeded. The next prince was his son Kuda Kitsiri Maiwan I. or Keertisree Mégha-warna, who was a minor when raised to the throne by his mother [A.D. 567], whose authority was opposed and overthrown. In some books this reign is reduced from nineteen years to nineteen days. This king was put to death by his successor, Senewee or Maha Naaga [A.D. 586], who was descended from the Mooriya or Okkaaka branch of the royal family settled in the Roohoona division, and is said to have been a pious prince. He was succeeded by his maternal nephew Aggrabodhi I. or Akbo, who restored order in the country before the ninth year of his reign; formed the Kooroondoowewe, and many other tanks; cut a great canal to the Mennairia tank; built the Maha-naama piriwenna, and many other religious edifices; and settled a schism. Twelve poets of great genius flourished in his court. His successor and son-in-law, Aggrabodhi II. or Soola Akbo [A.D. 623], brought back the jaw relic to Toohpaaramaya, repaired the brazen palace, and formed fourteen great tanks. His brother and heir Sanghatissa, was opposed by the Senewirat or minister [A.D. 633], and being defeated in battle, he and his eldest son fled. A younger son was captured, and his feet and

hands were chopped off. The fugitives also were subsequently taken and decapitated.

[A.D. 633.] During the reign of Boona Moogalan, or Laimini Bonaaya, the northern division of the island was visited with a terrible sickness, which left the inhabitants at the mercy of any invader. Asiggaaheka, governor of Roohoona, and grandson of the king deposed by Bonaaya, learning its defenceless position, marched with a powerful army, and in the first encounter slew and defeated Bonaaya. The sovereignty being thus achieved, he had no long respite. [A.D. 639.] His uncle, who had fled from Ceylon on the removal of his brother from the throne by Bonaaya, lost no time in asserting his claims to the vacant monarchy, which being opposed by Asiggaaheka, the armies of the two competitors met, when the uncle was slain and the greater part of his army taken prisoners. These captives were devoted as slaves to the service of the temples by the king. After a reign of nine years Asiggaaheka died, leaving his son Siri Sangabo II. as his successor. [A.D. 648.] This prince was not, however, left in undisturbed possession. The descendant of another branch of the royal family, Kaloona Detootissa, or Laimini Katooreya, rose up with an adverse claim, which he backed with a superior force. Siri Sangabo was, therefore, driven from the island after a reign of six months, and his place occupied by his competitor; Detootissa was soon, however, destined again to meet his rival, who having landed on the northern coast, advanced to Anuradhapoora, near which he encountered Detootissa. [A.D. 648.] The contest remained undecided after several battles, and Siri Sangabo had already despaired of success, when a large auxiliary force of Malabars again raised his hopes, and filled with dismay the reigning prince, who put an end to his life after a reign of five months. On the recovery of his throne [A.D. 649], Siri Sangabo gave himself up to the erection of edifices on the same lavish scale as his forefathers had done. So inveterately, however, had the seeds of anarchy and revolution taken root, that the sovereignty for which he had twice successfully fought was not long to remain in his possession. [A.D. 665.] Daloopeatissa, another branch of the royal family, and related to Detootissa, succeeded, after a tedious struggle, in again dethroning him. An exile for the third time, Siri Sangabo again hoped to recover his throne by means of a foreign army, but meeting with failure, he retired to the Roohoona district, where he died, after having spent sixteen years in contesting claims he was unable to maintain. The new usurper began his reign by plundering many of the temples and dagobahs, and by committing other acts of injustice. Kaasiyappa, the brother of Siri Sangabo, deemed it, therefore, a fitting opportunity to revenge his brother's injuries, and assert his own claims. Advancing against the king from Roohoona, he soon drove him from the country, and defeated the usurper in a second engagement in which he had called a foreign force to his aid.

In this last encounter Daloopeatissa was slain. [A.D. 677.] After a reign of nine years Kaasiyappa left his nephew Daapuloo II. in possession of the throne. The disturbed state of the country being traced by that prince to Malabar intrigue and restlessness, he determined to drive that people from the capital. The Malabars resisted, dispatched a messenger to the son of Daloopeatissa, who was then living on the continent, inviting him to Ceylon, and offering him the throne. Eager to avail himself of their offer, that prince gathered together a small force, and landing on the southern coast, marched direct for the capital. Daapuloo now threatened by enemies both from within and without the walls, gave up all hope of resistance, and fled to Roohoona, where he died three years afterwards.

Daloopeatissa II. is described as a righteous prince [A.D. 693]. He was succeeded by his brother, Paisooloo Siri Sangabo III. [A.D. 702] who performed many acts of charity and built many temples. He established himself in the latter part of his reign at Pollonnaroowa, where he died. The government devolved on his minister, a Malabar [A.D. 718], who selected Dantanaama, of the Okkaaka family, as the late king's successor, and conveyed the regalia back to the capital.

[A.D. 720.] During the reign of Hatthadatha, who was a descendant of the original royal family, and likewise selected by the minister, another prince of the royal line, serving in the army of the king of Narasceha in Dambadiva, in northern India, after acquiring some military reputation under that monarch in his wars with king Koodoowarte, extended his views so far as to aim at the throne of Ceylon. By the aid of a force furnished him by this Indian king, he landed on the island, and had at once to contend with the king, who vigorously opposed his progress. An obstinate and sanguinary battle took place, in which the young prince was unable to make good his ground, and was driven from the island. Unwilling to abandon his project, he again succeeded in enrolling a large force in the dominions of his ally, and with them he once more returned to Ceylon. The king's troops were defeated in the first encounter, and he being captured, was cruelly beheaded by Mahalaipanoo on the field of battle, [A.D. 720.] Of the subsequent proceedings of this monarch we are left in entire ignorance.

On the death of this prince he was succeeded by Kaasiyappa III. [A.D. 726], of whom nothing is also recorded; nor does Aggrabodhi's long reign [A.D. 729] of forty years present any historical feature, except the turbulence of his son.

During the reign of his son Aggrabodhi IV. [A.D. 769], the seat of government was transferred from Anuradhapoora to Pollonnaroowa. This king was succeeded by Mihindoo I. [A.D. 775], the early part of whose reign was disturbed by internal wars. He erected a palace at that capital, called the Rattana-prassaada, containing a splendid golden image of Buddha, and several temples.

Mihindoo, seeing with concern the irregular manner in which the history of his predecessors had been recorded, caused a regular register to be kept for that purpose.

Mihindoo was succeeded by his son, Daapuloo III. [A.D. 795], who had already distinguished himself in quelling an insurrection in the northern province. This prince devoted the whole of his time to the public good, took up his residence near Mennairia to inspect the state of the tanks, and superintended in his own person the erection of public works. Several hospitals and colleges for the education of medical students are supposed to have been founded by him at Pollonnaróówa. Lastly, he ordered a codification of the laws, whose discursiveness had been previously attended with great inconvenience. Having thus, in a brief period of five years, exhibited proofs of military and administrative ability, Daapuloo died in the first year of the ninth century.

The country appears to have enjoyed a respite from insurrection during the reigns of the four succeeding princes, Mihindoo II. [A.D. 880], Aggrabodhi V. [A.D. 804], Daapuloo IV. [A.D. 815], and Aggrabodhi VI., [A.D. 831], whose conduct is commended by the Cingalese historians. On the accession of Mitwellá Sena [A.D. 838], the Malabars, those inveterate foes of tranquillity, again invaded the island, and soon made themselves masters of the northern part, owing to the time lost by the king in concentrating his forces. At length the king of Pandi was attacked in his entrenchments at Mahapellegama, but without success, and Sena was obliged to seek safety in flight. Mihindoo and Kaasiyappa in vain raised a fresh army and marched against the invader, the result was again unfortunate, and Mihindoo put an end to his life in despair: the younger brother fled to his father in the Malayaa division. The capital, Pollonnaroowa, now besieged by the invaders, was soon taken, and the spoils, including the sacred ornaments of the temple, the golden statues, the jayaberra or drum of victory, and the sacred cup of Buddha, were sent to Pandi.

Lust of conquest and plunder appear to have been the leading objects of Malabar ambition, and their king was willing to commute a permanent retention of the island for a suitable ransom. This offer was eagerly grasped by Sena, and the invaders retired. After a reign of twenty years, the principal events of which were the formation of the Toopaahwewa and the introduction of the Wijrawaadiya heresy from Dambadiva, Sena was succeeded by his son Kaasiyappa IV. [A.D. 858], who had soon an opportunity of wreaking his revenge on the piratical foe. One of the sons of the king of Pandi having revolted against his father, on the failure of his plans, took refuge in Ceylon, where he was received by Kaasiyappa with great cordiality; and his cause being taken up by that prince, they immediately proceeded with their united forces against the king. Immediately on disembarking they marched against Madura, the capital, which they

carried after some resistance, and putting the king to death, Kaasiyappa placed his son on the throne, and returned in triumph to Ceylon laden with spoil. The Neela-patta-dara heresy, which had reference to matters of ceremonial observance, such as the colour of priestly robes, found its way from the continent during this reign.

The prolonged reign of Kaasiyappa was prosperous, as also those of Udaya I. [A.D. 891], and II. [A.D. 926], his successors, whose time was chiefly spent in the furtherance of national works and the irrigation of the country. During the reign of the latter, however, his brother, Mihindoo, Dissave of Roohoona, strove to render himself, and the province he commanded, independent of the central authority; and having met with success in one battle, which compelled Udaya to retreat and make a stand at Pollonnaroowa, the impetuous chieftain, careless of consequences, recklessly entered the capital attended by a small band of followers, and being surrounded, was taken prisoner and put to death.

A similar act of sedition occurred during the reign of Kaasiyappa V. [A.D. 954], Udaya's successor. Mihindoo, a Roohoona prince, desirous of annexing the adjoining province of Mayaa to his government, was denied permission by the king. The issue was a battle, in which the success of Kaasiyappa was decisive; and, with a clemency seldom recognized in oriental warfare, he pardoned the rebel chieftain, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage. Equally struck with his father-in-law's magnanimity and power, Mihindoo settled down peacefully in his restored province. Kaasiyappa himself devoted the close of his life to the pursuits of religion and the improvement of religious edifices at the two capitals, and was succeeded by his son, Kaasiyappa VI. [A.D. 954].

The reign of this prince was embroiled in commotion at its very outset, in consequence of a war between the Solleans, the hereditary enemies of Ceylon, and the king of Pandi, who, as before, solicited the aid of the king of Ceylon. The request was granted, and a considerable force was despatched to Madura, under the command of his son Sekka-Sena, to co-operate with the Pandians, who received their allies with the greatest joy, their country having long been at the mercy of the invaders, while the Solleans, alarmed at their unexpected arrival, evacuated the country.

The death of Sekka having subsequently taken place, Kaasiyappa, suspecting treachery, recalled his army, and appointed his youngest son, Udaya, commander. He did not long survive this act, and Daapuloo, his son, succeeded to the throne [A.D. 964], which he enjoyed but for seven months. The sovereignty was filled by a monarch of the same name [A.D. 964], but we are not informed of his affinity to his predecessor. At length the king of Pandi, who had long and vainly struggled against his more powerful antagonist of Sollee, found himself utterly unable to continue the war, and betook himself to Ceylon. On his arrival at Mantotte, a palace

near Anuradhapoora was placed at his disposal, and he was hospitably entertained by the king.

If the East has been but too veraciously described as the chosen seat of intrigue, it is no less certain, that whether from malice on the part of those engaged about the courts, or a natural predisposition to view the same agency constantly at work, it has equally maintained its character as the seat of suspicion. A correspondence was supposed to have been traced between the exiled king and certain Ceylonese nobility, and the jealousy of Daapuloo became so excited, that the object of it thought it prudent at once to remove himself from its influence, and that so precipitately, as to leave his crown and regalia behind. After a reign of ten years Daapuloo died [A.D. 974], and was succeeded by a tyrannical prince called Udaya III. against whom a conspiracy of the nobles and people was formed. Udaya succeeded in quelling the rebellion, and with the view of saving their own lives, which would have otherwise become forfeited, the leaders assumed priestly functions. Regardless of the sanctity they had thus acquired, the king ordered them to be seized and beheaded, and their lifeless trunks to be thrown about the streets. This last indignity roused to fury the people already incensed at the king's severity, who surrounded the palace and demanded a similar infliction on the monarch and his ministers. Unable to appease the increasing tumult, Udaya pitifully yielded up his unfortunate advisers, who were soon made to share the fate of the popular leaders. Unsated with the blood already shed, the mob again rushed to the palace, and vehemently protested that the blood of the king alone could appropriately fill up the measure of the catastrophe. The priests, apprehensive of the terrible results of such a surrender, now deemed it their duty to interpose, and mediate between the monarch and his infuriate subjects; and upon their having obtained from him certain concessions, the people were at length appeased and dispersed home. The native historians are silent respecting the close of Udaya's life, whence it has been supposed, from the shortness of his reign, and his tyrannical disposition, that he met with a violent end. [A.D. 977.] His successor, Sena II. was as remarkable for his amiable, as Udaya for his morose temperament. This monarch appointed a friend, named Udaya, as his heir during his lifetime. In Udaya IV.'s reign [A.D. 986], ambassadors were despatched to Ceylon from the king of Sollee, to demand the regalia of the dethroned king of Pandi; a request which Udaya declined to grant, though likely to rip open afresh the old source of contention. As he had foreseen, the king of Sollee was indisposed to temporise; an army, therefore, soon followed on his refusal, which, meeting with the forces collected by Udaya, soon put it to rout, and obliged that prince to retire to Roohoona. He was soon, however, enabled again to take the field, and by the aid of a Roohoonan contingent, he obtained a decisive success over the invaders, and finally

expelled them from the island. The reigns of his successors, Sena and Mihindoo [A.D. 994, 997], are in no way remarkable.

The temple erected on the Hamallel (Adam's Peak) mountain, which had been destroyed by the Solleans, was restored by this monarch. The successor of Mihindoo was Sena IV. [A.D. 1013], whose age did not exceed twelve years when he came to the throne. Hence Sena, the first Adigaar under the late king, was appointed regent during his minority. The love of sedition, so firmly rooted in the chiefs, soon, however, gave birth to a violent opposition to this arrangement, and the mother and brothers of the king's guardian were sacrificed by their intrigues. The regent could not tamely look on during the perpetration of this outrage, and at once proceeded to chastise its concoctors. The courtiers of the young prince now endeavoured to persuade him of his fitness for the exercise of the sovereignty, and used every art to alienate him from the regent. Too eagerly yielding to their advice, he put himself at the head of a force they had collected, but being completely defeated, he was compelled to flee to Roohoona. A reconciliation between the repentant monarch and his guardian was at length effected by the mediation of the Queen Dowager, and Sena returned to Pollonnaroowa, where he died in the tenth year of his reign, through the effects of debauchery.

Sena was succeeded by his brother, Mihindoo IV. [A.D. 1023], by whom the seat of government was transferred back from Pollonnaroowa to Anuradhapoora. The new monarch had hardly ascended the throne ere his troubles began. The foreign residents, who had received great accessions to their numbers during late reigns, now menaced the very throne by their seditious conduct. In the tenth year of his reign his palace was environed by a mob bent on his destruction, and he was compelled to betake himself in disguise to Roohoona, where he fortified himself. In this situation his son, Kaasiyappa, was born at Ambagalla. For twenty-six years after the island was so far at the mercy of anarchists that he was unable to regain possession of the throne. At length an army of Solleans landed, plundered the country, and revenged their hereditary grievances on the unfortunate Singhalese. Anuradhapoora was taken and plundered, and even Mihindoo and his consort, though at Roohoona, were made captives, and, with an immense quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, images, &c. &c. sent to Sollee, where they ended in confinement their unhappy existence. Kaasiyappa, however, found means to conceal himself in Roohoona, and only waited for an opportunity to recover the throne. Not long after the Sollean governor, whose head-quarters were at Pollonnaroowa, apprehending that the young prince might make an effort during the next ebullition of popular feeling to regain his hereditary position, sought to secure his person, and with it the Sollean rule. He immediately, therefore, despatched a large force into the Roohoona district for the purpose,

but by the zeal of Kaasiyappa's adherents, a scarcely inferior force was collected to oppose it, and after a series of marches and counter-marches, and much irregular warfare, the Sollean force was withdrawn. It was now the turn of the young prince to assume the offensive, and he had resolved on a vigorous effort for the recovery of his throne. When in the midst of his preparations he was seized with a fit and immediately expired.

[A.D. 1059.] The island was now partitioned into two separate provinces, the largest, wealthiest and most populous of which was occupied by the Solleans, while the uncultivated and rugged Roohoona was still retained by the native princes. For twelve years both provinces were kept in a continual state of tumult and anarchy by the raids and incursions of the Malabars. Four native princes[1] seized in turn the Roohoonan sovereignty, till in 1071, A.D. the infant son of Wickramabahoo was crowned king of Ceylon, then indeed an empty name, but soon to be rendered formidable to his enemies. Ambassadors were dispatched at this time to Siam, as a nation professing the same faith, to implore assistance against the enemy. The embassy was successful and brought back what has in every age been deemed the sinews of war. This prospect of a change for the better, was soon, however, clouded by one of those ever recurring outbreaks of domestic sedition to be found in every page of Singhalese history. A prince of the royal lineage, named Kaasiyappa, assisted by his brother, openly revolted against Wejayabahoo. The rival forces met and Kaasiyappa being slain in the first encounter, the brother was compelled to seek safety in flight. Encouraged at the success of his first entrance into military life, the young king now turned his arms against the Solleans, whom he found fully prepared for his attack. Aware of his impetuous disposition, and perceiving the natural facilities the rugged character of the country afforded for irregular warfare, the Solleans closely adhered to a course well calculated indeed to wear out the patience of an inexperienced prince. At length Wejayabahoo determined on bringing the contest to an issue by the siege of Pollonnaroowa. His judgment in this step was proved by the advance of the enemy to defend this their strongest post. A battle ensued under the very walls, in which the Solleans being defeated were driven into the city, which was sufficiently strong to resist the attacks of the prince. After an inoperative blockade for six weeks, it was finally carried by storm, and the inhabitants delivered over to

[1] The relationship of these kings to each other, or to preceding rulers, is not always stated. During the whole of this period there was an interregnum in the Pihittee ratta, and different members of the royal family took up the reins of government at Roohoona, as they were abandoned by, or snatched from each predecessor. At the termination of Praakrama Paandi's reign, no royal candidate for the crown appearing, it was assumed by the minister Lokaiswera, a descendant of Maanawamma: he left a son Kerti, who subsequently assumed the title of Wejayabahoo.

the cruelties of a ruthless soldiery. The capture of Pollonnaroowa produced an excellent effect. The Solleans taken by surprise, could adopt no measure for the defence of the country yet in their possession, and Wejayabahoo soon beheld his authority recognized over the whole island; and the fame of his actions extended over all Dambadiva. The expulsion of the Solleans having been thus effected, he could now devote himself to the affairs of the internal administration.

The degeneracy of the Buddhist faith was one of the first subjects to require his attention, and to revive its external condition on the scale of its former magnificence, he ordered the repair of its temples, the restitution of neglected ceremonies, and the ordination of an additional number of priests. This last step was rendered difficult from the tyranny of the Solleans, who, urged on by the Brahmins, had driven all the more eminent ecclesiastics out of the island; the king was therefore compelled to have recourse to foreign countries to fill up the vacancies, and a number of Upasampada priests were dispatched to Ceylon. The affairs of justice and the organization of the national finances, required also a full share of his attention, and ere he could replace everything on its former footing, an untoward step on the part of his hereditary foes, threatened again to deluge the country with blood.

Among the ambassadors at his court Wejayabahoo naturally gave precedence to the Siamese envoy, as much from the power and importance of the country he represented, as on account of the natural alliance which had so long subsisted between two nations of kindred faith. So violent, however, was the temper of his Sollean majesty, that, on hearing of what he considered a slight on his dignity, he barbarously ordered the nose and ears of the Singhalese ambassador to be cut off. It demanded something more than human patience to endure such an indignity without an effort to revenge it. Both nations simultaneously took up arms, and a Singhalese army was on the point of embarking from Mantotte for the continent, when the fleet of the Solleans hove in sight, and their army effected a landing. Wejayabahoo suffered a defeat, and retired to Pollonnaroowa, leaving free access to the enemy into the interior. At length they appeared before the capital; the king once more retreated, Pollonnaroowa fell into their hands, and the palace of the king was razed to its very foundation. Wejayabahoo was nevertheless more surprised than overwhelmed. A second army was raised by his energy, and the command given to prince Weerabahoo, who had previously distinguished himself in the field. Pollonnaroowa was now re-invested by the Singhalese, and again taken; and the Solleans lost no time in making good their retreat to the coast. No long time elapsed before Wejayabahoo found himself in a position to invade Sollee and retaliate upon its inhabitants the injuries they had inflicted on his own people; but the appearance of disease among the troops, and a failure in the supply of provisions, again reminded him of the expediency of

returning to Ceylon, and there resuming the internal improvements he had commenced when interrupted by the invasion. At length, after a reign of fifty-five years, Wejayabahoo terminated his life, and was succeeded by his brother, Jayaabahoo [A.D. 1126], his son, Weerabahoo, having died before him.

The right of the new king to the throne was at once contested by Wickramabahoo, a younger son of the late king, who loudly proclaimed the injustice of the selection. Once more was the country divided into factions, supported respectively by a part of the royal family. Jayaabahoo was unable to cope with the energy of his younger rival, and Wickramabahoo, at the close of a year, succeeded to the throne. [A.D. 1127.] His reign was tranquil and prosperous, and his only requisite was a son and successor. This want was supplied, says the Mahawanso, in the following manner. It happened on a certain night, while Wickramabahoo was asleep, that his fancy pictured the apparition of a divine being in magnificent apparel, giving light as the sun, who thus addressed him; "King, thou shalt have a son, who will be charitable, powerful, wise, learned, religious, and patriotic." As soon as he awoke from sleep, the king, astonished at the vision, announced its purport to his consort, who rejoiced at the promise of a blessing of which they had so long despaired. Soon after the son was born, and was called Praackramabahoo, a name honourably distinguished by the Singhalese to the present day. The reigning king was notwithstanding superseded by his nephew, Gajaabahoo, why and how we are not informed, but retained the sovereignty of part of the island.

Gajaabahoo's reign was in no way remarkable, except for the care bestowed on the education of Praackramabahoo, on whom he bestowed his daughter in marriage. This promising young prince was first placed under the surveillance and tuition of an accomplished and erudite priest, by whom he was instructed in the literature and religion of the Buddhist faith; we are told he was further exercised in logic, grammar, poetry, and music. These mental accomplishments were accompanied by corporeal exercises, requiring great energy and activity, such as horsemanship, archery, and the guidance of elephants. The superstructure of the mental edifice was further completed by a course of travelling in foreign countries, in which he was attended by several of the nobility.

On his return to Ceylon Praackrama was not long in evincing proofs of his high and daring spirit, and at once aimed at nothing less than the deposition of Gajaabahoo and the king of Roohoona. The native annals do not descend into the particulars of the insurrection, but leave us to conclude, that from his dazzling qualities and popularity with the people, he experienced no great difficulty in raising a body of troops. As a commencement, he marched against the Dissave of Badalattaliya, whom he repulsed and put to death. He next proceeded against his cousin, whom he compelled to abandon

the capital and fly into Suffragam. The capital, however, was subsequently recaptured by Gajaabahoo, and both parties were again about to resort to blows, when the priests interposed and an arrangement ensued, by which Gajaabahoo abdicated the throne, and Praackrama, was crowned king of Pihitee at Pollonnaroowa. As soon as Wickramabahoo had heard of this agreement, he at once reclaimed his lost throne for himself, a proceeding which Praackrama was not disposed to sanction. With the desire of avoiding an actual collision with his father, the young prince marched against another part of the island in which his claims were slighted. Wickramabahoo selected this opportunity for the occupation of the principal fortresses of his son's province. On his return Praackrama was soon enabled to recover his superiority; the province in which Pollonnaroowa was situate was quickly rescued, and his father was again compelled to fly to Roohoona. Matters were at length amicably adjusted, and before his death the aged king bestowed his blessing upon the offspring so miraculously born to him.

In the native chronicles we find an account of a remarkable struggle between Praackramabahoo and a wild beast (erroneously said to have been a lion). In his travels through a desolate and uninhabited part of the island, an enormous animal rushed forth with open jaws and lashing tail, as if excited to fury. In this juncture Praackrama was abandoned by all his attendants; but, unwilling himself to retreat, he advanced and grappled so boldly with the animal, that it shrunk back and left him in possession of the field.

[A.D. 1153.] As soon as he found himself without a competitor for the throne, and had rendered Roohoona dependent, Praackrama returned to his capital, and commenced by the renovation of Buddhism. A commission was appointed to inspect the condition of the temples, in the decoration of which no expense was spared, and the priesthood were again reinstated in all their former dignity. Nor was he oblivious of the claims of those by whose assistance he had gained the throne. The defence of the country next occupied his attention, and with that view guards were stationed round the coasts, and fortresses erected as places of refuge in case of reverse, at different points. The tanks and canals which had become choked, were cleansed and rendered servicable for agricultural purposes. Cultivation was on every side extended, and a rampart was built round the capital, thirty-six miles in length on one side and sixteen on the others. He also formed the park or garden of Manda-Oodeyana, in which he erected a coronation hall of three stories, and a temple for the Dalada relic. At this period the greater streets of Pollonnaroowa extended seven gows, or twenty-eight miles, and the lesser streets four gows, or sixteen miles. A palace of seven stories high for himself, and houses for the accommodation of the higher orders of priests were his next undertakings. The state of Anuradhapoora was inquired into, with the view of repairing its dilapidations.

While Praackrama was thus ably discharging the duties of royalty, he was suddenly interrupted by tidings of a revolt in Roohoona, which had been brought about by the intrigues of Subhala, the wife of the dependent prince, who had been overthrown by Praackrama. The manner in which she prepared for the defence of the province at once satisfied Praackrama that he had to cope with no mean enemy: Rackha, a veteran officer on whom he could rely, was therefore sent at the head of a large and well appointed force. He found that the roads leading into the province had been obstructed by large trees, which they had cut down and fastened with stakes into the ground. The plains had been covered with brambles and thorns, and moats had been dug round every fortification.

The Roohoonans were found posted at one of the fortified roads: a fierce engagement there took place, in which the Roohoonans, being hotly pressed, were forced to succumb, and flee to an adjacent fort, which the victors entered along with them and surprised. Animated by the energy of their directress, the insurgents were unwilling to despair from the loss of a single battle, and concentrating their forces round the captured fort, they reduced Rackha to such straits that he was compelled to send to the king for a reinforcement. Bhutta, another of the king's generals, was sent with an auxiliary corps, and a junction was effected between the two armies. Several battles were fought without any decisive result, but so much had the Roohoonans suffered that they had resolved on emigrating with their families and goods, and with the relics of Buddha in their possession. Every effort was made by Praackrama to defeat this design, and another force was dispatched for the purpose. The principal fortresses of the insurgents were now vigorously blockaded, and the Roohoonans seeing no chance of escape, were forced to deliver up the relics and surrender. Subhala, who had prompted the insurrection, was not taken prisoner along with the others, nor did the king demand—as he had afterwards cause to regret—her surrender.

The peace of the island being thus once more restored, Praackrama determined to inspire the minds of the vulgar with awe by a magnificent procession. On a day fixed by the astrologers, the king having assembled his nobles, ascended the royal elephant and saluted the multitudes who crowded the line of march. Over his head an emblazoned canopy was held by the courtiers, and instruments of music resounded on all sides, while banners floated around, and perfumes were wafted along. The nobles now entered their palanquins. The procession then advanced amidst the roaring of elephants, prancing and neighing of horses, beating of tom-toms, blowing of chanks, and playing of music. The queen and Praackrama in golden crowns appeared in two splendid towers placed on elephants; after them followed on foot the leaders of the late rebellion, next to whom were the officers of state and nobles, the whole procession being filled up with a countless multitude of spectators.

In the midst of this pomp, we are told the sky became lowering, and the aspect of the heavens menaced a violent tempest. The thunder began to roar, the lightning to play, and the rain descended in torrents in every place but that occupied by the procession, and while the neighbouring rivers and tanks were overflown with water, the ground on which it stood was perfectly dry. "Behold this striking instance," (says the Mahawanso) "of Buddha's power."

The haughty spirit of Subhala could ill brook a subordinate position, and the triumph of Praackrama had scarcely ended, before intelligence was brought to him of another rebellion in Roohoona. The war now recommenced with redoubled fury, 12,000 Roohoonans were slain in one battle, and Subhala at length fell into the hands of the king, by whom she was probably put to death. The Adigaar now remained in the southern part of the island and founded the town of Mahanaga-poora at Gintotta.——After domestic sedition had been finally quelled, Praackrama had to seek redress from the king of Cambodia and Arramana, for the plunder of Singhalese merchants, an insult offered to his ambassador, and the detention of some Singhalese vessels, on board of which were some native women of rank. Another reason for the expedition, viz. the violation of the Buddhist religion, is given in the Rajah Ratnacari and Rajawali. Five hundred vessels, and a large military force, at the head of which a distinguished Malabar general, of the name of Demilla Adikaram, was placed, were now, therefore dispatched, fully provisioned for twelve months, and having landed on the island of Kakha, they encountered the enemy, whom they put into disorder, and made themselves masters of the greater part of the island with a great number of prisoners. Their next operations were directed against Cambodia itself, and after disembarking at the anchorage of Koosuma, they found a large body of the enemy posted within entrenchments. The Singhalese commander now drew up his army in order of battle, and advanced against the enemy, who discharged upon him a shower of arrows, which were duly returned. He perceived, however, that no effective impression could be made upon them in their present position, and prepared to storm their entrenchments. Regardless of a galling discharge of missiles the troops advanced sword in hand, and carried the enemy's camp, in which the king of Cambodia was discovered amongst the slain. The Singhalese general now prosecuted his advantage by marching on the capital, which he occupied, and having made the country tributary to Praackramabahoo, and appointed a viceroy, he returned to Ceylon. Praackrama next turned his arms against the confederate monarchs of Sollee and Pandi, who had associated through fear of his increasing power. On taking observations off Madura, the enemy were found to have congregated in such swarms, that it was judged prudent by Lankanaatha the Singhalese general, to proceed up the coast to Talatchilla. Here, however, they were discovered in scarcely less force, but the

importance of maintaining an intrepid front in the presence of the enemy, both in reference to his own troops and their opponents, induced the Singhalese commander to make an attempt at landing. The boats were, therefore, immediately manned, and advanced amidst a storm of arrows and spears to the shore, which was no sooner reached, than the vanguard formed in line under cover of their shields, and advanced upon the enemy, who fled in disorder. At length the whole army effected its descent, but the interior of the country was everywhere obstinately defended. No less than five battles followed each other, in each of which the army of Praackramabahoo was victorious, and the result was, that the province of Ramisseram, and the six neighbouring districts, fell into the hands of the victors. Though repulsed at every point, the courage of the enemy was still unbroken, and the Singhalese army ran no small risk of annihilation by a surprise, while in the enjoyment of the fruits of victory. Upon recovering from the panic, the Singhalese amply revenged upon the Pandians the loss they had sustained, thousands of the enemy being slain, and the remnant of their army being pursued by the Singhalese for a distance of sixteen miles. The result of this last engagement was the dethronement of Koolasaikera, the king of Pandi, and the substitution of his son Weerapandoo, as a tributary of Praackrama. The dethroned king made three subsequent attempts to recover his kingdom with the aid of the king of Sollee. Being defeated in all, he surrendered himself and made the required concessions. He was, therefore, restored to his kingdom, and the conquered portion of Sollee was made a principality for his son. Finally, Lanka-naatha returned to Ceylon with a great booty, and received an extensive grant of land for his services.

His foreign wars being thus brought to a successful termination, Praackrama had time to again direct his attention to the aggrandisement of the national faith. The religious edifices of the old capital were adorned with costly offerings, and a golden spire was erected on the Ruwanwellé dagobah, under the royal superintendence. The Buddhist historians, very naturally setting down their religion and its external pomp as the great concern of a monarch's life, have sedulously detailed every trivial circumstance in which Praackrama appears in connexion therewith, while the political, and we may add, the truly historical events of his reign are either passed over in silence, or very cursorily dwelt on. Praackrama, however, was too sensible a prince, to permit himself to be occupied solely in the pursuit of religion to the neglect of the temporal interests of his subjects. By planting large forests of fruit trees, diverting the course of rivers with a view to the replenishment of the tanks already formed, and constructing canals to bear off the water of the tanks to a distance, he evinced his care of the sovereignty he had so greatly aggrandised abroad. By means of the Goodaaviree canal the waters of the Kara-

ganga were conducted into a lake, called the sea of Praackrama, from which the water was again diverted by twenty-four channels into all the neighbouring fields. By the Kaalinda canal, he conducted the waters of the lake of Minnerria to the northward, and by the Jaya-ganga canal he rendered the Kalaawewe tank useful for the supply of Anuradhapoora. To these public works of the king may be added the erection of dagobahs, wihares, relic repositories, offering houses, dancing rooms, caverns, priests' cells, preaching houses, rest houses for strangers, courts of justice, and innumerable libraries. At length, in the thirty-third year of his reign, Praackrama, who deserved the designation of "the great," as much for his civil, as for his military qualities, expired, leaving his extensive empire to his nephew Wejayabahoo II.

[A.D. 1186.] The character of the new monarch in no way resembled that of Praackrama. Devoted to the arts of poetry and love, rather than the art of war, he involved himself in a dispute about a shepherd's daughter, and when her father rejected his solicitations, Wejaya ordered him to be put to death, an act of violence, which was soon retaliated upon himself by Mihindoo, his rival for her hand. Whatever may have been his weakness on a point on which most men are infirm, Wejaya is described as a well-meaning prince, by whom the internal polity of the kingdom and the happiness of his subjects, would have been equally a subject of concern. He is commended alike for his administration of justice, as for the humanity and philanthropy of his disposition. A letter in the Pali tongue is said to have been written by this prince to the king of Arramana, soliciting him to depute some of his most learned and pious Buddhist priests to Ceylon, to decide on certain controverted points of doctrine in their mutual faith. Mihindoo or Kitsen Kisdaas, dissatisfied with the mere prize he had thus won from his rival, aimed on the death of Wejaya at the sovereignty [A.D. 1187], which he held for five years, when he was dethroned by Kirti Nissanga, Wejaya's heir. [A.D. 1192.]

This prince was of the royal family of Kalingoo, now called the Northern Circars. The monuments raised to his honour, describe his character and talents in the most exalted terms, and attribute the remarkable prosperity of the island to the administrative abilities by which he was distinguished. Thus he is styled, "the lamp by which the whole world was illumined," "protector of the earth," "fountain of renown." At his coronation, we are told "he was invested with a glory, which overspread the firmament, and overpowered beholders." However servile these expressions may appear, there is little doubt but that they were in some degree warranted by the benefits which accrued to the island from his beneficence. Thus the surrender of a part of the royal revenues to mitigate the distress of the poorer of his subjects, and the reduction of taxation, are in themselves testimonies to his patriotic disposition. Every tank in

the island was repaired where it was required, and crime and fraud were, if not extirpated, for a time suppressed. Judges were appointed to every corle, but with a questionable policy, robbers were bribed to withhold themselves from plunder by the more lucrative offers an opposite course held out to them. Nor was the national religion forgotten. The most eminent and zealous priests were distinguished by Nissanga, and chosen as professors of various branches of science taught at the religious seminaries. Nissanga was wont also to make a personal inspection of the different provinces, and superintended the public works in his own person. The Damboolla wihare was greatly ornamented by this prince, and hence obtained the name of Rangiri Damboolla. Thus bestowing and receiving happiness, died Kirti Nissanga, after a short reign of nine years. His son, Weerabahoo, was put to death by the first Adigaar to prevent his succeeding to a throne, the duties of which he was little qualified to discharge, and his brother Wickramabahoo was set up in his place. [A.D. 1201.] His reign was undistinguished by any event of importance, and continued only three months, at the end of which he was dethroned and slain by his nephew Chondakanga, or Rawedagung. [A.D. 1201.]

This prince was in his turn dethroned by the ambitious Adigaar, who had his eyes gouged, and elevated Queen Leelawatee, the widow of Praackramabahoo to the throne [A.D. 1202], who bestowed upon him her hand, and thus gave him the whole control of the government. At the end of three years [A.D. 1205], Sahasamallawa, one of the royal lineage drove the Queen and her paramour from the kingdom, and for two years occupied the throne, when he was dethroned by the new Adigaar, who placed Kaliaanawati sister of Kirti Nissanga in his room. [A.D. 1207.] This princess, notwithstanding the turbulence of the times, had a peaceful reign of six years, of which nothing is recorded, except the erection of a temple, which she richly endowed. On her death Dharmaasooka, an infant of three months old, succeeded to the throne [A.D. 1213], and the affairs of the kingdom were administered by a regency. The unsettled state in which the country had been successively placed ever since Praackrama's death, naturally suggested to the Malabars a prospect of gain from an invasion. Accordingly a large force of Solleans, under Neekanga, once more occupied the country, but were compelled to retreat by Queen Leelawatee, who was thus restored to the crown [A.D. 1214], which she retained but for a year. Again a foreign army expelled her from the throne, and she at the end of nine months was again restored, to be finally ejected. [A.D. 1216.] Under the pressure of such circumstances no country could possibly flourish, hence it is from this date that we must consider Ceylon to have gradually declined in opulence and power. The Malabars now disputed among themselves for the sovereignty, and the whole island became the

prey of confusion, irreligion, and anarchy. It is thus pictured by the Rajawali; "And now as there was no more virtue to be found in the land, and wickedness had become greatly increased, and the tutelar deities had withdrawn their protection, an age of impiety followed, in which the doctrines of Buddha were no longer observed."

The Ratnacari is yet more explicit:—"After the death of the kings (Singhalese), the inhabitants of Ceylon became so exceedingly wicked that the gods no longer protected it, and the impieties of the people became so outrageous that as a mark of divine wrath, the Malabar king, Maagha Rajah, came from Kalingoo [A.D. 1219], with an army of 24,000 men, which laid waste the country, destroyed the Buddhist religion, and dethroned Paandi Praackramabahoo II. The beautiful Maha Sacya of Ruwanwellé, and many other dagobahs, were by these men mutilated or destroyed, and the holy abodes of the priests and the sacred repositories of the image of Buddha were converted into barracks for the Malabar soldiers, the treasures being carried off which were found in the interior of the sanctum; the virgins and honourable women were dishonoured, and the most elevated by birth and rank were reduced to the most menial and servile labour; seducing to infidelity the captive inhabitants, plundering the rich of all their treasure, and cutting off the hands and legs of such as did not discover the same on demand. Thus, like a house filled with fire or thieves, was the island of Ceylon at this period."

The Mahawanso thus speaks of this terrible crisis: "At this time the people of Lanka turning themselves to become wicked and superstitious, lost the care of their tutelar deities. A king of Kalingoo, called Maagha, invaded Lanka with 24,000 brave dhamila (Malabar soldiers), and began to destroy both the country and religion by knocking down thousands of cupolas, such as that at Ruwanwellé, making the gardens and great houses belonging to priests the lodgings and possessions of dhamilas, confusing and degrading the castes, and making the nobility bond servants; propagating the heathen religion in the island; plundering the property of the inhabitants; and tormenting the people by cutting off their limbs, &c. So the whole island was like a house set on fire, the dhamilas plundering it from village to village."

After Maagha had thus occupied the throne for twenty-one years, a member of the royal family, who had been concealed in the Maaya or interior, "appeared like a flame bursting out of darkness," crept out of his concealment, and putting himself at the head of the oppressed Singhalese, again changed the tide of fortune. In the Maagaama and Roohoona divisions of the island the Malabars were entirely expelled; but in the Pihitee or northern division, they still formed the largest component of the population, as at present, and Wejayabahoo deemed it politic to leave them unmolested, contenting himself with their submission and the payment of tribute.

[A.D. 1240.] Wejaya's reign is remarkable for the transference of the seat of government from Pollonnaroowa (where it had been for nearly five hundred years, and whither it was destined to be once more restored), to Dambadiniya. His next study was the restoration of Buddhism. The holy tooth and other relics had been removed during Malabar domination to Kotmale, the most inaccessible spot on the island, and there concealed; these Wejayabahoo now ordered to be conveyed back with due ceremony to their original repositories. He repaired the buildings so wantonly destroyed by the Malabars and added others, and opened afresh the ecclesiastical seminaries. Priests, learned in the sacred books,[1] were sent for from the continent, and their sacred books themselves, which had been defaced or lost, were likewise obtained. In this manner a reign of twenty-four years was spent, when Wejayabahoo died, leaving his son Kalikaala or Pandita Praackramabahoo III. as his successor. [A.D. 1267.]

The learning of Praackrama, superficial as it undoubtedly was, enabled him to assume a highly important position among eastern monarchs; thus several princes, who were engaged in disputes with each other, requested his arbitration, and his alliance was generally courted. He lost no time in completing the reduction of the Pihitee division and the disorderly Malabars; and on discovering that the population of the island had undergone a considerable decrease, he modified the severity of the penal code, commuting mutilation for imprisonment, and banishment for a fine. The capabilities of the island were greatly developed during his reign. He undertook the improvement of the roads, the erection of bridges, and the clearance of jungle.

In the eleventh year of his reign the island was invaded by a large Malay force. To this the king had to oppose the army he had raised for the conquest of the Malabars. After detaching a small party to hang on the Malay line of march, he advanced with his whole force, the two wings of his army consisting of cavalry and elephants, being led by his nephew and brother, and the centre by himself. A warm engagement followed, in which the Malays suffered so severe a defeat, that the native historian compares it to "a wood of reeds crushed and uprooted by the hurricane." The remainder of his long reign was devoted to the improvement of the island and the educa-

[1] An insight may be obtained into the course of education which a native prince was expected to become to some extent a proficient in, from the list of the various branches of learning given in the Raja Ratnacari. They are as follows:

1. Surtia, or oratory.—2. Smurtia, general knowledge.—3. Wyawcarana, grammar.—4. Chandass, poetry.—5. Nirotte, philology.—6. Jate, astronomy.—7. Sangshikshaw, the art of affording wise counsel.—8. & 9. Religion.—10. Danurivedey, archery.—11. Hastisilpey, knowledge of elephants.—12. Cawmatantra, discernment of thoughts.—13. & 14. The occult sciences.—15. Jitihawsie, knowledge of history.—16. Neeti, jurisprudence.—17. Tarka, rhetoric.—18. Wydyaham, physic.

tion of his sons, for which last purpose he invited from the continent Dharmakirti, an eminent priest, whom he employed in purifying and elevating the national religion. Praackrama endeavoured also to open up the country by roads; one to Adam's Peak was placed under the superintendence of the first Adigaar, and two bridges are mentioned as having been erected, one over a ravine 636 feet long, and the other over the Kalu-ganga, between Adam's Peak and Bentotte, 193 feet long. These structures are calculated to give us a high estimate of Singhalese art at a comparatively debased period. Pollonnaroowa, the capital, and Yapahoo and Kurunaigalla, were during this reign greatly embellished by Bosat Wejayabahoo, the king's son; and the foundations of Siri-wardhnapoora, the modern Kandy, and subsequently the capital, were laid in the province of the Seven Korles, and the Dalada relic was removed to it.

While thus engaged, Praackrama was again aroused from a state of repose by a second invasion of the Malays under Chandrabanoo, who was further reinforced by a large contingent of Pandians and Solleans. The valour of Praackrama again, however, dispersed the enemy, and they fled in confusion from the island. Not long after, Praackrama, seeing his end approaching, called together his six sons, and apportioning the government of a province, under their brother, Wejayabahoo IV., to each, and having admonished them to fraternal union, expired in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.

The character of Praackrama, judged by an Oriental standard, is worthy of our admiration. Himself devoted to literature, he gave up his whole energies to its propagation throughout the kingdom, and founded colleges, to which professors of the various sciences were appointed. During his reign the Mahawanso was continued from the reign of Mahasen to this period by the priest Dharmakirti, and the Poojaawalliya by Mairoopaada.

[A.D. 1301.] Of the reign of his son, Bosat Wejayabahoo IV., we have different accounts. By one we are told that he was murdered by Mitta Sena, the adigaar, in an intrigue in which they were both engaged with the same woman; by a second his murder is attributed to Mitta Sena, who is said to have aspired to the sovereignty. By a third, that he was carried off by an invading army, which made a dash on the capital by stratagem. Whichever is the correct account, of one thing we may be assured, that the termination of his short reign of two years was brought about by violence, and that the period which followed was marked by anarchy and turbulence.

Bhuwaneka Bahoo, hearing of the death of his elder brother Wejaya, fled to Yapahoo in the Seven Korles, and there enrolled a force wherewith to repossess himself of the throne of his family, and revenge his brother's murder. Mitta Sena or Mittra had been crowned with great pomp at Pollonnaroowa, while Bhuwaneka, whom he imagined dead, was lying hid in the Seven Korles: his overthrow was effected, not by means of his own valour, but by the loyalty of

the foreign troops from Dambadiva, in the Singhalese army. These mercenaries having demanded an audience of Mittra, under pretence that they had serious complaints to lay before him, one of their number outstepped the rest, and advancing towards him as if to speak, unsheathed his sword, and laid the head of the usurper at his feet.

[A.D. 1303.] Bhuwaneka was now proclaimed king at Pollonnaroowa, and affairs once more resumed their ordinary course. The new monarch being religious, devoted the greater part of his reign to the celebration of ceremonies, &c., and taking the Dalada relic to Yapahoo, made that place his capital. In the eleventh year an army of Pandians, under Aareya-Chakkra Warti, whom the king was incapable of opposing, marched through the country, spreading devastation, and plundering whatever was capable of removal. Among the trophies carried off was the Dalada, or holy tooth of Buddha, which they took along with the city of Yapahoo. On their departure Praackramabahoo III. succeeded to the throne [A.D. 1314], and lost no time in obtaining the relic. With this view he proceeded himself to Pandi, and succeeded either by ransom or entreaty in recovering the precious prize. It was now placed in Pollonnaroowa, which Praackrama fixed as his residence. After a reign of five years he was succeeded by Bhuwaneka II. [A.D. 1319], son of the first prince of the same name, who removed the seat of government to Kurunaigalla.

The second part of the Mahawanso, the most credible and philosophical of the native histories, ends with this reign. It was written in neat Pali verse, and contains passages of great excellence and beauty, though it frequently is supercumulative in its account of religious ceremonies. Commenced and continued to the reign of Mahasen by Mahanaama, it was brought down to the present reign by Dharmakirti, and forms as good a compilation of Buddhist history as we could have expected.

During the succeeding thirty years the names of Bhuwanekabahoo II., Pandita Praackramabahoo IV., Bhuwaneka III., and Wejayabahoo V., are mentioned as being in possession of the throne. The first of these reigned twenty-four years, the other three could therefore have only occupied it four each.

[A.D. 1347.] In 1347, Bhuwanekabahoo IV. ascended the throne. The city of Gampola, founded by one of the brothers of the queen of Panduwasa, which from being neglected and plundered had fallen into ruin, was rebuilt by this prince, and named Gam Pala or Ganga Siri Poora, *i. e.* the beautiful city near the river, or the Mahawellé. Bhuwaneka was succeeded by Praackramabahoo V. [A.D. 1361], of whom nothing is recorded, save that he continued the seat of government in the new capital.

In the reign of his cousin and successor, Wickramabahoo [A.D. 1371], a fortress and city were built a little to the south of Kalané, and to the east of Colombo, called Jayawardhanapoora, now called Cotta,

which became afterwards the seat of government. The chief Adigaar, Alakaiswara, seems to have been invested with plenary authority, Wickramabahoo being a mere puppet king.

At this period Ceylon was again invaded by the Pandians, under Aareya-Chakkra Warti, who, intending to retain their ground, constructed defences at Colombo, Negombo, and Chilaw, and after the reduction of the northern division of the island, and making the king their tributary, fixed the seat of government in Jaffnapatam. The first Adigaar, a man of great resolution and activity, did not long tamely endure the yoke so degrading, but after weighing the force he had to oppose, at once took the field. The Pandian general surprised at his temerity, sent for a large reinforcement from Pandi, which had no sooner landed than the first Adigaar advanced against it at the head of a large force, while he left a considerable detachment to keep the Pandian general elsewhere employed. By this coup, he succeeded in repulsing and dispersing two armies, which united would have sufficed to crush his small force. The newly arrived reinforcement being totally routed and dispersed, the Adigaar turned his force on the Pandian general, over whom he gained a complete victory. Before the war had been brought to this advanced stage, Wickrama had died, and had been succeeded by Bhuwaneka-bahoo V. [A.D. 1378], who was in his turn succeeded by Wejabahoo VI. [A.D. 1398.] The expulsion of several troops of Malabar guerillas, who had long infested the island and plundered the peaceful inhabitants is the only event in this monarch's reign.

[A.D. 1410.] His successor, Sree Praackramabahoo VI. who mounted the throne at the early age of sixteen, transferred the seat of government from Gampola to Cotta, and conveyed thither the Dalada relic. During his long reign of fifty-two years, the Malabars in the northern province were brought into a state of submission, and the kingdom[1] restored to its former condition by means of an increased revenue. Buddhism was reinstated in all its original magnificence. Praackrama was succeeded by his grandson Jayabahoo II. [A.D. 1462], also called Praackramabahoo, who after a reign of two years was dethroned by Bhuwaneka VI. a descendant of the royal family, who had previously acted under Praackrama as Dissave of Yapahoo [A.D. 1464]: his reign was of seven years duration, during which an extensive insurrection broke out in the island, which was quelled by the king's brother, who returned with the leaders of the revolt in his possession. On the death of Bhuwaneka, however, the brother, perceiving that his claims to the throne were compromised in favour of an adopted son of the late king, who assumed the government under

[1] Valentyn mentions that this prince was suddenly attacked by a large army, sent against him by the king of Canara, which was so promptly defeated by him, that the splendour of his arms was diffused through the whole East. This incident is omitted by most writers.

the designation of Pandita Praackramabahoo VII. [A.D. 1471], thought proper to assert what he considered to be his just rights to the throne. On advancing to Cotta he found the young king ready to meet him, his army being commanded by the two leaders of the late revolt. The king being defeated, his opponent succeeded to the throne [A.D. 1485], which he held in peace for twenty years, under the title of Weera Praackramabahoo. Two of his sons afterwards became kings of Ceylon, and the third was the grandfather of the celebrated Raja Singha. Praackrama died in 1505, and was succeeded by his son Dharma Praackramabahoo IX. [A.D. 1505], during whose reign a party of Moors landed in the north to obtain pearls and elephants. The king viewing their appearance in a hostile manner, attacked and defeated them. This king's reign was in no slight degree disturbed by the quarrels of his brother, but the great event of his reign was the landing of the Portuguese, the first nation of Europe whose attention had been drawn to eastern discovery.

CHAPTER V.

Information on Ceylon possessed by the Middle-age Writers and Geographers—St. Ambrose—Narrative of two Arabian Merchants—Marco Paolo—Sir John Maundeville—Odoricus—Venetian commerce with Ceylon—Ludovico Barthema—Nicolo De Conte—Jerome de Santo Stephano—Corsalie—Barbosa—Cesare di Fredericia—Arrival of the Portuguese, and its accidental cause—Native account of their landing—Treaty with Praackrama, and its infraction by both parties—Consequent hostilities—Second Treaty—Death of Praackrama—Noble and disinterested conduct of Sakala Raja—Aggressions of the Portuguese, who are besieged at Colombo by the natives—Their distress and ultimate relief—Larger part of the troops quit Ceylon, and a small detachment only is left—Singular policy of the Singhalese monarch under that temptation—Attack of Colombo by the Moors—The Portuguese return—Wejayabahoo—Bhuwanekabahoo VII.—His alliance with the Portuguese, to whose protection he commits his son, and sends the effigy of that prince to be crowned at Lisbon—Dunnai opposes him—The war—Death of Bhuwaneka—Dunnai and the Portuguese—Don Juan—Dunnai's policy and its results—The Portuguese and Don Juan at length defeated—Raja Singha—He defeats Don Juan—The Portuguese obtain reinforcements from Goa, but are again defeated—Singha meditates the siege of Colombo, but is prevented by an insurrection—His cruelty and arbitrary government—At length he invests Colombo, but is again disappointed through an insurrection—Is opposed and defeated by Don John—Singha's death and character—Don John and De Souza—Don John's stratagem—Defeat of De Souza—Donna Catharina—Defeat of Azevedo—Plot laid for the assassination of Don John—The Dutch land under Spilbergen—His treatment by the Chief of Batecalo, and hospitable reception at the Kandian Court—Forms an offensive and defensive treaty of alliance with Don John—Is followed by De Weerd, whose impolicy and temerity bring him to an untimely end—Don John's death and character—Senerat obtains Donna Catharina, and with her a right to the crown—Boschouder—His embassy to Holland and Denmark, and its results—Death of Don Juan—Successes of Constantine de Saa—Defeated by Prince Singha—Death of Senerat—Singha II.—He defeats the Portuguese under Diego de Mela—His treaty with the Dutch—Batecalo and Trincomalee fall into their hands—Subsequently Negombo and Galle—Negombo is retaken by the Portuguese—Koster murdered—Negombo again taken by the Dutch—Siege of Colombo—Terrible sufferings of the Portuguese—Colombo surrendered to the Dutch—Termination of the contest by the capture of Jaffna.

BEFORE we sketch the advent and subsequent proceedings of the Portuguese in Ceylon, a prefatory notice of the information possessed by the middle-age geographers and travellers respecting it will be essential, to enable us to comprehend under what circumstances the new comers found the island and entered upon its conquest. Commencing with the fourth century, we may form a notion of the state of Ceylon at that period, both in respect to its power and reputation, from the writings of St. Ambrose. A Thebean, named

Scholasticus appears to have visited the island in his time, and described to him both it and Malabar. The sustenance of the inhabitants is correctly detailed. The king of the island he erroneously represents as being the chief of the kings of India, whom the others obeyed as viceroys. He was detained for six years by one of these tributary Malabar sovereigns, but on his oppressor's rebelling against his superior (τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα τὸν ἐν τῇ Ταβροβάνῃ νήσῳ καθεξόμενον), he regained his liberty.——In the ninth century, we find the Arabians again monopolizing the commerce of Ceylon with the west. Abu Zeid al Hasan[1] gives a detailed account of Ceylon and its inhabitants,

[1] As will readily be imagined, the narrative of the Arabian merchants is throughout pregnant with the marvellous; and they contrived to raise a superstructure of fiction on Singhalese credulity. "Beyond the Maldives in the sea of Herkena, is Serendib or Ceylon, the chief of all those islands which are called Dobijat. It is encompassed by the sea, and on its coast they fish for pearl. In this country there is a mountain called Rahun, to the top of which Adam is thought to have ascended, and there left the print of his footstep upon a rock seventy cubits in length; and they say, that Adam at the same time stood with his other foot in the sea. About this mountain are mines of rubies, opals, and amethysts. This island, which is of great extent, has two kings, and here are found lignum aloes, gold, precious stones, and pearls, which are fished for on the coast; as also a kind of large shells which they use instead of trumpets, and are much valued. The people here paint their bodies and oil themselves with the juice of the cocoa nut. The custom of the country is, that no one may marry till he has slain an enemy in battle and brought off his head. If he has killed two, he claims two wives, and if he has slain fifty, he may marry fifty wives. This custom proceeds from the number of enemies which surround them; so that he who kills the greatest number is the most considered. When a king dies in this island of Serendib, they lay his body on an open chariot, in such a manner that his head hangs backwards till it almost touches the ground, and his hair is upon the earth; and this chariot is followed by a woman with a broom in her hand therewith to sweep dust on the face of the deceased, while she cries out with a loud voice, "O man, behold your king, who was yesterday your master, but now the empire he exercised over you is vanished and gone; he is reduced to the state you behold, having left the world, and the arbiter of death hath withdrawn his soul; reckon, therefore, no more on the uncertain hopes of life." This proclamation was repeated for three days, after which the dead body of the king was embalmed with sandal-wood, camphire and saffron, and then burned, and the ashes were scattered abroad to the wind. The king of the island makes laws, which are the foundation of the religion and government of the country; and there are doctors and assemblies of learned men like those of the Hadithis among the Arabs. The Indians repair to these assemblies, and write down the narratives of their prophets, and the various expositions of their laws. In this same island there are a great multitude of Jews, as well as of many other sects, even Tanouis or Manichees, the king permitting the free exercise of every religion. Gaming is the usual diversion of the inhabitants; they play at draughts, and their principal pastime is cock-fighting. Cocks are very large in this country, and better provided with spurs than cocks usually are. So reckless of consequences were the Singhalese, according to these travellers, that they would often stake upon them all they were worth, and when that was gone, they would often play for the ends of their fingers. When they played, therefore, they had a hatchet placed ready for chopping off each other's fingers, which operation the winner resolutely performed, and the loser patiently bore. Some gambled in this manner with such frantic pertinacity, that before they parted, they had all their fingers mutilated, and cauterised them in boiling oil prepared for the purpose. The Mahommedans—then a continent people—sigh over the licentiousness they

and of the face of the country, &c., in a commentary prefixed to the voyages of two Arabian merchants, who visited it in the ninth century, a work which was translated by the Abbé Renaudot, in 1718.

The next description of this famous island is to be found in the travels of Marco Paolo, the celebrated Venetian traveller of the thirteenth century, whose report was long deemed supposititious. He states, that at the period of his visit, A.D. 1284, both men and women lived nearly in a state of nudity, only wrapping a cloth round their loins. The men he describes as unfit for war, and mercenaries in consequence supplied the place of native troops. Their only grains were rice and sesame, of which last they made oil. Their food was milk, rice, flesh, and they drank wine drawn from trees. The island produced more beautiful and valuable rubies than are found in any other part of the world, as well as sapphires, topazes, amethysts, garnets, and many other precious and costly stones. The king was said to have the finest ruby that was ever seen, as long as one's hand, and as big as a man's arm, without spot, shining like fire, and not to be bought for money. Kublai-Khan sent and offered the value of a city for it; but the king replied, that he would not exchange it for the treasure of the world, as it had descended to him from his ancestors. In this island there is a very high mountain, so rocky and precipitous, that the ascent to the top is impracticable, except by the help of iron chains, by means of which some persons have attained the summit, where the tomb of Adam, and some holy relics of this our first parent, are reputed to be found. He further mentions, that an embassy was sent to Ceylon in 1281, by the great Khan of Tartary, by whom two of Adam's teeth, a dish, and a lock of Adam's hair were fortunately obtained, Such is the account given by the Saracens.

Half a century later, Ceylon was visited by Sir John Maundeville, a native of St. Alban's in this country, who appears to have been better informed than preceding travellers, respecting the dimensions of the island. He mentions, that it contained a large portion of wilderness, and was infested by serpents, crocodiles, and wild beasts. He notices also its gigantic progeny of elephants, nor does he forget the celebrated mountain where Adam and Eve are supposed, after they were driven out of Paradise, to have wept for a hundred years and filled a lake with the effusions of their remorse. He adds, that the king was appointed by election, and that the island had two summers, two winters, and two harvests in a year.

Silan was visited by the Friar Odoricus at the close of the thir-

found to prevail among the Singhalese, males and females alike, the latter being under no restraint. So frail do they represent these dusky inamoratas to have been, that, on the arrival of a foreign merchant, the daughter of a Prince thought herself in no way dishonoured by accepting an invitation to spend a week with him on board his ship, and this with the consent of her father. As soon as these irregularities came to the ears of the Mahommedan doctors at Siraf, they issued an injunction to young men "not to go that way."

teenth century, but his account, though replete with the marvellous, only contains one novel piece of information—that the divers after precious stones anointed themselves with lemon juice to keep off horse leeches.

For a moment reverting to the commerce of the west with Ceylon, we find that the Venetians, having obtained an authoritative bull from the Pope, concluded a treaty of commerce with the Sultans of Egypt, A.D. 1340, and were thenceforward engaged in the trade with Ceylon, which they conducted for more than a century, with the vigour and enterprise that distinguished their character, until the discovery of Vasco de Gama, when they lost their monopoly.

As the accounts of Ceylon accumulate from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, it would seem superfluous to repeat information, which however valuable, is necessarily similar. It will be sufficient to point out the chronological order of their visits, and any new facts they may develope. In the journey of Ludovico Barthema of Bologna (comprised in the collection of Ramuseo,) who probably visited Ceylon at the end of the fourteenth century, it is mentioned that the inhabitants were dependent upon the southern provinces of India for rice, their own country not yielding sufficient for consumption; he alludes also, to the unwarlike character of the natives, by whom blood was seldom shed. Shortly after we have the account of the Venetian, Nicolo de Conte, in which there is a detailed description of the Talipot tree, which he states as one that does not bear fruit, whose leaves are eight yards long, and as many broad, but so thin that when folded up it may without trouble be carried in the hand; that it was used for writing, and when extended, as a protection against the rain. He describes also its precious stones and pearls, and dwells on the appearance and mode of preparing the cinnamon. The same objects are noticed by the next traveller, Jerome de Santo Stephano, who spent but one day on the island with a friend, and wrote the account of his pilgrimage at Tripoli, A.D. 1499. A native of Florence, called Corsalie, mentions Ceylon in two letters written respectively in 1515-17. Its trade in elephants, he states to have been highly lucrative, and to have been paid for by the merchants according to their weight at a certain rate per head. Edward Barbosa, a Portuguese, who visited Ceylon in 1516, gives a somewhat particular account of its inhabitants, but seems to have been much more conversant with the Malabars and Mussulmen, than with the native Singhalese; he states that it was called among the Indians Tenasserim, or "the land of Delight."

Cæsar Frederick, whose curious travels were written towards the close of the sixteenth century, and are the last deserving of notice in this place on account of their rarity, gives a minute and accurate account of the pearl fishery, and the whole process of diving and picking, and faithfully describes the island of Manaar and the channel between it and Ceylon. After an allusion to the political state of the island, he describes the cinnamon, pepper, ginger, beetle

and areka nut, of which large quantities were even then produced, and mentions the manufacture of cordage from the coir procured from the husk of the cocoa nut, as also the abundance of crystal, cat's-eyes or Ochi de Gati, and the presence of rubies. At the time of Frederick's visit, the Portuguese were already at issue with the natives, and were compelled to keep within Colombo till succour should arrive; but being desirous of obtaining correct information respecting the preparation of the cinnamon, he ventured with a native guide into a plantation near the fort. It was then April, when the trees were, to use his own words, "vanno in amore," and the cinnamon being fit for gathering, he had an opportunity of satisfying himself in every particular. Thenceforward we have a regular history of Ceylon by European writers, and though the Portuguese bent on conquest and propagandism, troubled themselves little respecting the habits and feelings of their new subjects, yet the accurate survey of Knox will leave us little to desire in this respect.

Seldom have the annals of conquest presented a more glorious opening than that which lay before the Portuguese, by their discovery of a transmarine passage to India. Not only were they alone in the field, but the remaining states of Europe, involved in a mutually destructive warfare, were wasting their energies to an extent which apparently precluded the slightest prospect of their speedily competing with the pioneers of eastern discovery: and thus from the outset was the infant conqueror nursed in the illusion of sole dominion, and neglected the most indispensable means by which its conquests were to be preserved. Nor were other errors slow to follow. Endowed as they had been by the Roman Pontiff, with the sovereignty of the vast empire they had so rapidly snatched from the imbecile and effeminate inhabitants of either tropic, they seem to have considered themselves in duty bound to requite his generosity by an earnest devotion to the propagation of the faith, and in accordance with the bigoted and ferocious spirit then prevailing, held the use of fire and sword to be necessary auxiliaries in such an undertaking. Tempered as such ideas may have been by the more politic and secular spirit of Albuquerque and his immediate successors, we shall perceive in the course of the history, how greatly they influenced their conduct in their relations with the natives, and how much they contributed to their ignominious expulsion from all, save a small principality of their once vast and extended sway. We have already seen that Ceylon was now divided into three distinct principalities, over the largest and most important of which Dharma Praackramabahoo IX., whose seat of government was at Cotta, was king, the other two being the northern province, which was in the hands of the Malabars, and the central and eastern in the possession of a king at Gampola or Kanda nowera. Singhalese history, unless explained, might lead the reader—and their visits to the island certainly did lead the credulous traveller from the west—to believe, that the island was

composed of a vast number of petty kingdoms, each independent of the other. Viceroys were doubtless appointed to several districts by the Emperor, and their jurisdiction was probably analogous to that of all eastern governors, who are in great measure independent of the supreme power, with the exception of the payment of an annual tribute, and yielding a certain amount of homage; but they were liable to removal, and only held their offices at the pleasure of the supreme ruler.

The discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese was, like most of the grand discoveries in science, the result of accident. Some Moorish vessels having been descried in the vicinity of the Maldives, Francisco D'Almeida, governor of Goa, the chief establishment of the Portuguese on the Malabar coast in 1505, sent his son Lorenzo in pursuit of them. The wind opposing his progress he was driven by its force and the current on the western coast of Ceylon, and anchored in Colombo roads—then called Gabalican by the Singhalese, according to Osorio—from whence the news of his arrival was soon carried to Cotta to the Emperor. The Rajawali thus describes it, "And now it came to pass, in the month of April, in the Christian year 1552, that a ship from Portugal in Jambu-dwipa arrived, and the following intimation was sent to the king by the people of Colombo. There are staying in our harbour a race of men surpassingly white and beautiful. They wear boots and hats of iron, and they are always in motion. For their food, they eat Budhu gal (a sort of white stones), and they drink blood—meaning bread and port wine: they will give two or three ride in gold or silver for a fish; and they have guns which resound like thunder when it breaks upon Jugandere Parivata, and even louder; and a ball shot from one of them after flying some leagues, will break a castle of marble or even of iron." This with an infinity of similar news, was conveyed to the astonished Praackrama, who immediately dispatched messengers to summon his three brothers, his adigaars and his council. On their assembling, he put the question, "Shall we be at peace with these Portuguese, or go to war with them?" After some discussion, Chachra Rajah, one of the provincial governors, offered to go himself in person, and in disguise, reconnoitre them and inform the Emperor of the result. Having gone down to the haven of Colombo, he returned to the Emperor and reported, that there was no occasion for hostilities, and recommended that they should be admitted to an audience. By the intervention of the Singhalese governor of the district, the Portuguese were induced to send two of their number on an embassy, which was well received. Presents were exchanged, an offering was sent to the king of Portugal to whose friendship the king recommended himself, and a treaty of amity at once concluded. According to Ribeiro and Valentyn, it was agreed that the emperor should pay an annual tribute of 250,000 lbs. of cinnamon, in return for which the king of Portugal engaged to protect Ceylon from all enemies. A pillar is also described as having

been raised in celebration of the conquest of the island. Yet from subsequent proceedings we might be induced to question the conclusion of a treaty, whose provisions could never have been fulfilled. Forbes opines that the treaty itself must have been an invention of the Portuguese commander, or some qualified evasion of his demands by the Singhalese monarch, who probably never intended to execute such a contract, or why was so immense a quantity of this precious spice, *then* so valuable in Europe, allowed to remain for twelve years without even being asked for, or why even should the Portuguese have re-embarked without it? In 1518 Lopez Suarez Alvarengo at the head of a fleet of nineteen vessels arrived at Colombo, and in obedience to the commands of Emanuel of Portugal, and in compliance with the treaty with the Emperor, took measures for the erection of a fort immediately on his disembarkation. This proceeding the Singhalese monarch, at the instigation of the Arabians, now refused to sanction, and displayed in other respects a hostile disposition towards the European intruder. In the night a large body of Arabians and native troops took up their post in the vicinity, and played from their batteries on the Portuguese with great spirit. The landing of Suarez with his whole force, was warmly but vainly opposed by the Singhalese, and the undisciplined rabble forming their army was put to flight at the first attack with great loss, but not before Pacheco, a Portuguese officer of merit, was killed, and several wounded. Terrified at the discipline of the Europeans, no less than at their fire-arms and artillery, the Emperor was forced to sue for peace, which he obtained on condition of permitting them to proceed with the suspended fortifications, and the payment of an annual tribute of cinnamon of 120,000 lbs. (or less than half of the quantity formerly proposed), elephants and precious stones. Suarez then retired, leaving Silveira in command of the new acquisition.

The civil dissensions of the Singhalese, with the presence of the Portuguese, now combined to render their country an easy prey to foreign domination. On the demise of Prackramabahoo, A.D. 1527, civil war broke out in reference to the succession. Sakallawalla Raja, brother to the late king, was invited to accept the crown by a majority of the people. Unambitious of a power and eminence which he could plainly see would be contested with him, Sakallawalla, firmly forbore from accepting it. Hastening from Odegampola the seat of his provincial jurisdiction, to Cotta, he there assembled and addressed the Adigaars and people, declaring that although his love of self urged him to comply with their request, his love for his country restrained him; and that while there existed a stronger right to the throne than his own, he would waive the claims their preference had bestowed. He then produced a youthful brother by the same mother of their late Emperor, he being descended from another mother, and him he had proclaimed Emperor, under the title of Wejayabahoo VII. and after seeing him firmly established on the throne, retired again to his government.

In the interim, the Portuguese under Lopez de Bretto, had availed themselves of the intestine commotions of the natives to erect at Colombo substantial and permanent fortifications, and being no longer apprehensive of native opposition, entered on a course of violence, rapacity, and injustice, which at once horrified the gentle spirit of the Singhalese, from whom they had received nothing but friendship and hospitality.

Incapable of open and sustained resistance, they retaliated on their oppressors by the murder of every European who came in their way, and at length compelled Lopez de Bretto to resort to open force, to ensure the safety of his troops.[1] He accordingly attacked, unawares, and while they were reposing themselves during the midday heat, a hostile native force by which he was threatened, and put it to flight with considerable loss, but was soon compelled to act on the defensive in consequence of a simultaneous rising of the people, who, recollecting that their wives and children were left in the town in a destitute condition, attacked him with great fury, and forced him to retire with a loss of thirty men, into the fort of Colombo, before which they sat down with two thousand men. De Bretto could well have afforded to smile at the unformidable and desultory force of the besiegers; but a worse enemy, in the shape of famine, now menaced him, and he had for five months to endure the spectacle of the investment of the fort by an enemy whom he despised. At length an opportunity presented itself of communicating with the Governor of Cochin, and apprising him of the alarming position of the garrison in Colombo. A reinforcement, according to Ribeiro, of but one galley, laden with provisions, at length appeared, and resuscitated the spirits of the despairing soldiers. While a sharp cannonade was kept upon the natives by this vessel, an unexpected sortie was made by De Bretto at the head of three hundred Portuguese, which soon annihilated the hopes of the natives, who, fleeing in consternation, left their camp and works in the hands of the conquerors. Subsequently the Singhalese having been reproached for their timidity by the more experienced troops, rallied and again advanced against the Portuguese. In the front line were 150 Arab horse, with a considerable body of native infantry, and twenty-five elephants with turrets. These animals had swords fastened to their tusks, with which they did some execution, and the Portuguese had nearly given way, when De Bretto ordered a vigorous discharge of musketry in the face of the huge animals. Startling and galled with the wounds they had

[1] Osorio explains the origin of this quarrel. "When remonstrated with by their commander, the Portuguese troops imputed his forbearance to cowardice. Bretto too weak and irresolute to stem a torrent which took a direction against what he considered his honour, yielded to their importunities and forbore from putting a stop to their outrages, though he was sensible, that anything in the shape of a combination among the natives would place him within the risk of starvation."

received, they now turned back on the Singhalese, put the Arab horse into disorder, trod down the infantry, and put the whole force to a precipitate flight. The Portuguese now entered the city, and slew every man they met. The Emperor seeing that most of his nobles had been cut off in the several conflicts, and that the Arabians, the chief instigators of resistance, had first quitted the field, resolved to cease from any further hostilities. Negotiations were once more opened, and a treaty concluded, but not before the Portuguese had learnt that conciliation would better avail them than violence, for subjecting the natives to their dominion.

Circumstances at this moment promised to restore the island to its former independence. The Court of Lisbon, apprehensive of the excessive extension of its empire in the east, and the consequent dangers to which it was exposed, as well as embarrassed by the support of so many garrisons and such continual warfare, determined to abandon Ceylon and maintain their establishments only on the Peninsula. Orders were accordingly despatched by Emanuel for the destruction of the fort at Colombo, and the evacuation of the island. De Lerne, at that time the commandant, whether sensible of the importance of the acquisition and the impolicy of abandoning what must even then have been discovered to be the key to India, or foreseeing a change in the policy of the court, determined on but a partial fulfilment of his instructions, and left a detachment of seventeen men. Their impotency now proved their protection. Being no longer formidable, or likely to control his independence, the Emperor extended his protection to them, and with generous ignorance assisted them againt their enemies the Moors, who from having possessed the monopoly of the eastern trade, suddenly found themselves excluded from the most profitable part by the western interloper. Ribeiro speaks of the trade of Ceylon even at this debased period, as having been considerable, consisting of transactions with Bengal, the Persian Gulph, the Red Sea, and other places in cinnamon and elephants. On learning the insignificance of the Portuguese force, the Moors resolved, therefore, on its subjugation, and thus endeavour once more to recover their carrying trade. An expedition of 500 men was sent against Colombo, but meeting with opposition from the natives from whom they had been led to expect assistance, they were compelled to retire without accomplishing their object. "From this period," says Knighton, "we may date the fall of Ceylon. Instead of vigorously uniting to expel the invaders, each of the opposing parties in the native quarrels was ready to accept of their aid, and thus more firmly rooted them upon the island."

Though Wejayabahoo had been indebted for his throne to a very Lycurgus in point of virtue and simplicity of mind; yet he soon lost sight of the principles of his patron, and entered upon a course of injustice and immorality, one of his acts being directed to the exclusion of Bhuwanekabahoo, Raygam Bandara, and Maaya Dunnai,

his children by a former wife,[1] prior to his accession to the throne, in favour of the younger brother of his queen, by a later marriage. The young princes who were fast emerging from a state of adolescence, resolved to defend their rights, and perceiving that their father was determined to carry out his resolve at all risks, and that the queen had designs upon their persons, they retired to collect an army, the two elder to Yapahoo, and the younger to Oudarata, where he was received by Jayaweera, who governed the mountain division at Gampola. Sakalhawalla, who had vainly reasoned with the king on the injustice of his proceedings, now joined them, and a force being soon assembled, directed its march for Cotta, and dictated its own terms to the unprepared monarch. He was shortly afterwards murdered by a hired assassin, probably from a discovery of his intrigues with the Portuguese, by means of whom he may have hoped still to carry his original intentions into effect, and his eldest son Bhuwaneka Bahoo VII., called by Ribeiro, Aboe Negabo Pandar, ascended the throne. [A.D. 1534.]——An attempt was now made by some of the adherents of the old king, more particularly by Weera Suriya Bandara, son of Weera Praackrama's daughter, to revenge his death, and an army was assembled for that purpose, when some unimportant villages in the interior were reduced, but the king adopted vigorous measures for their repression, and his younger brother Maya Dunnai, being sent to quell the insurrection, succeeded in restoring peace after a short and sanguinary campaign. On his return, he was appointed along with his other brothers to lieutenancies of importance in distinct provinces, and founded the town of Seetawaka. But civil dissension seemed to have now selected Ceylon as a permanent abode, and soon manifested itself upon the new monarch's having declared that he intended to adopt his grandson Dharmapala, as his successor. Finding that his wishes were likely to be thwarted by his brothers, he resolved to solicit the aid of the Portuguese. Maya Dunnai was the first to resist. At that juncture, holding the government of the district of Seetawaka, about thirty miles east of Colombo, and foreseeing the result of his opposition, he energetically laboured to put his district in a posture of defence, by the erection of forts and the repair of the defences of the city. But what could Ceylonese skill avail against European artillery? and no long time elapsed ere Bhuwaneka, accompanied by an auxiliary force of Portuguese, entered Seetawaka in triumph. Dunnai made good his retreat to his brother Bandara, whom he endeavoured to rouse to exertion. Bandara, however, seeing the turn events had taken, deemed it more prudent to temporise, and sent a prudent reply.——The conduct of Bhuwaneka in the prosecution of

[1] That rather trite apophthegm among Europeans, suggestive of a slight dubiety as to the real origin of every person, appears to have been literally true in reference to the Singhalese. Wejayabahoo is said to have shared the embraces of his wife with his brother Sri Raja Singha, we must in charity then assign two princes to each, as the progeny resulting from this singular intercourse.

his project, and his invoking the aid of the Portuguese his insidious enemies, is much censured by the Rajawali, "as fraught with ruin to his country, and contempt to his religion." A statue of his grandson, surmounted by a golden crown, having been cast by his orders, was sent by Salappoo Aratchy to Europe, that the mute representative of the young prince might be inducted to the crown by John III. of Portugal. The ambassador on his arrival at Lisbon with his charge was well received, and the king of Portugal sensible that they would thus rule the island by a puppet king, retaining for themselves the real power, acceded to his request, and the lifeless statue under the name of Don Juan, was crowned by his own hands in the Great Hall of the Palace at Lisbon. [A.D. 1541.]

Dunnai had in the mean time sought and obtained assistance from the Moors on the continent, and the contingent led by a Mahometan, and reinforced by the levy of Bandara, who seeing that he was in earnest, now no longer hesitated, advanced against the hitherto successful Bhuwaneka. Seetawaka soon fell into their hands, and encouraged by their success, they commenced plundering and ravaging in the vicinity of the capital, and finally menaced its safety. At the mountain pass of Gooruville, they were met by Bhuwaneka, who had succeeded in procuring the assistance of the Portuguese. Maya Dunnai thought proper now to sue for peace, which was granted, on condition that he would deliver up the Moorish chiefs in his service, the implacable enemies of Portugal. With this, however, he refused to comply, and prepared for the attack. So long as the encounter was confined to the native forces on each side, the result inclined in favour of the superior energy and impetuosity of Dunnai's troops, but as soon as the Portuguese guns had come up and opened their murderous fire, the issue was no longer doubtful, and the insurgents made a precipitate retreat. Seetawaka once more captured, testified by its smoking ruins to the horrors of domestic warfare, and Bhuwaneka returned in triumph to his capital. His good fortune was not destined to be long in the ascendant; for the year that followed on the mimic ceremony at Lisbon, witnessed his death by the hands of a Portuguese gentleman, then on a visit to the ancient town of Kallané, on a river of the same name. This unfortunate occurrence, which the European historians concur in considering accidental, and intentional it could hardly be, in the case of a monarch so subservient to the policy of the Portuguese, is commented upon in a different spirit by the priestly chronicler, who ascribes it either to treachery, or as a judgment from heaven upon Bhuwaneka for courting the alliance of Portugal.——The death of the king was the signal for renewed tumult and anarchy. The Portuguese, long the real governors of Cotta, now thought proper to occupy it, and along with it to extend their influence over the western province. In the interior every petty lieutenant sought to set up an independent rule, and the whole country became the prey of desolation and dissension. Nor was Maya Dunnai slow in asserting his alleged

claims. Marching again to the seat of his former government, he lost no time in placing Seetawaka in as good a state of defence as the resources at his command allowed. The Portuguese foreseeing his design, speedily dispatched a body of their own troops against him, with a large native force. Dunnai intelligent and bold, had already learnt much from his contact with the Portuguese, while his troops were gradually accustoming themselves to the discipline and coolness of the foreign warriors. His efforts were in this instance successful, and the Portuguese finding themselves unable to make an impression on Seetawaka, made good their retreat to Colombo. A requisition for aid was made to the government of Goa, and a considerable reinforcement was dispatched to Ceylon. Don Juan, or Dharmapala, was at length really elevated to the throne [A.D. 1542], and Christian baptism administered to him and many of the nobles with great solemnity, by Alphonso Perera, a priest brought from Goa.

The young prince and his allies now resolved to bring the war to a speedy conclusion, and the augmented force again advanced against the insurgents. Seetawaka once more captured, was once more consumed, and Dunnai compelled to flee. The maritime provinces were now gradually entering upon a state of transition, and a moral revolution was silently stealing its way. The arrival of the Portuguese, and their mixed intercourse with the natives, soon disturbed their rigid adherence to caste, while new ideas and a new religion agitated the minds of the people. From this time forward we are told, "that the women of the higher classes resident at Cotta, and also women of the low castes, such as barbers, fishers, humawas and challias, began to turn Christians through the agency of Portuguese gold, and to live with the Europeans, while the priests of Buddha, who till now had remained in Cotta, were forced to repair to Seetawaka and Kandy. The example of anarchy and commotion offered by the combatants for the supreme power, was moreover sufficiently infectious to extend its influence over the feudatory princes, and Jayaweera Bandara, Prince of Kanda Nowera, on being deprived of his authority by his son, hastened to Seetawaka with his wife, children and followers, and taking the crown from his head, placed it at the feet of Dunnai. His appeal to the sympathy of this prince was made in vain, and Jayaweera witnessed, without the power of resisting, the success of a son whom he had attempted to set aside.

The insurgent force was in no slight degree fortunate in its leader. Satisfied that Don Juan would continue both from education and religion, hostile to his views, he prudently endeavoured to gain over Weedeya Raja, that prince's father, then governor of Pailainda Nowera, and to alienate him from the interests of the Portuguese. With this view, he proposed the marriage of his daughter with Weedeya, and made further overtures for an identification of interests. But his policy was frustrated through the treacherous character of his new ally, who, after the celebration of the nuptials, resolved on the support of the pretensions of his son Don Juan, and in a savage

moment brought about a rupture by some outrageous proceedings with his lately affianced bride. Dunnai, maddened at the indignity, dispatched Tikiry Bandara, (the celebrated Singha) his fourth son, at the head of a considerable force to revenge the insult, and Weedeya was not only defeated with great loss, but his junction with the Portuguese was prevented, and he was driven from Kandy into the inaccessible forests of the south-east, where he for many years dragged on a miserable existence. At length his son was induced to march to his rescue, and a combined force of natives and Portuguese, headed by Don Juan, having first marched to the northward, and passed to Negombo, then suddenly altered their route, and wheeled to the southward by the passes, where they were joined by the object of their search. The wary Dunnai was not however altogether unprepared, having posted a strong force in an advantageous position in one of the mountain defiles. The battle was commenced by the impetuous followers of Tikiry Bandara who boldly advanced and charged the van of the enemy. A fearful slaughter now ensued, and one of the most obstinate encounters ever known in Ceylon evidenced the improved courage and tactics of the mountaineers. The combined army, repulsed with the loss of their choicest officers and men, made a precipitate retreat to Colombo, and safe under the protection of their well-built fort, defied the desultory attacks of the Ceylonese. This latter sort of warfare continued for some time, until Weedeya was slain in an unsuccessful attempt to enlist the Malabars in his service, and the death of Maya Dunnai his opponent, transferred to other hands the task of competing for the sovereignty.

Immediately on the intelligence of the death of Dunnai arriving at Colombo, the Portuguese dispatched a large force to take possession of Seetawaka, and punish his rebellious son. Raja Singha—the lion king—whom we have already heard of under another name; though he was but the fourth and an illegitimate son of the late prince, had been bequeathed the contested throne, from the early proofs he had given of ability and courage [A.D. 1581.], and soon demonstrated that if his father had proved a formidable rival to Bhuwaneka, he was a yet more formidable opponent to Don Juan. Raja Singha was at first so imprudent as to disdain to meet an enemy whom he had formerly vanquished, and deputed one of his generals on that service, but the latter was unable to maintain his ground, and Singha learning by experience, that his contempt was misplaced, was obliged to make every effort to put himself in a condition to meet the enemy. The country and native mode of warfare favouring stratagem, he planted a well concealed ambuscade in the rear of his opponent, who was advancing upon Kandy, the capital of the interior. Too politic to permit his troops to be exposed to the Portuguese artillery, after riding through their ranks, and animating them by his presence and exhortations, he hurried them on to a close encounter with the enemy. Scarcely had the combat commenced in front, ere the army of Don Juan caught sight of another force issuing from the ambus-

cade in the rear, and while their astonishment at this unforeseen occurrence paralysed their movements, the troops of Singha were already upon them, and the battle was to be decided sword in hand. Thousands of the native troops soon lay dead upon the field, and posted as Singha's force was, the Portuguese, now that they were called into close quarters with their antagonists, had no room for the evolutions and tactics of a disciplined European force, or space for loading their guns. The battle was now so desperate, that both Portuguese and Singhalese might be seen hanging to the tails of the elephants and fighting. "As for the king," says the Rajawali, "mounted on his horse, he flew from one side to the other, and the battle resembled a play of fireworks, and the smoke arose like the vapours in January. Blood flew like water on the field of Moolleriawe, the Portuguese themselves losing 1700 men," nor does the account of Ribeiro invalidate the statement of the Singhalese historian.

The signal victory of Singha naturally alarmed the Portuguese for the ground they still retained in the island. Succours were earnestly implored from Goa, and till they should arrive, they confined themselves within the walls of Colombo. On the arrival of a reinforcement, they once more advanced into the interior, but this time with more caution. Batteries were erected on the Kallané ganga, and both banks of the river lined with troops, as they slowly proceeded. Raja Singha was prepared to give them a warm reception, and coolly superintended the measures of defence. Two pieces of ordnance, part of the number captured in the various engagements, were planted in a concealed spot on the bank of the river, and while the Portuguese flotilla was advancing, a well directed fire was opened upon it, as soon as it was discovered. Their boats being shattered and the crews thinned, the Portuguese had once more to retreat before their enemies. The nature of the country rendered however this step extremely difficult. On reaching a pass where they had posted a detachment, they found the Singhalese ready to receive them, and it was not till they had cut their way through the enemy that the Portuguese, after having lost a great number of men, either in the encounter or as prisoners, once more reached Colombo.

Singha in his turn now became the aggressor, captured Cotta and destroyed it, and advanced with the intention of investing the fort, when an insurrection in the Kandian province, militated against all his arrangements, and he was compelled to return and quell it. His accustomed success did not desert him on this occasion, and his opponent fled for concealment to the jungles of Jaffnapatam. News of this event having reached Colombo, Don Juan embarked for the isle of Manaar to create a diversion in his favour, but it was too late, for Singha's new enemy had already breathed his last.

The tumultuous passions of Singha, aroused by the enemies he found arrayed against him on every side, would at times break forth in acts of detestable cruelty, or goad him to premeditated treachery.

Suspecting that a young prince of the royal family, that had settled at Paradeniya (variously designated as Wejaya Sundera Bandara, and Fimala Lamantia), intended to raise the standard of revolt against him, in consequence of the solicitations of the Kandian people, the king invited him to an interview, under the pretext of conferring the lieutenancy of a province upon him. Unconscious of the perfidy in store for him, the unhappy man complied, and was either cast into a pit on the road, the bottom of which had been covered with sharp stakes, or fixed in the ground up to his shoulders, and then beat to death with clubs. A crime so impious, brought with it its own punishment. His sons, one of whom was Koonappoo Bandara, fled to Colombo, and by the course of events became, as we shall shortly find, the agent of retributive justice for his departed father, no less than an assertor of the national independence. On arriving at Colombo, this prince adopted the name and character of a Christian, and was baptized at Goa, under the title of Don John, after the Duke of Austria, brother of Philip of Castile and Portugal.

Raja Singha did not stop short at the perpetration of this nefarious act, but finding the whole of the royal family opposed to his claims, he put to death all he could lay his hands upon. The siege of Colombo, upon which he had long determined, was now again attempted, and might have succeeded, but for the enmity he had kindled through his tyranny and cruelty in the breasts of his own countrymen. His preparations being completed, he sat down before it in the full expectation of its capture. The Portuguese had, indeed, cause for alarm. Singha had effectually provided against the possibility of supplies entering the beleaguered city, and nothing could be expected from the continent for a considerable time.

His former treachery now recoiled upon Singha. Sailing to the north,[1] Don John made his way to Kandy, and putting himself at the head of the discontented Kandian chieftains, whom Singha's cruelty or jealousy of his rise tended to unite, he cautiously advanced, increasing his adherents at every step, till the greater part of the interior was in his power, and Seetawaka itself was threatened. Singha now saw no other alternative than an abandonment of the siege of Colombo, which had lasted for nine months, and the advance with his whole army against the malcontents.

On the approach of Singha, it would appear that Don John slowly retreated towards the south and east, where many years were consumed in the tedious and desultory warfare, in which the Singhalese, when occasion required, were great adepts. In the interval, the Portuguese were again successful, Avisahavellé fell into their hands,

[1] According to Valentyn, the Portuguese, deeming the occupation of Jaffnapatam indispensable to the success of their ulterior designs on Kandy, sent a powerful fleet to that part of the island under the command of Don Andrea Mendoza, who surprised Yapana the capital, and besides stipulating for a free passage through that principality, compelled the King of Jaffnapatam to give them all the aid in his power while on their march into the interior.

with the possession of the whole of the maritime provinces, and a great part of the Seven Korles. Kandy was occupied by a Portuguese force, and a new prince, Don Philip, another convert to the Christian[1] faith, was elevated to the throne; when the Portuguese, imagining that every thing had been settled on a permanent basis, retired to watch the motions of Raja Singha. This proceeding, which he considered a slight upon himself, naturally alienated Don John from the Portuguese, but marching to Kandy, he concealed his chagrin, until, a favourable opportunity offering, Don Philip was removed by poison. The Portuguese, encamped at Gannoor, apprehensive for their own safety and retreat in case of an attack, hastened to apprize De Melo, Governor of Manaar, of their critical position, and requested immediate aid. They were not long left in suspense. Don John now threw off the mask of friendship, and upbraiding them with their flagrant acts of perfidy and insincerity, and their ambitious designs on the lives and fortunes of the Singhalese, peremptorily ordered their immediate departure out of his dominions, or he would put them all to the sword. The Portuguese at Gannoor were too unprepared to make an effectual resistance, and despairing of assistance from De Melo, surrendered the fortress, and were allowed to march out with their arms. Next day, De Melo arrived with a reinforcement to their assistance, but too late for the recovery of the post.

Raja Singha, though at this period 120 years of age, according to both native and European annalists, was not disposed to relax his efforts for the crown he had so long struggled; once more, therefore, he advanced against his new rival, whom he forewarned to expect the fate of his father, whom he had hewed in pieces; and Don John, now deprived of the aid of the Portuguese, though he affected to despise his aged opponent, and threatened ample vengeance on the cruel murderer of his father, was again compelled to strain every nerve to oppose him. The battle took place at the pass of Kadduganava, where the troops of Singha, though skilfully posted, were unable to resist the impetuosity of Don John's attack, who appeared in person, shrouded by two white umbrellas, the Singhalese insignia of imperial power. Singha's disabled force, and a field strewn with dead, testified to the loss they had undergone, and the aged chief, maimed in one of his feet, appeared to have a presentiment of approaching death. "Alas," exclaimed he, "for this unhappy day. Since my eleventh year, no king has made head against me till now, but my enemy is more powerful than I; for my might is decreased." He lingered but for a few days, (his end being hastened according to the Rajawali by the treachery of his attendants) and left his young competitor [A.D. 1592] to renew that contest with Europeans, to which the greater part of his life had been devoted.

[1] The Portuguese appear to have omitted no opportunity of propagating their faith and influence. Hence they exacted a promise both from Don Philip and Don John, that they should marry none but Portuguese women, and that the people of Kandy should take a solemn oath of allegiance to the King of Portugal.

In the consciousness of approaching death, Singha is said by Valentyn to have expressed deep regret for the different cruelties he had committed upon the Kandian people, but more especially upon the Buddhist priesthood. Oppressed by the recollection of those monstrous barbarities, he sent for some of the leading priests to attend him, and when they had come into his presence, he interrogated them as to the hope of pardon for his sins. The priests, whether emboldened by the sight of the sunken form of their aged persecutor, or impelled by the workings of conscious rectitude, replied, "that they could hold out no hope of forgiveness in a future state." Singha, in whose nature the stern will of absolutism had been too deeply implanted to depart but with the soul that enshrined it, raised his eyes lit up with a scarcely human fire, and in his rage at their presumption, and as he deemed it, disloyalty, ordered them all, with the exception of the chief priest, to be shut up in a house and burnt alive. After incurring in this manner the vengeance of heaven, he sent for the priests of another temple: these warned by the fate of their brethren, responded in a more soothing tone to his question, declaring indeed that so great a sinner could not hope for absolution but by repentance, but that as his majesty felt contrition for his enormities, they would endeavour, by the force of their prayers, to procure a sojourn for him in some intermediate region between heaven and earth, instead of an abode where he would be tormented by devils. This answer seemed to compose the inquietude of the dying king, and he not only saved their lives but loaded them with presents, which they refused to receive. He requested them also not to take to heart the massacre of their brethren, which he had ordered in a paroxysm of rage. On receiving an assurance of forgiveness, he soon after gave up the ghost.

In the character of Raja Singha the first, courage and ability were strangely blended with ferocity and cunning. At the advanced age of 100 years; he retained much of the elasticity and energy of youth, and nature, which had reserved for his extreme age the consummation of the plans of his youth, reserved also the impetuosity and buoyancy necessary for that object. The lesson acquired under his father's reign, that Europeans were only to be repelled by an altered system of native warfare, was duly put in force, and resulted in the success it deserved. Raja Singha's merit as a ruler was, however, confined to his military virtues. In the East, even improvements in war, that science in which man has in every age been the greatest proficient, proceed tardily, and it is seldom that men have been found to overstep the barriers which prejudices of every kind there oppose in the way of improvement. Singha was an isolated beacon, erect amidst the falling fortunes of his country; his quick perception enabled him to grasp an accurate view of its position; he traced the cause of its inferiority, and, that discovered, devoted his whole energy to its removal. His first essays in war, though rude and irregular, were successful, and it was not till he

encountered the Portuguese, that he learnt its varying fortune. Unable to oppose them in the open field, and defeated in every encounter, he perilled his fortunes no longer on the die of a single battle, but engaged in petty skirmishes, and the surprise of detachments; and delighted in prolonging that procrastination of the day on which all was to be decided, habitual to a native force, but corrosive in an European army of that spirit of hope which for awhile leads it to the cheerful encounter of difficulties.

His views were next directed to procuring fire-arms and artillery, without which he could never hope to bring the war to a conclusion. A few successful skirmishes gradually obtained for him the object of his eager pursuit, and a battle near Kandy placed the whole of the Portuguese artillery there employed at his disposal; and but for the external assistance the Portuguese could have received from Goa, this new force might have given him that possession of Colombo which he so much coveted, and of which his treachery alone deprived him. Nurtured under other and different influences, Raja Singha, while equally protecting the liberties of his country, might have devoted a portion of his energy and genius to healing the wounds gaping from every part of its social and political being. Though characterised as a monster of iniquity by the priestly historians, they are not able to conceal that he had some taste for literature, and patronized men of genius. Thus Vidumal, the sage, who came from the Malabar coast to pay his respects to Singha, was received with the greatest hospitality, and ennobled under the title of Manaperuma Mucavetie, or Prince of the Poets. He created him, moreover, a Dissave, and Vidumal settled with his family in the dominions of his munificent benefactor.

By religion a Brahmin, Raja Singha was not the prince to protect, and scarcely to tolerate the religion of Buddha, whose sacred books he destroyed and whose priests he degraded or extirpated, while exalting those of his own communion. Hence it is, that the Buddhist and Christian historians, who had equal cause to hate his memory—the former in his character as a persecutor, the latter in his career as their successful opponent—have combined to traduce a monarch whom, while loathing for his cruelty and treachery, the European cannot fail to respect for qualities and impulses in general confined in their origin to sources supposed to exist only in the bracing temperature of a northern clime.

Don Juan, a better Christian, according to Ribeiro, than an able prince, was now left the legitimate sovereign of Ceylon, and apparently without a competitor.[1] Mild, pious, affable and cheerful, he was an excellent tool in the hands of the Portuguese, yet one but

[1] Jaya Suriya succeeded Raja Singha at Seetawaka, and was put to death. Raja Singha's sister, who had married Weedeya Raja, ascended the throne. She was made prisoner by Don Juan and the Portuguese; and her daughter, five years old, was sent to Goa.

little fitted to contend with any one whom circumstances might evoke to fill the vacant throne of Singha. Perceiving that his only formidable antagonist was now removed by death, Koonappoo Bandara (Don John), who had acquired considerable power and influence among the natives, whom he nevertheless inwardly spurned and despised, determined to proclaim his independence of that shadow of authority represented by his namesake, and under the name of Wimala Dharma to ascend the throne of Ceylon. Free from the restraints of the religion of Brahma or Buddha, and only in name a Christian, he had no law but his own pleasure, and no other object to pursue than that which his ambition prompted. Too independent for the Portuguese, that people resolved to abstain from recognising his usurpation if they could not effectually hinder it, and only waited for an opportunity to fulfil the aims Raja Singha had obstructed.

Accordingly, during the temporary stay of Pedro Lopez de Souza, one of their commanders, while on his passage from Malacca to Goa, the position of their establishment and its prospects were so clearly pourtrayed, and their request for a competent body of troops so strongly urged, that that officer did not hesitate to represent to the Viceroy of Goa the necessity for active measures. From his distinguished birth and abilities, the Viceroy and Council judged that no better selection, as leader of the army, could possibly be made than the man who had been made the organ of the wishes of the force at Colombo, and offered him the command. After some hesitation he accepted it, on condition that Donna Catharina,[1] the daughter of Weerabahoo, or Don Philip, and lineal heir to the throne of Kandy—who had been delivered to the Portuguese, subject to a stipulation of her marriage being ratified by their approval—should be united to one of his nephews, and thus afford him the strongest possible inducement for the most energetic efforts to effect the conquest of the island. After some opposition, this request was conceded, but only on condition that the marriage should not take place till Ceylon had been completely reduced.

Actuated by motives of ambition no less than of glory, De Souza lost not a moment in advancing against the usurper. Meeting with Donna Catharina at Manaar, he placed her with great ceremony at the head of the army, and by her presence acquired great influence over the minds of the natives. At Negombo his army was strengthened by the adhesion of Janiere, a powerful chief, called by the Singhalese Jayè Vera Banda, with the title of Maha Modiansi, who joined him with a native force of 20,000 men, by whom the low country had been already secured, and De Souza thought the object of his efforts was already on the point of being attained. In the meantime, Don

[1] "God," says Ribeiro, "whose ways are always just, admirable, and impenetrable, availed himself of the wretched lot of the father of this princess to bring both him and her to a knowledge of the Christian religion, and they changed their heathen for European names."

John was neglecting no means of preparation, and saw without dismay the advance of his enemies. So impetuous and irresistible, however, was the force against which he had to contend, that his forces yielded after a slight resistance, and Don John was compelled to flee into the woods, while Donna Catharina entered Kandy in triumph. A reward of ten thousand pagodas was now offered by the Portuguese for his head, but Don John was so little alarmed at this circumstance, that he is said by Valentyn to have occasionally ventured into Kandy in the disguise of a beggar, and to have set fire to the town in several places, and escaped in the confusion. The Portuguese now began to abuse their power, which they seemed to think irresistible, and manifested on every occasion their contempt for the natives, by numerous acts of injustice and oppression. The wives and daughters of the people were compelled to minister to their passions, and if any resisted such deeds of violence, they were butchered by these merciless wretches, and their villages burnt to the ground. The Singhalese, exasperated to the highest pitch by these enormities, secretly determined to make their persecutors feel the effects of their vengeance on the first favourable opportunity, and began to cut off their supplies. Well practised in the arts and dissimulation which have at times served eastern princes far better than the armies they could bring into the field, Don John at once hit upon a scheme[1]

[1] There is a great discrepancy between the accounts of the Dutch and Portuguese historians respecting the conduct of Janiere. Valentyn describes him as the secretary of Raja Singha, who, on the decease of that monarch, obtained possession of all his treasure, and entered into a treaty with the Portuguese, to whom he surrendered the whole kingdom, perceiving that he could not otherwise make head against Don John. Subsequently Janiere urgently solicited the hand of Donna Catharina in marriage, a request which the Portuguese commander refused, under the plea that it would be necessary for him to write home and procure the consent of the king of Portugal, before he could determine on so important a matter. Janiere, who was not deficient in sagacity, saw through this excuse, but concealing his discontent, he next requested the hand of his niece, to which a negative was also returned. Incensed by this ungracious opposition to his aspiring ambition, he scornfully asked the Portuguese general if this was the reward of all his faithful services; at the same time declaring, that he should repent of the denial he had given to his two requests. Don Pedro, in his pride, only added fuel to the fire of his resentment, saying, "It was not meet that one who was an empress born, should be given in marriage to an upstart chief." Janiere, stung to the quick, replied, that he could see through the designs of the Portuguese, and that after having availed themselves of his assistance to become masters of the island, they had determined to trample him under their feet, but that the event would not correspond with their expectations. The very same evening he sent a messenger to Don John, who was still concealed in the woods, watching for a favourable opportunity of wreaking his vengeance upon the Portuguese, and promised to assist him to regain his authority, on condition that the low lands should be left under his government. Don John, to whom this communication came quite unexpectedly, eagerly accepted the proposal, and at once entered into a treaty, in which it was determined to attack the Portuguese and put them all to death. Janiere now disclosed to his friends the new engagement into which he

for the disruption of the recent union that had been effected between the powerful chief before mentioned and the Portuguese; and with that view indited a letter, couched in the warmest expressions of friendship and confidence, whose substance was as follows: "Now that I am encamped two leagues from Wellane, I wait with impatience the fulfilment of your promise, nor do I doubt you; finish then the measure so happily began, and with the life of your Portuguese general, conclude this unhappy war." The feigned reply ran thus: "To-morrow, before the sun has yet come to his meridian, I will deliver the Portuguese into your hands, but you must promise that the low country shall be mine, and in that case I will pay tribute to the high country." These letters were entrusted to a confidential servant, with instructions to advance to the Portuguese lines with seeming assurance, and secretly drop one, but on being noticed, to fly into the woods, and on being overtaken to appear extremely uneasy lest the object he carried should be discovered. These instructions were skilfully executed, and the wily messenger strove eagerly to retain the treasonable instrument. In the presence of De Souza he manifested no less anxiety, and the letter had to be taken from him by force. On learning its contents, the general became ungovernable in his rage, and stamping in the violence of passion, summoned the chieftain to his presence, and presenting him with the supposed act of his perfidy, ordered him to peruse it. Unsuspecting, he calmly read it, and while in the act of raising his eyes to the general's face and protesting his innocence, the poniard of De Souza was plunged into his breast. This act of precipitancy brought with it its retributive consequences. No sooner had the natives heard of the death of their leader and its unjust cause, than they either dispersed or joined the army of Don John. Regardless of their defection, De Souza sent messengers to hasten succour from Colombo, and lost not a moment in advancing into the interior, through the only practicable mountain pass in his route, eager, by the capture of Kandy, to conclude the war. Entering the pass with confidence, they had scarcely reached its centre, when on a sudden the shrill chank and discordant tam-a-tam burst forth in all their hideousness, and too clearly announced the sequel. In an instant the enemy darted forth in the front and in the rear, on the right hand and on the left, and they were rendered motionless by the clouds of arrows, balls, spears and other missiles that descended upon them. A fearful slaughter now ensued; for neither bravery nor skill could stem that relentless torrent still descending in undiminished force. Every

had entered, but the Portuguese had already discovered the conspiracy, some letters of Janiere's having been intercepted. A council of war was, therefore, held, in which it was determined that Janiere should be dispatched as soon as possible; and an interview with Don Pedro was selected for the occasion, when, on a signal being given by that officer, a poniard was plunged into his breast, and he was slain with several of his followers.

man is said to have been cut off,[1] and of that lately formidable army, Donna Catharina alone was saved. One of the barbarous and brutal customs of the Singhalese, mentioned by Knox, was on this occasion resorted to by Don John, and according to Ribeiro, before the whole army, to ensure the permanent possession of his captive's person, and she was compelled by this public disgrace, to accept of him as her husband. Through her, Don John appears to have obtained a firm hold on the minds as well as on the persons of his subjects; the petty chiefs submitted to his authority, and, with the most abject humility, hastened to the court with numerous presents and prostrated before his person, in sign of his supremacy; and so completely was the power of the Portuguese curbed by this fatal day, that for four whole years they shut themselves up in Colombo and Galle, unable either to revenge their loss, or to attempt anything of importance. Meanwhile, Don John, who had obtained a large and opportune supply of arms and ammunition by his late victory, busied himself with great prudence and foresight, in the fortification of his whole western and southern frontier, and the formidable obstacles to the entrance of an army, or even an individual, into the interior, were created by his orders. Towers also were erected at the various mountain passes, and others already in existence put in a state of defence; a new palace was built at the capital, in the construction of which the Portuguese prisoners were forced to labour as slaves, while the captured banners of Portugal waved beneath the Ceylonese standard above them.

Don John enjoyed an interval of tranquillity without molestation from his European foes; but when the intelligence of their overthrow reached Goa, the Portuguese resolved to make one other attempt, ere they for ever abandoned the object they so highly prized. Another squadron was now equipped, by command of the Viceroy, and a force of Europeans, considered sufficient for the reduction of the island, embarked, under the command of Don Jerôme de Azevedo. The maritime districts on the western coast, were, as usual, quickly taken, the old military posts were re-occupied, the adhesion of the chiefs obtained, and the pass of Wellane—that pass which had so lately been choked with the bodies of their former comrades—reached, where Don John was again posted to receive them. Warned by experience, Azevedo adopted every precaution, and ere he entered, ordered the dispersion of the parties of natives in concealment. Thus baulked of

[1] Don Pedro de Souza who had been severely wounded in the battle, did not long survive this catastrophe; a little before his death he earnestly recommended his son to the compassion of Don John, who promised to send him to Colombo by the first opportunity, a promise which, remarkable to say, he faithfully performed. The detachments sent to the aid of the Portuguese from Colombo, were not equally fortunate. Being intercepted by the Singhalese, they were deprived of their noses, ears, and other members, in revenge for the cruelties perpetrated by their countrymen, and sent back to Colombo to shew their comrades what treatment they might expect if they fell into their hands. The Portuguese found in the different fortified posts were all put to the sword.

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his prey, Don John resolved to take advantage of the broken nature of the country, and commenced his attack in a well chosen position. The Portuguese boldly advanced, hoping that a regular battle would develope the superiority of their discipline and fire. But the number and courage of his troops amply made up for Don John's inferiority in those respects, while his own ability enabled him to bring out those circumstances to the best advantage. His presence was everywhere felt, and the fury of the Europeans, who, instigated by honour to revenge their former loss, fought with desperation, was sensibly checked. The victory, long doubtful, terminated in favour of the Singhalese; but the victors had little cause for triumph, and Azevedo, whose courage and skill had been amply manifested in the late encounter, now displayed them to yet greater advantage in the retreat. With the enemy at both flanks, ready to harass them at every point, the remnant of the army pursued their distressing march for five long days ere Colombo was in sight, and they were once more secure from molestation. A cruel act of the Portuguese, who put to death with great barbarity a chief named Correa, whom they had taken at Galle, notwithstanding a solemn pledge to the contrary, was at this time horribly revenged by Don John, who mutilated numbers of the Portuguese prisoners, and ordering them to be deprived of their eyes, sent them back to Colombo.

Azevedo had nearly fallen a victim to the vengeance of his troops, who accused him as the cause of this calamity; and he was only saved from their fury by the interposition of some priests, who at the danger of their own lives, threw themselves between him and the infuriate soldiers. Force having failed, the Portuguese now tried treachery. Five assassins are said to have been hired by Azevedo, at the instigation of Emanuel Diaz, a modeliar and a Kandian spy, who had formerly served in the Portuguese army, to dispatch the Kandian prince; but an intimation of their approach having been received by Don John, from their betrayer, they met the fate they deserved. In return for his treachery, Emanuel Diaz was appointed first adigaar by the Emperor and loaded with honours.

Such was the posture of affairs, when the Dutch, whose possessions and commerce in this quarter of the world had already become of moment, began to turn their eyes to Ceylon, not merely with a view to the consolidation of their eastern dominions, but as a favourable channel through which political and commercial relations might be formed with the peninsula of India. Accordingly, Admiral Spilbergen, bearing secret instructions from the Dutch East India Company, was despatched with three vessels early in 1601, to enter into a communication with the natives, and pave the way for a footing on the island. On casting anchor, he found himself off the mouth of a river a little to the south of Batecalo, where he had intended to land, but on discovering his mistake from the natives, he sailed for that place under the guidance of a native pilot, and sent an officer to open a correspondence with the Dissave, or petty prince,

of the district, who assumed on these occasions the insignia of independent power.

The natives, through a Portuguese interpreter, expressed their readiness to dispose of the pepper and cinnamon they had on hand, and informed him that a modeliar was then in the vicinity, who would enter into the matter with the admiral. His messenger returned with like tidings. Spilbergen landed, therefore, with six of his men, and was conducted on an elephant to the modeliar, with whom he arranged for an interview with the Dissave. He was received by that chieftain with apparent cordiality. A guard of 600 men escorted him to the spot, and Spilbergen was thanked for the presents that had anticipated his arrival. But a cloud now intervened, which had its origin in the suspicions of the chiefs as to the character of the stranger, whom they took for a Portuguese spy. After some delay, Spilbergen succeeded in undeceiving them, and was permitted to return to his fleet, from whence he procured fresh presents for the Dissave and his followers, and returned to the court. But his proceedings were destined to be again interrupted by the suspicious conduct of the modeliar, who proposed that he should bring his fleet to an anchor within the harbour. In the situation in which he found himself, there was no other alternative than compliance. To disguise his fears, he, therefore, consented to the demand, with the view of obtaining leave to return to the fleet. In the act of returning, he was told that it would be necessary to leave his companions behind. To this he apparently readily assented, and with an unembarrassed air requested a number of Singhalese to accompany him on board his ship. On their arrival, he led them into the ship's hold, under the pretext of examining the merchandise, where by suddenly fastening down the hatchway, he placed them in close confinement. He then affected to shew the prisoners the riches he had brought to barter, and sending back the interpreter, charged him to report to the Dissave on the precious goods destined to be exchanged for the cinnamon, &c. he had promised. He subsequently wrote a letter to that chief, in which he exhorted him to shun evil counsel and deliver up the promised merchandise, and declared further, that he would never send back the Singhalese till he had released the Dutch in his possession. He complained that a proposal should have been made to land his merchandise and warp his ship into the harbour, without his having been informed of the produce at his disposal. Moreover, as the chief had not been ashamed to maintain that he was a Portuguese, he had reason to fear the confiscation of his property under this false pretext. Yet nevertheless, if the chief would renew the correspondence in good faith, he pledged himself to act with sincerity. This letter was accompanied by further presents, the Dutch flag was hoisted, and their artillery saluted in honour of the chief, who was in no slight degree alarmed at a compliment he could not understand, and sent back the interpreter laden with refreshments for the fleet, and with an offer of

all the country afforded. The Dutch prisoners were likewise restored in safety. He entreated that the admiral would select his cargo there, offering to place some Singhalese headmen as hostages, till it was completed; treated as ill-advised the modeliar's proposal, and only requested time to collect all the Dutch could desire.

These declarations were received by Spilbergen with satisfaction, but the price of the cinnamon brought down, appeared excessive, and the Dutch commander informed the Singhalese that he could not purchase so small a quantity. Upon this the Dissave, finding his enterprise had miscarried, retired from the shore.

From the general tenor of this chieftain's conduct, the Dutch, who were but ill-informed of the political state of Ceylon, or the rank of the prince in question, learnt that it would be necessary, with a view to obtain all they desired, to ask the permission and solicit the protection of the Emperor of Kandy, designated the Great King. The Dissave indeed had offered to send an envoy to his court accompanied by a Dutch agent. Spilbergen at first resolved to undertake the mission in his own person, and demanded hostages of the Dissave, which the latter was willing to give. But the length of the journey for the moment hindered his design, and he despatched an agent to the court with suitable presents. Meanwhile the Dutch opened a trade with the natives in precious stones, which would have proved highly lucrative, but for the exactions of the Dissave.

The return of the agent with presents and a gracious letter, written with the Emperor's own hand, inviting the admiral to Kandy, and promising an exchange of native for European commodities, recalled the primary object of his expedition to the Dutch commander. Spilbergen, in his joy at this event, and the unexpected arrival of a Dutch vice-admiral, eagerly prepared to undertake the journey, and requiring no further information, made no secret of his motives, which were to follow up the alliance with the Emperor on the terms proposed by Prince Maurice; and with this design he set out in July, and was not only received at the several stages of his journey with every mark of distinction and honour, but the Dissave had commands to convey him free of expense in his own palanquin as far as the Kandyan territory.

On his arrival there he was received by a modeliar, who conducted him to a rest house, the chamber of which was hung with white tapestry, a mark of distinguished honour. His entry into Bintenné, the residence of one of the Emperor's wives, was graced by an escort of six modeliars, followed by headmen and musicians, who conducted him into the town to the sound of flutes and tambourins. The queen was impatient of his arrival, and enjoined that every thing he required should be placed at his disposal. He next passed a seat of the Emperor's son, a day's journey from the royal residence. On advancing within a short distance from the capital, the Emperor sent his own palanquin covered with cloth of gold for his conveyance, with a number of elephants for his attendants, and parties of natives,

laden with fruits and a sort of wine scarcely inferior to that of Portugal, lined the road. The chief modeliar, who was a Portuguese renegade, accompanied by several officers of that nation, and by upwards of a thousand soldiers of different nations, Turks, Moors, Singhalese, Kaffres, Portuguese renegades, with colours taken from the Portuguese, and a band of native musicians, escorted him to his lodging, furnished after the European manner.

The same evening he was entertained by Don John at the palace with great magnificence, and the Singhalese ceremonies, so trivial and wearisome, were for once dispensed with.

Don John, clad in white, walked with him up and down the spacious hall, and addressing him in a jargon of Portuguese, endeavoured to extract the cause and purpose of his visit. As the price of cinnamon appeared excessive, Spilbergen respectfully declined entering into trade on that occasion, though pressed by the monarch; and unfolding his commission, declared that he had not come to trade so much as to proffer the alliance and friendship of his master, and to promise succour, both in ships and men, if the Emperor required it, against the Portuguese. The Emperor, delighted with his proposal, repeated it to his court, who loudly demonstrated their joy; and embracing the admiral with affection, protested that he might take all the cinnamon in store, which he was grieved to say was low; as he had destroyed his surplus stock to prevent its falling into the hands of the Portuguese.

His point gained, Spilbergen, who, weary with his journey, sought repose, was dismissed with a promise that he should be sent for on the morrow. Nothing could exceed the hospitality and attention with which the admiral was received. Horses were brought to him daily, on which to take excursions, feasts in the European style were given on his account, and uninterrupted access was allowed him to every public building; the Emperor sought his opinion on the Pagodas, which were of great magnitude and height, and asked if the Dutch churches were as much adorned with images and statues as those of the Portuguese; Spilbergen replied, that the Dutch loved better the sight of animate beings, and gave him to understand, that they had no taste for the rites of the Church of Rome. The king appeared much delighted with his conversation, and listened with avidity to the state of European politics. The tenets of his religion, the state of his nation, his friends, his fortune, his rank in the Dutch service, were all successively asked by the inquisitive monarch, but his chief delight was in the account of European wars and revolutions, and the political state of the United Provinces, of which he apparently could never hear too much. As a mark of high favour, the Emperor took him into the Empress's apartments. He found her in the midst of her children, and clad in the European manner. The king assured him, that if he was disposed to construct a fortress in his country, the queen and her chil-

dren should be the first to bear the requisite materials on their shoulders, and further offered him his choice of the most suitable bay and spot, giving him authority to treat with the States in his behalf. Meanwhile, true to the national character, Spilbergen made every effort to obtain protection and commercial privileges for his countrymen. Full protection was offered, and free trade in cinnamon and pepper was likewise conceded. After this success, Spilbergen took leave of the Emperor, leaving him two of his musicians, and departed, laden with presents, for the squadron, with which he sailed from Batecalo, in order to take advantage of the monsoon, on the 2nd of September, and having fallen in with a Portuguese vessel, he captured it in the presence of Emanuel Diaz, the Maha modeliar, who paid a visit to the fleet, for the purpose of giving some hydrographical information, and sent it as a present to Don John.——Off Achem, Spilbergen fell in with and captured another Portuguese vessel, and in conversing with her crew, was asked why the Dutch had come so far from their country in quest of commerce. The reason is, said Spilbergen, because your master the king of Castile and Portugal, is working on us daily injustice, and prevents our intercourse with his kingdom. He has put us, therefore, under the necessity of turning our commerce to America and the East Indies. We hope soon to see our flag floating on the waters of China. Our vessels have already visited the Straits of Magellan, the South Seas, and the Philippines. The energy with which these words were uttered, appeared greatly to chagrin his auditors, but when they learnt that Spilbergen had been to Ceylon, and had entered into an alliance with the king of Kandy, they regarded that incident as a mournful presage, indicative of numberless misfortunes to their empire in the East.

The eager joy with which the Dutch attempted to peer into the future, and the exultation with which the news of the junction between the two rival East India Companies of Holland was received, were soon, however, alloyed, by symptoms of the insecure tenure of their new alliance. No sooner indeed had the fleet of the admiral left the coast of Ceylon, than another Dutch expedition arrived under the command of Sebald de Weerd, who proceeded from Batecalo to Kandy, and met with a kind and courteous reception from the Emperor.

Being compelled to depart for Achem, he took with him a Singhalese ambassador, the ultimate cause of his murder and misfortunes. Having previously concluded a treaty with Don John, by which he engaged to co-operate with that prince in the attack of Point de Galle, De Weerd now incensed him by the release of some Portuguese vessels he had recently captured. On his returning to the coast, that monarch set out to meet him with a view of expostulating with him on their release: it was accomplished, however, before his arrival, and he was consequently greatly enraged at what

he considered a breach of faith. The ambassador,[1] moreover, inflamed his anger by cautioning him against the wiles of his new allies. Hence, when requested to visit his vessel, the Emperor, who could scarcely conceal his suspicion, refused, and would not even accompany him to the shore. De Weerd, heated with wine, pressed his demand with unbecoming familiarity, but was informed that Don John could no longer remain, as he had to return to the empress, who was now left alone by the departure of her brother for one of the provinces. The rude Dutchman replied that she would certainly not be very long without having some one to fulfil his duties, and furthermore, that he would not proceed to the attack of Galle till his wishes were complied with. "Bind that dog," said the king, who could no longer restrain his tumultuous passions, and immediately departed. A struggle followed, in which De Weerd, with upwards of fifty of his followers, was slain. Before he proceeded to Kandy, Don John, whose anger had somewhat cooled on hearing of the death of the Dutch officer, but was rekindled on hearing that he had offered resistance, transmitted the following laconic note, in Portuguese, to the second in command of the Dutch fleet; "He that drinks wine is good for nothing; God has executed justice; if you desire peace, let there be peace; if war, war."——The conduct at this juncture of Enchuysen, the successor of De Weerd, affords a striking instance of Dutch passiveness under oppression, and of the readiness with which they rendered subservient to the love of gain the passions which, in the case of a more impetuous people, would have been kindled to the highest pitch of excitement. Instead of an hostile demonstration, the offer of the repentant monarch to justify his conduct, which he alleged had been caused by the insolence of De Weerd, was received with approval, and the foundation was laid for a perfect reconciliation. He now offered them the residue of his cinnamon crop, and requested in return their assistance against the Portuguese.

The remaining years of Don John's reign were passed in tranquillity, and twelve years after the death of Singha, according to the Dutch, Portuguese, and native historians, expired also Wimala Dharma, who, no less than his rival, had succeeded in counteracting Portuguese aggression. Without the originality of his opponent, he was resolute and persevering, an able general and an excellent tactician; quick in discovering the designs of his enemies, he knew how to seize the opportunities his foresight had created. On the other hand he was equally selfish, cruel, and tyrannical. The justice which

1 This ambassador considered himself to have been treated with disrespect by De Weerd, inasmuch as he was placed at the bottom of his table, while the Portuguese prisoners enjoyed the uppermost seat, and revenged himself by insinuating to Don John that the Dutch were not the mortal enemies of the Portuguese they professed to be, and advised him to be on his guard, and not to venture on board the Dutch fleet, as in that case they would assuredly seize on him and the country.

he exercised towards his subjects is said by Valentyn to have been strict and impartial, so that few crimes were perpetrated during his reign, and great regularity and precision were to be remarked in his administration of affairs. His opposition to the Portuguese proceeded not from the patriotism, by which Singha was distinguished, but from his ambition alone, and a knowledge that they were his rivals for the possession of the island. The religion of Buddha was protected by him, and its neglected rites restored (by the arrival of priests from Arracan, who renewed the Upasampada ordination) from much the same cause; for while he had renounced at Goa the religion of his fathers, he appears to have only nominally assumed that of the European conqueror.

The death of Don John once more attested the demoralization of the nation. Two of the nobles at once entered the lists of competition for the regency and the guardianship of the sons of Don John by Catharina, viz. Wijayapaala[1] and Koomara Singha, both children of a tender age. [A.D. 1604.] Senerat, or Cenuwieraat Raja, brother of the late king, having succeeded in gaining the latter trust, accomplished the former object by the assassination of his rival, the Prince of Ouva. Displeasing as this act was to Donna Catharina, now in the prime of life, yet the success of Senerat left her little ground for venting her displeasure, and such was his courtly grace, though he had but recently relinquished the priestly robes, that no long time elapsed ere Donna Catharina bestowed upon him her heart and hand, and with them the sovereignty of Ceylon.

[1] According to Valentyn, Donna Catharina, seeing the tumultuous outrages and dissension by which the kingdom was distracted, and judging herself to have the best claim to the government, as the mother of the young prince, resolutely seized the helm, and instantly ordered some of those who most contumaciously opposed her power, to be put to death. By these energetic proceedings she repressed the public disorders, and established a temporary tranquillity. As the Prince of Ouva and Senerat were renewing their intrigues for the crown, the Empress ordered the great body of nobility to make their appearance at court, all of whom obeyed the royal summons except these two aspiring chiefs. They were according proclaimed rebels, and their estates were declared forfeited. But they had sufficient interest to get this sentence revoked, and came to court as before, each with a large body of retainers, being in mutual distrust. The Prince of Ouva had formed a design of assassinating his rival, of marrying the Empress, and of thus seating himself upon the throne, as soon as the nobles had dispersed. But Senerat, who had learnt his design, avoided the danger, and feigning a reconciliation with his adversary, he resolved with several chiefs to put him to death at the first opportunity. The rivals were proceeding to court to take leave of the Empress, and while with ceremonious politeness they were reciprocally professing to yield the point of precedence, the Prince of Ouva, as the eldest, consented to lead the way. He had gone but a few steps when Senerat stabbed him in the back, exclaiming, "Lie there thou false traitor," and his followers instantly carried off the dead body. Reclamations were made against this daring outrage committed within the precincts of the palace; but the Empress, who was fearful of producing greater trouble, thought it more politic to declare that the Prince had been put to death by her orders.

The conclusion of the war between Spain and her revolted provinces in 1609, did not prevent the Dutch from prosecuting their designs on Ceylon. In 1612, Marcellus de Boschouder arrived at Kandy with letters from the States General to Senerat, in which they assured him that they had taken care that he was included in the truce with Portugal. An offensive and defensive treaty was now once more concluded between the Hollanders and the Singhalese monarch, and the former obtained leave to erect a fort at Kotti-aar, near Trincomalee, the materials of which were to be furnished by Senerat, and were granted the monopoly of trade. To demonstrate the sincerity of his friendship, Boschouder was appointed the Emperor's admiral, created Prince of Mingone, and received several distinguished honours. Alarmed by the dangerous character of these indications, the Portuguese resolved no longer to remain passive spectators of events, and determined on the immediate reduction of the fort at Kotti-aar, in which a company of soldiers had been left by Boschouder. With this view 1000 Portuguese and 3000 Indians, under the command of Simon Correa, marched by a secret track, pointed out by the natives, surprised it, and with barbarous cruelty murdered every one of the inmates. But Senerat was on the alert, and before the Portuguese had reached their own territory, he had collected a body of 5000 men, with which he revenged the massacre of his allies. These proceedings led to great preparations on either side. Fifty thousand men are said to have been raised by Senerat, one division of which, led by the Prince of Ouva, was destined for the attack of Galle; the other, under the command of Boschouder, was to attack the fortress of Wellane, and after carrying it, to march upon Colombo. The Portuguese likewise called into the field every available soldier. Yet the result was without fruit, either from mutual fear or inactivity.

[A.D. 1613.] In 1613, Senerat lost his legitimate claim to the throne by the death of Donna Catharina. The Prince Mahestane, her eldest son by Don John, had shortly before anticipated her, not without suspicions having been entertained against the king, who had also by her a son and heir. This circumstance is said to have produced such an effect on her mind as to have hastened her end, which, if we are to believe Ribeiro, was harassed by remorse at her religious backsliding. Before her death she sent for Boschouder and the Prince of Ouva, and after exacting from them an oath of fidelity, made them guardians over her children.

The rebellion of a native chief, who had, in reliance of Portuguese aid, treated his sovereign's commands with contempt, furnished Boschouder with a fitting opportunity for ingratiating himself with the Singhalese monarch by his overthrow.[1] This accomplished, Senerat, who

[1] The defection and subsequent overthrow and execution of this chief is thus related by Baldæus. The Dissave of Panna having joined the Portuguese, was summoned by the Emperor to Kandy, there to explain his conduct. On refusing

still aimed at the expulsion of the Portuguese, sent the favourite to Europe to procure a body of Dutch troops for that purpose. Previous to his setting out, Boschouder defeated the Portuguese fleet between Cape Comorin and Ceylon, and after burning some of their ships and taking others returned with a large booty. At length, in 1615, Boschouder departed on his mission, and having vainly essayed to obtain his object at Mazulipatam, arrived at length in Holland. The supercilious tone which the plenipotentiary of Senerat assumed in the conduct of the negotiation with the Prince of Orange and the Directors of the Dutch East India Company, proved an irremovable bar to his success with those haughty republicans, and finding that no support was to be expected from his native land, he proceeded to Denmark, which had recently turned its attention to the benefits of a commercial connection with the East, and entered into a treaty with Christian IV. on behalf of Senerat. By him he was furnished with two small vessels, with which he set sail for Ceylon in 1619; and the Danish East India Company, conceiving that such an opening was not to be neglected, despatched soon after five other vessels under the command of Gule Giedde, a Danish noble. During the passage, however, Boschouder died, and the fickle temperament of Senerat induced him to refuse the ratification of the treaty on learning the death of his ambassador, so that Giedde returned without in any way furthering the object of the expedition.

to obey, Boschouder was sent against him with a large force, which had orders to lay waste the whole territory. The inhabitants, perceiving the uselessness of resistance, sent to implore his mercy, and the country was spared on condition of their contributing towards the expense of the war, and furnishing hostages for the speedy appearance of the Dissave at court. On his appearance a Court of Headmen was appointed to try him for high treason in intriguing with the Portuguese and conspiring against the life of the King. His guilt being proved by his own correspondence, he implored the King's mercy, as being descended from the imperial blood, and urged the many services rendered to the crown by his ancestors. He was ordered, however, to be beheaded, and a number of his accomplices were thrown before the elephants, and all their goods and estates confiscated. Accordingly a scaffold covered with white, the royal colour, being erected, the Dissave was brought thither and seated himself upon a gilt chair. He at first appeared undaunted by the spectacle, but on being deprived of all his dignities in the view of the people, and the sentence being read to him, he began to bewail his unfortunate lot, asking frequently whether there were no hopes of pardon. Being answered in the negative, he suffered himself to be undressed by some of his attendants who were all in tears, to whom he made rich presents of jewels, and ordered one of his chief officers to bind up his eyes. In the meantime the Dissave took some betel and areca nut, and then said, "Why do we stay? Unfortunate I! To what am I reduced!" Then taking three turns round the scaffold, he sat down and thus addressed the bystanders: "I am a prince descended from the imperial blood, but since I must die, this is my only request, that my corpse may not be left to the management of vile persons, but be honoured with a royal sepulture." A promise to that effect having been made by some of the chiefs there present, he seemed well pleased, and asking their pardon for what had passed, laid his head upon the block, when it was immediately severed from his body.

Again released from the fear of European rivalry, the Portuguese pushed their conquests in the maritime provinces, and erected forts at Trincomalee and Batecalo for the defence of the eastern coast. A short time previously, Don Juan, their puppet king, had died, and by his will bequeathed the whole kingdom to his protector. "Hence," says Ribeiro, "arose the rightful claims of Portugal;" a claim recognised by all the native chiefs, with the exception of the insurgent King of Kandy, Senerat, who, in his inaccessible domains bade defiance to the Christian invader.

In 1630, Constantine de Saa, who had been for seven years in command of the Portuguese force, perceiving the hostile disposition of the king, put himself as quickly as possible in a state of defence. Every soldier whom he could press into his service, whether European or native, was enrolled, and with a large force he advanced into the interior. The pass of Wellane was first forced, and the road then lay open to Kandy. Constantine did not permit Senerat to recover from his surprise, but boldly pushed his way to Kandy, burning or destroying every thing which came within the reach of his army on the way. The king, who had taken up his residence at Hangranketty, was in consequence compelled to seek safety by a retreat among the mountains of Ouva, where he was secure in the inaccessible nature of the country, and despatched one of his generals, on whom Ribeiro passes a fanciful, yet pleasing, eulogy, into the north, in order to cause a diversion of the enemy's force. Constantine at length discovering that little progress could be made in such a country, where the sympathy of the people encouraged the efforts of the fugitive prince, no less than it paralysed his own, found himself obliged to retreat; but imperative orders to the contrary having been in the meanwhile received from the Viceroy of Goa, and being unable to restrain the impatience of his officers, he again advanced at the head of 1500 Portuguese and 20,000 auxiliaries. After burning the chief town of the province, which Senerat's son, Singha,[1] had but just abandoned with his army, Constantine posted his troops on a lofty hill in the vicinity, with the design of recruiting their strength for a few days, ere he completed the reduction of the country, and watching the motions of the natives.

He was soon, however, undeceived with regard to his fancied security. On a sudden thousands upon thousands of the natives were observed defiling towards the neighbouring eminences, while the

[1] Davy relates the following tradition respecting this prince—"On the day that the fort of Gannoroowé, built by Correa, was taken, Raja Singha, who exposed himself to the enemy's fire, had a narrow escape of his life: a Kaffre aimed at him and sent a bullet through his cap; the prince returned the fire with effect. For many years the cap was kept as a court curiosity, and the gun which the prince used was found in the armoury at Kandy. It was left-handed, as the prince was, and bore the following inscription: 'This is the gun with which Raja Singha killed the Kaffre who fired at him at Gattambè (another name of the place).'"

remainder occupied the plains: The night having already set in, the Portuguese, weary with their march, passed it alternately in repose and the exercise of the duties of religion, while the natives, overjoyed at having collected in such overwhelming force in a country favourable for their undisciplined manœuvres, spent the night in singing and rejoicing. Constantine, already far from assured of the certainty of his success, went from rank to rank to remind his troops of their former achievements and the momentous consequences which hung on the combat of the morrow. "Before this," said he, "you have battled for glory, now you must fight for your lives."

One of the first events of the morrow was the defection of a large number of their native force, who, with the cowardice of lowlanders, had an early presentiment of the coming danger. The battle was, nevertheless, commenced with equal fury on both sides. The Portuguese, on every side surrounded, fought with the desperation of men determined on selling their lives as dearly as possible, and made fearful havoc of the Singhalese, but what could avail against a force so ill matched; and Singha, then but seventeen years of age, confident of ultimate success, sent fresh troops at intervals to fill the place of the slain. In this manner, without rest or cessation, the dreadful combat continued during the whole day, and the contending parties only paused when the darkness of night rendered their exertions unavailing. Night, however, brought no respite of ill to the hapless Portuguese. The torrents of rain which now fell, not only prevented repose, but rendered their muskets useless.[1] In this dilemma they besought Constantine de Saa to retire with a suitable guard, and to save his own life by cutting his way through the enemy's forces. As might have been expected, Constantine refused, and resolved to live or die with his companions in arms. The fate of the reduced force was now sealed, and the next day witnessed the annihilation of the remnant of that lately confident army.

From this moment the hope of the conquest of Ceylon ceased to be entertained by the Portuguese. The army of Senerat lost not a moment in recapturing the forts on the Mahavellé-ganga and in advancing to the investment of Colombo. Assault after assault was repulsed, but the garrison had to strain every nerve, and on one occasion the fort owed its preservation to the resolute resistance of the citizens and slaves, so greatly had the natives improved in every branch of warfare. Assistance ultimately arrived from Goa and Cochin, after having been long delayed by adverse winds.

[A.D. 1634.] Senerat did not long enjoy the results of his son's success. In 1634, after a prosperous reign of thirty years, old age and grief at the recent death of his wife consummated his end, and he died, bequeathing to his son Singha the larger portion of the island,

[1] One of the Portuguese historians, Botelho, assures us that this rain was miraculous, and that not a drop fell on the Singhalese.

and leaving to the remaining son of Don John an insignificant province, of which Singha soon deprived him. Though he manifested some signs of ability, and penetrated into the designs of the Portuguese, his disposition was not of a martial character.

On the death of Senerat, his son Singha[1] hastened to claim the sovereignty of the entire island, nor were his ambitious views destined to be opposed with any effect by Wijayapala, whose imbecility of mind left him no other resource than to seek safety by a precipitate flight to the Portuguese, among whom he ever after remained.

Conceiving that an opportunity presented itself for recovering their lost supremacy, by advocating the cause of the fugitive prince, and apprized of the overtures made to Singha by the Dutch, the Portuguese, undaunted by former reverses, entered the low lands and compelled most of the chiefs in that part of the country to join their cause, but did not on that occasion venture to attempt the passage of the mountains. There their camp was surprised by the Singhalese troops, and the Portuguese marched back to Colombo, after having agreed upon an armistice with the Emperor, which, as will be seen, they broke almost immediately after.

As soon as the Portuguese heard that Koster, the Dutch commissioner, had landed at Trincomalee, and that Dutch ships had arrived to carry away a large quantity of the cinnamon and pepper, which, pursuant to the contract with Singha belonged to them, they sent to demand the cause of its non-fulfilment. The only reply they received from the Emperor, was, "that having promised the same to his friends the Dutch, he would like to see the men who should dare oppose him." This resolute answer no less nettled the Portuguese than it satisfied them of the confederacy between the Emperor and the Dutch, and that an attack on Batecalo was to be expected. Some of their officers recalling to mind, that if they had been scarcely able to cope with the forces of Singha alone, they would be still less able to resist them when supported by a European force, proposed to embark their treasure, men and artillery, and set sail for Goa; while others more brave, rejected the proposal as base and inconsistent with the national honour, and resolved to perish rather than in that manner quit an isle that had cost so much blood and treasure. Bottado, who had laid the foundations of Batecalo, proposed at this juncture to march on Kandy before Raja Singha could be

[1] According to Baldæus, Senerat left three sons; to the eldest Koomaara Singha Hastanna, he bequeathed the principality of Ouva; to his second son, Wijayapala, Mátelé, and to Mahestane or Raja Singha, Kandy. While the elder brother lived Rajah Singha did not insist upon the supremacy, but on his death seized on Ouva and claimed the entire sovereignty. Knox mentions that Senerat, previous to his death, divided the country between the three princes by lot, intending Kandy for his third son, Singha. This he accomplished by artifice. The names of the three principalities being written on three papers, were put into a pot, and a person in the secret was appointed to take them out and deliver one to each: the paper with Kandy written on it, was thus delivered to Singha.

joined by the Dutch, and this proposal meeting with general concurrence, they set out in March 1638, under the command of Diego de Melo, with a force variously stated by the Portuguese and Dutch historians, and a large body of native auxiliaries. On notice of their approach being received by the Emperor, he retired with all his people from the capital, leaving it to the mercy of the enemy, who entering it unopposed, plundered or burnt every thing that came in their way, and then proceeded on their route to other districts. Meanwhile the Emperor had ordered the road to Wellané and all other places on their line of march to be obstructed, by laying trees across the roads. When then the Portuguese advanced without the most ordinary precaution to that pass, that had more than once given a death blow to their hopes of conquest, they were met by Singha, who sent a deprecatory message to De Melo, demanding of him whether his religion taught him to invade the territory of one who was then at peace with him, and imprecating the curse of the God of the Christians upon those who acted so inconsistently with his precepts. Elated by this apparently timorous demeanour, the Portuguese rushed on to the centre of the pass. Meanwhile, the Emperor posted in a tree, kept close to his camp, watching every opportunity of attacking them with advantage, in which he soon succeeded, a violent storm of rain having rendered the Portuguese muskets useless. On a sudden the Singhalese appeared on every side, and a shower of arrows and spears fell thick upon their devoted heads. Night came on, but with it no cessation of the attack from their invisible foes, who were posted in a manner that rendered them equally sheltered from attack, and capable of taking aim.

In vain did they offer to negotiate a peace on condition that they might be permitted to retire unmolested to Colombo. The reply convinced them that they had now no hope of safety, other than that arising from their own valour. For a night and a day did the Portuguese maintain the unequal combat, but receiving little or no support from their allies, most of whom had deserted their standard at the first appearance of danger, and few Europeans being now left, they desisted from their attempt to force the pass, and surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion, no more than seventy being left of that lately numerous force.

Though powerful and intrepid enough to resist Portuguese aggressions with effect, Singha was unable to drive that people from the island, and foreseeing that he would be constantly annoyed as heretofore by their attacks, he determined to invoke the assistance of the Dutch, with a view to their final expulsion. Accordingly, he dispatched an embassy to the Governor of Paliacatta, by whom his communication was forwarded to Batavia, in September 1636, in which, after stating that he had made diligent inquiry as to which of the European nations was most powerful, and having discovered that they could render him the most effectual assistance, he

respectfully and earnestly implored their aid against the common enemy. The Brahmin dispatched with this letter, lived six months undiscovered among the Portuguese at Jaffnapatam, before he could meet with a passage to the Coromandel coast, whence proceeding overland to Paliacatta he delivered the letter to Governor Reyniers. Dutch ambassadors were subsequently sent to Kandy, to treat with the Singhalese monarch, who promised to permit them to erect a fort at Kotiaar or Batecalo, and to bear all the expenses of the equipment of the squadron sent to his assistance. Some time before this, Anthony Van Dieman and the Council of the Indies, had taken the state of Ceylon into consideration, and ordered Reyniers to inquire whether a share in the cinnamon trade was not within their power, in order that they might complete their monopoly of the spice trade. To this the Emperor returned a favourable answer, promising them the monopoly of both pepper and cinnamon, and this was now the basis of the convention[1] between them. While the envoys were making their propositions, the Emperor stood (an honour never paid to the Portu-

[1] The treaty between the Emperor and the Dutch, rendered the latter the virtual masters of the island. It stipulated a firm and stedfast amity between the two powers, and mutual assistance on all occasions against the Portuguese; from the Emperor a certain sum by way of pension for each Dutch officer who died or was maimed in his service; a division of the spoil found in the places captured by the combined force; the fortresses taken to be garrisoned and provided with ammunition by the Dutch, for which they were to be reimbursed by the Emperor, and he undertook the expense of their completion and repairs; all designs against the common enemy to be concerted in common; the rivers to be protected by Dutch troops at the Emperor's expense; the charge of the repairs of the Dutch fleet sent to his aid, to be repaid in produce, and in case the quantity furnished should exceed or fall short of the sum required, the balance should be paid in money, by each party respectively; the Dutch to be allowed to build warehouses and magazines in the conquered places, as also to enjoy a free passage and the monopoly of trade through his dominions; the Singhalese to furnish the Dutch with bullocks for the carriage of goods bought in their territories; the Dutch people to remain under the authority of their own commanders; no native trading with the Dutch, to sell any commodities purchased from them, until they have received payment, or the Dutch shall have power to seize his person and compel him to produce the goods; the Dutch may seize the person of any native indebted to them to a large amount, previous notice having been given to the Emperor; no person shall raise or diminish the value of coin, otherwise than has been agreed upon by the contracting parties, under pain of death, and the confiscation of their property; in case a Dutch deserter should flee into the Singhalese territories, he shall be delivered up; the same shall apply to Singhalese deserters; on the conclusion of the treaty, neither his majesty nor his subjects, shall maintain any secret or public correspondence, or commerce, with the Portuguese, but look upon them as declared enemies, and in case the latter shall be convicted, they shall suffer death.

His majesty will not suffer any priests, friars, &c., to dwell in his dominions, considering them to be the authors of all rebellions, and the ruin of all governments.

Prizes taken by the Dutch ships employed in his majesty's service, to belong to the East India Company, provided it repairs, at its own charge, the damages sustained by the said ships. The Dutch shall render all possible assistance to such vessels as may sail on his majesty's service to foreign ports.

guese) with the crown on his head, and a scymitar in his hand, his head, arms and legs being adorned with jewels, rings and chains of gold. He inquired after the state of affairs in Holland, and the health of the Prince of Orange, and mentioned that the Portuguese had styled the Dutch an inconsiderable and rebellious mob, who had incurred the hatred of all the other Indian princes, the injustice of which was demonstrated by their powerful fleet. While these conferences were taking place, a letter was sent to the Prince of Mâtelé, the Emperor's brother, by De Melo, governor of Colombo, in which he complained of the intended breach of the treaty, reproached the Emperor as the cause, and added that he had informed the Viceroy of Goa thereof. This letter was handed by the Emperor to the Dutch, as a mark of his sincerity, and his disbelief of the calumnies of the Portuguese.

Meanwhile the defeat of the Portuguese fleet, which had escaped the Dutch blockading squadron off Goa and put to sea, left Admiral Westerwold at full liberty to comply with the terms of the recent treaty with Singha for the investment of Batecalo. Accordingly, arrangements having been previously concerted with the Modeliar of that province, the Dutch landed a detachment of troops and seamen, and raised two batteries, with the assistance of the natives, one on the east, the other on the south side of the fort, while the Emperor, sending the larger part of his forces under the Prince of Mâtelé to invest Colombo, joined the army before Batecalo with a force of 2000 men. Every preparation having been completed, and a spring of fresh water at the distance of a musket shot from the fort having been cut off, the Portuguese hung out a white flag, after a short resistance, and capitulated on condition that they should be permitted to march out with arms and baggage, and be transported along with the mistices in a Dutch ship to Negapatam. The natives were delivered to the Emperor, who having impaled fifty, sold the rest as slaves. Trincomalee was next invested, and from the paucity of troops and the want of ammunition, was reduced in a few days. In accordance with the convention with Singha, both these forts were entirely demolished, and not a vestige left on the eastern coast of a regular fortification.

In 1640, the war was renewed with redoubled vigour. Twelve Dutch vessels appeared suddenly before Colombo, but, whether surprised at the formidable means of defence possessed by it, or desirous of making its capture the crowning event of the war, immediately proceeded to Negombo, where they landed 2000 men, and as the Portuguese had been unable to re-inforce the garrison, which was much reduced by reason of the troops required for the defence of Colombo, &c., they quickly carried it by storm. Lucassan, the Dutch commander, at once resolved on fortifying it as strongly as circumstances would permit, and threw up an earthen mound, which he surrounded with a moat, and further strengthened it with fascines and palisades.

Leaving 300 men and a due proportion of artillery, he made a feint of attacking Colombo, but remaining no longer than was sufficient to deceive them as to his real design, he pushed on to Galle,[1] which Koster had already invested with some success. The Portuguese kept the Dutch in constant alarm by a series of sallies from the fort, but at length a sufficient breach having been made in the bastion of St. Jago, preparations were made for storming, and it was taken by assault after a conflict of two hours. Galle was immediately fortified and rendered impregnable against any assault the Portuguese might direct against it.

The arrival of Juan de Silva Tellez as viceroy of Goa, and the vigorous measures which he adopted for restoring Portuguese supremacy in Ceylon, soon, however, changed the aspect of affairs. Don Philippe Mascarenhas, a young commander of great energy and ability, was immediately dispatched with a body of men, and a large quantity of warlike stores to Colombo, where, re-inforced by a portion of the garrison, he proceeded against Negombo, which he carried after a brisk assault; the garrison being allowed all the honours of war. He next hastened to the attack of Galle, which Koster had put in a good state of defence. So vigorously, however, did he push the siege, that Koster deemed it prudent to proceed to Kandy, and request the assistance of the Emperor. Singha, who had from the first kept aloof from both parties, so far as hazarding his own troops was concerned; partly perhaps, from a disinclination to unveil the real weakness of his military power for anything but irregular warfare, as much as from a desire to let the rival nations weaken each other, and so afford an opportunity of ultimately ridding the island of powers, whose presence was equally inimical to his independence; or, as is yet more probable, from a growing suspicion, that the Dutch intended no more than the Portuguese to respect the terms of the convention, when, by the expulsion of the former, they could the better throw off the mask, amused him with vague promises, the insincerity of which Koster had for some time experienced. Forgetful of the fate of De Weerd, he openly remonstrated with the King on his evasive conduct, and proceeded to accuse several of the chiefs of treachery. On his return to Batecalo, he was assassinated by his Singhalese guides.

[1] An instance of female heroism is mentioned by Ribeiro in connection with this assault. The governor, Ferreira de Bretto, had been but lately married to a wife, by whom he was passionately loved: on the night of the assault, she was by his side on the batteries, animating him by her presence, and stimulating him by her devotion. At length, after receiving five wounds, a blow of a musket levelled him to the earth, and the soldier who gave it, was just about to dispatch him, when his youthful and beautiful wife threw herself between them, and called upon him as a man and a christian to spare his life, or at least to first slay herself. A Dutch officer, witnessing the heroic action, rushed to her rescue, and having first reassured her as to her husband's safety, ordered the wounded commander to be treated with the greatest kindness, and subsequently gave him and his gallant lady a passage to Batavia.

Meanwhile domestic strife and civil war, with the struggles of the two European nations for supremacy, combined to sweep away the traces of the accumulated labour of ages. A war now broke out between Singha and his brother, the Prince of Ouva, in reference to some Portuguese prisoners; which, after continuing some time with alternate success, resulted in the flight of the latter, and his defection to the Portuguese, by whom he was sent to Goa, where he embraced Christianity.

In 1642, notwithstanding the treaty concluded between John the Fourth, king of Portugal, and the Dutch republic, the basis of which was, that each party should in the Indies continue in possession of what they actually held at the time, the war was pursued by both parties with unabated fury in Ceylon. The Dutch aver, that the renewal of hostilities arose from the bad faith of the Viceroy of Goa,[1] but in all probability it was equally to be attributed to their own aggressive spirit. In January, a considerable Dutch fleet, having on board 3500 men, appeared before Colombo, off which they remained for more than a month, without undertaking the slightest enterprise.

During the following year several encounters took place in the neighbourhood of Galle, without materially affecting the position of either party. In the following year, however, the campaign was more energetically entered upon on both sides, to the advantage of the Dutch, who, under the command of Carron, retook Negombo, the fortifications of which they again strengthened by erecting four bastions at each corner of the square which formed the fort. On each of these, eight guns of large calibre were mounted, while walls and fascines formed the connecting links between the extremities. From this period till 1646, nothing of importance was attempted on either side, and in that year an armistice was concluded between the two powers, which remained in force till 1654, during the whole of which interval, however, a desultory warfare was carried on between Singha and the Portuguese, who repulsed all his attacks against the maritime capital. The latter people, he now clearly perceived, were outmatched in rapacity and love of aggrandisement by their opponents,

[1] The Dutch, in pursuance of this treaty, demanded that the district belonging to the fortress of Galle should be put into their hands, which was refused by the Portuguese under the plea that they were entitled to no more of the country than was under the command of their artillery, the effect of which was to continue the blockade in a time of peace. Hostilities were then recommenced, greatly to the advantage of the Dutch, and continued until the arrival of Maatsuyker with an order from the King of Portugal, recognizing the Dutch interpretation of the treaty. John, who was a wise and prudent prince, and was convinced of the naval superiority of the Dutch by the fleet they had sent to his assistance against Spain, resolved on making concessions until the losses they had suffered should be repaired, and a treaty should have been made with the King of Kandy: had this policy been adopted by the Viceroy of Goa, Portugal might have weathered the storm.

who had not surrendered the district and fort of Matura into his hands as they had promised; and accordingly, he resolved to disconnect himself with both parties, and isolate his country as much as possible from the scene of operations. With this view, he established a chain of forts on the whole extent of his western frontier, from which he received continual notice of the movements of the rival Europeans, while he increased by every artificial means the natural inaccessibility of his mountain fastnesses.

About this time the Dutch were involved in a rupture with the Emperor through their commandant at Negombo, who caried off some of his tame elephants. In retaliation, he surrounded their troops stationed in the Seven Korles, and slaying Van der Stel, their commander, cut off his head, and sent it in a silk bag for the inspection of his countrymen, while he ordered the prisoners to the number of 700 into captivity at Kandy. The Dutch now exerted all their address to produce a reconciliation; Maatsuyker, governor of the Dutch establishments, hastened to disavow the proceeding of his subordinate and to make restoration, protesting further that their object was not to render themselves independent of his majesty, but to protect him against the Portuguese, in return for which they only required the repayment of their military expenses; but if the Emperor could defend himself without their assistance, they were willing to depart from his dominions. They called God to witness that they had no intention of establishing themselves in the country, further than to assist him and receive the products of the country in return, and prayed him to appoint a place in which they might arrange their difficulties, hoping that he was too wise to seek a war with those who had still in their possession four fortresses to render him further service. These professions prove that if the Dutch were wanting in sincerity, they discovered no deficiency of impudence; to tell the sovereign of a country that they had no intention of violating his independence, while they had garrisoned his fortresses, and to assert that these were intended only for his benefit, when they were preserved for the extension of their own conquests, was to presume too much upon their own sagacity, or upon the short-sightedness of the Singhalese.

From the correspondence which took place between Maatsuyker and the Court of Kandy, the Emperor would often appear to have hesitated between the policy of uniting his interest with the Dutch or the Portuguese; but, in the end, the Dutch shewed superior skill in the arts of deception, and triumphed over their opponents in the councils of the Kandian sovereign.

The armistice between the two powers having at length expired, Hulst marched in October, 1655, upon Caltura with 600 men. Hearing that the Portuguese were resolved to make a vigorous defence, and his guns not having arrived, he sent a detachment to secure the passes across the Kalu-ganga, and thus prevent the Portuguese from

receiving any supplies till the arrival of the fleet. At length the garrison, seeing that the Dutch batteries were preparing to play on the fort, and having only provision for a few days, offered to surrender, provided they were allowed the honours of war, to which the Dutch commander acceded. A large number of guns and military stores were found in the garrison. The Dutch troops now marched for Pantura, where they came up with the vanguard of Figeiro, who was on his route to the relief of Caltura with 600 men, and repulsed it with some loss. Van der Laan being posted in an advantageous position, awaited the arrival of the main body, and having fallen on them sword in hand, soon threw them into confusion and slew 150 of their number.

In 1658 the drama was closed by the siege of Colombo, which was defended by a garrison of 800 men. On the 21st of October, the Dutch commander, having taken a view of the enemy's defences, ordered the construction of batteries, which did not commence playing upon the city until the appearance of the Dutch fleet, consisting of twelve sail, gave hopes of a blockade both by sea and land. The garrison was from the first but ill supplied with provisions, and as no provisions or reinforcements could now be thrown into it, it already suffered severely from hunger. Two letters from Souza Coutinho to the commanders in the late actions at Caltura and Pantura having fallen into the hands of Hulst, wherein he mentioned that the defence of Colombo must depend on their success or defeat; the latter demanded the surrender of the city in consequence, to which a spirited reply[1] in the negative was returned by the Portuguese commander. Upon this the Dutch prepared for the assault. So incessant and hot, however, was the Portuguese fire, that the scaling ladders could not be planted, and on the General's perceiving this, and advancing with some of the bravest officers to encourage the troops, he received a wound in the thigh, and was carried off. Nevertheless, as soon as he heard that the breach had been entered at another part, he returned to his post before his wound had been dressed, but finding things in the greatest confusion, and that the position could not be maintained, he gave orders for a retreat, although a party of his men had already entered into the city. This unfortunate encounter cost the Dutch more than 500 men killed, wounded, or missing. Emboldened by his success, Coutinho made overtures to the Emperor, reminding him of the ancient friendship between the Portuguese and

[1] "As God Almighty disposes the chances of war according to his own pleasure; so he may as well now declare on our side, as on yours before. The place you require belongs to the King of Portugal, my master, who having entrusted me with its charge, I must be accountable to him for it. The reasons alleged by your Excellency, are not sufficient to induce me to lay aside its defence, as I do not question that time and experience will convince you that our state is much better than you imagine. I recommend you to God's protection."

"SOUZA COUTINHO."

himself, and assuring him, that in the event of the Dutch making themselves masters of the city, they would retain it in their own hands. His efforts, however, were unavailing, and his letter was forwarded for inspection to the Dutch camp.

The most formidable enemy with which Coutinho had now to contend was the dearth of provisions. Most of the inhabitants, to procure the smallest supply, had been compelled to enlist among the troops, while crowds of half-starved wretches who had endeavoured to escape through the Dutch lines, were compelled to return by the Hollanders. It was now intimated to the Portuguese commander that the poor negro citizens, of whom he endeavoured to rid himself, and whom he suffered to perish through want, after having received all the service he possibly could from them, and to that end kept them under strict guard to prevent desertion, would thenceforth be shot, in the hope of moving his compassion, if caught in the act of escaping. From this time, numbers died daily of famine within the city.

In the mean time the besieged were not idle, the fortifications were strengthened as well as the means at their disposal allowed, the most precious effects of the governor and officers, were removed by night to Manaar, mines were formed, and a supervision of the supplies shewed a sufficiency for the troops till May. A patamar or advice boat was also dispatched to Goa with the tidings of their distress; but their true position was concealed by the Vice-regal Government, which pretended to have received intelligence from Coutinho that the Dutch had raised the siege, and ordered rejoicing to be made for three days in consequence, with the view of gaining the enlistment of the Portuguese soldiers and negro sailors who had displayed a great aversion for the service. Another letter was addressed to the Emperor, imploring his assistance, appealing to his vanity and ambition, demanding the grounds of their offence, and hinting at the meditated treachery and rapacity of his new allies. While the tardy operations of the blockade were progressing, the Dutch commander, having been assured that he was expected with joyful eyes, and that his proposals would be as acceptable to his ears as the most harmonious music in the world, paid a visit of state to the Emperor,[1] and renewed

[1] As he approached the imperial head-quarters, he was met by the nobles of the court, who were accompanied by a vast number of soldiers, umbrella carriers, trumpeters, and musicians, standard bearers, elephants, horses with saddles, bridles, &c. beset with gold and precious stones; thus they marched on for a quarter of an hour, through a guard of fusileers and bowmen ranged on both sides, till he came to the apartment prepared for his use. The next day he was waited upon by the nobles with a long cavalcade and great ceremony to be conducted by them to an audience of the Emperor. On his admission he thus addressed his majesty.

"Most Potent Monarch,—Your most humble servant approaches your Imperial throne with the deepest emotions of confidence in your generous inclinations and accustomed clemency, which encourage him to address himself to your majesty (whose name is renowned throughout the world) with a most sincere wish that Almighty God

with him the convention that had so frequently been infringed by both parties at their pleasure. On his return, and while inspecting the works, the enemy directed a smart fire on the gallery, into which they threw all sorts of combustibles, and set it on fire. Perceiving the danger, the General advanced with the rest to extinguish it, and while in the act of giving the necessary directions, was shot in the breast, and crying out, God help me![1] was conveyed to a bed, where he expired without a groan.

Baldæus passes on him the following eulogy, "Thus died in the vigour of his age a most excellent person, of high family, and of great experience in civil and military affairs. He was affable in his manners, eloquent, a good linguist, of a noble aspect, indefatigable in whatever he undertook. In a word, Nature and Art had framed so exact a harmony between his soul and his body, that few men could hope to attain to the same degree of perfection."

may grant your most illustrious and Imperial Majesty a long and happy life for the welfare and protection of your subjects. I am come hither to renew the most sincere confederacy, established between your most potent Majesty and the Dutch nation, and to pray that whatever differences may have happened between your Imperial Majesty and us, may be buried in eternal oblivion, in order that a peace and confederacy may be established as durable as the sun and moon. It cannot be denied but that several misunderstandings have happened between your Majesty's officers and our own; but these should now be removed from our memories at a time when we are so profuse of the blood of our countrymen in expelling our common enemies from the island, and ready to give your Majesty daily proofs of our sincerity towards you."

The Director-General having presented the Emperor, among other things, with some standards taken from the Portuguese, approached the throne and kneeling upon a cushion, kissed his Majesty's hand, which he pronounced the greatest honour he ever received. The Emperor then placed a gold collar on his Excellency's neck, and drawing a ring from one of his fingers, desired him to wear it in remembrance of him, and put it on his middle finger. This happening to have been maimed in battle, his Excellency assured the Emperor that it was now abundantly recompensed by the honour he had been pleased to bestow upon it.

With the deductions to be made for the verbosity and inflated style of Oriental correspondence, there is an acuteness and happiness of illustration observable in the letters of Raja Singha, which prove him to have been a prince of no mean abilities. Shortly after the death of Hulst, a communication having been made to the Emperor on half a sheet of paper, he thus alludes to the breach of etiquette: "The letter written on half a sheet, I did not think fit to read, much less to answer, it being full of nothing but insipid stuff. If a sudden mutiny or any other misfortune had happened in the camp, I could have excused it through the love I bear the Dutch, my most trusty servants; but as every thing is carried on in the ordinary way, I cannot sufficiently wonder at receiving such a letter. Truly the General bearing the supreme command ought not to have been so careless in this matter, such a neglect being very unbecoming in the servant of a monarch. I therefore send it back."

[1] According to Dubois, Hulst was selected for the command in Ceylon—at that time a dangerous preferment—in consequence of the jealousy of Maatsuyker, the Governor-General of the Dutch possessions in the East, who thus endeavoured to rid himself of an officer, whose talents promised to render him ere long a dangerous competitor. Hulst, although warned by his friends, treated their predictions as a jest, and at once accepted the command.

Colombo was now reduced to the last extremity. Mothers, deprived through the want of necessary nourishment of their milk, could no longer suckle their children, and, cutting their throats in despair, appeased the cravings of nature with the flesh of their babes, while men and women might be seen eagerly casting lots among themselves for the victim whose turn it was to die. Such, however, was the inflexibility of Coutinho, that his reply to a summons of surrender from Der Meyden, the Dutch commander, who offered honourable terms, and declared in case of their refusal, that he should be innocent of all the sufferings the citizens might undergo, was as resolute as ever.

On the seventh of May, the breach was mounted, and the Dutch obtained entrance into the city, but being surrounded on all sides by the enemy, and having suffered a considerable loss, deemed it prudent to retreat to the bastion of St. John, where they maintained their ground, and repulsed the Portuguese in an attempt to dislodge them, until the evening, when the firing having ceased, and being supported by fresh troops, they took the opportunity of entrenching themselves, though they were still exposed to the fire of two of the enemy's bastions. On the 10th of May the Dutch guns having been planted on the bastion of St. John against the city, the Portuguese hung out a white flag, and demanded a passport for the ambassadors they were about to send to treat for peace. This request was complied with after some delay, but as the ambassadors did not appear as expected, the firing was recommenced on the part of the Dutch, when the Portuguese deputies appeared with their propositions, most of which were conceded by the Hollanders, who could scarcely hope with their reduced force to carry the city by any other means than starving it into surrender. By these terms the Portuguese marched out of Colombo with all the honours of war, all their property and such slaves as they might choose to take, were guaranteed to them, and the officers and troops were conveyed in Dutch ships, the one to the Coromandel coast, and the other to Europe. Protection was promised to such Portuguese as might choose to remain in the island, but the native Modeliars, Aratchies, and Lascaryns were surrendered unconditionally. Thus fell the city of Colombo, a fortress scarcely inferior in strength to any in Europe, and which had been in the possession of the Portuguese for 150 years. Shortly after the departure of the Portuguese, three of their frigates, sailing into the harbour of Colombo, under the impression that it was still in their possession, were captured by the Dutch. The fleet equipped at Goa had previously also been either lost or dispersed.

In Jaffna and Manaar the Portuguese found no safe place of retreat, for the Dutch were not long in perceiving that the Emperor had already decided in favour of the supremacy of their apathetic, yet fanatical and overbearing opponents, in preference to their own energy

and superior rapacity, and aware of the overtures[1] that had already been made to them through the native chiefs, and of their treachery in aiding and conniving at the escape of the Portuguese fleet through the Paumban channel, advanced at once against their last strongholds,[2] which they captured, June 1658, taking the whole garrison prisoners of war. Such was the termination of a struggle, whose result, however long it had been protracted, must have been clearly foreseen by the philosopher of that day as inseparable from the course of policy pursued by the nation whose destinies it principally affected. The Portuguese had never conquered Ceylon, much less improved on the acquisition of the maritime provinces. As far as a mirror can at this interval be applied to their conduct, their chief aims seem to have been conquest and propagandism; conquest merely for itself, and propagandism to satiate their own overflowing bigotry and fanaticism. Not only did they not attempt the cultivation of the soil, but they scarcely condescended to be the carriers of its products, and contented themselves with the possession of a few military posts to keep the natives in awe. Much blame is doubtless attributable to the individuals sent to command, who were more prone to gratify their pride by conquest and their avarice by extortion than to adopt any policy by which either their own country or the colony might have been so largely benefited. Their own historian, Ribeiro, points out with ability and truth, and delineates with a bold pencil that mixture of pride, avarice, cruelty, ignorance, sloth and luxury, which in conjunction with the arms of the Dutch, subdued his degenerate countrymen. But the chief blame must be assigned to the Court of Lisbon and its Viceroy at Goa, in whose administration the absence of anything like a policy for their vast eastern dominions is strikingly conspicuous.

[1] A large portion of the troops that had been employed in the reduction of Jaffnapatam having been detached to besiege Negapatam, on the Coromandel coast, the garrison chiefly consisted of Portuguese volunteers, although there were a considerable number of prisoners in the castle. These formed a plot with the natives to put to death all the officers in the castle during divine service. The guard were next to be attacked, by which means they hoped to make themselves masters of the castle. The conspiracy was discovered by accident; and not long after, most of the conspirators having confessed their crimes, some were condemned to be hanged, others to be beheaded.

[2] Ribeiro loudly complains of the injuries which the troops and their female relations suffered from the passions of the Dutch.

CHAPTER VI.

Animosity of Raja Singha against the Dutch, owing to their retaining possession of the captured fortresses—His proceedings in consequence—Rebellion of the Singhalese, caused by his tyranny and cruelty—His escape into the woods, and his son proclaimed king—Raja Singha's sister removes the young prince from Kandy—Consequent panic of the insurgents, and disruption of the conspiracy—Raja Singha returns, and fearfully revenges himself on the malcontents—Humiliating behaviour of the Dutch in all their transactions with the Emperor—Arrival of a French fleet under M. De la Haye in the harbour of Trincomalee—He sends an envoy to the Kandian court, who is well received—De la Haye repairs to the Coromandel coast, and being met on his return by a Dutch fleet under Van Goens, his fleet is either captured or dispersed, and the fort built at Trincomalee captured—Indiscretion of the French ambassador at the Kandian court—Is severely punished by the Emperor—Death and character of Raja Singha—Wimala Dharma Suria II.—His peaceful reign—Is succeeded by Koondasala, who is early involved in trouble with his nobles, which he succeeds in quelling—Last of the Singhalese race of monarchs—Embassy sent by the Dutch governor, Rumph, to condole with the Emperor on the loss of his consort—Mutual deception practised on this occasion—Administrations of Rumph, Vuist, Versluys—Kirti Sree Singha, his war with the Dutch, which terminates to the advantage of the latter—Governments of Van Imhoff, Van Eck, Falck, and Van de Graff, and their happy results—Rajadhi—Embassy dispatched to this prince by the government of Fort St. George in 1766—Subsequent neglect of the treaty of alliance then formed with the Kandian monarch, and its prejudicial effect—Capture of Trincomalee by Sir Edward Hughes during the American war—Embassy of Mr. Boyd to the court of Kandy—Its fruitless issue—Surprise of the garrison and forts at Trincomalee by the French fleet, under the command of Suffren—Battle off Trincomalee—Suffren's appalling loss—Trincomalee restored to Holland at the close of the war; again attacked and carried by the English, when Holland became allied to the French Republic—Subsequent capture of Jaffna, Colombo and Galle, by General Stewart—Pusillanimous conduct of the Dutch, and demoralised state of their army—Concluding remarks.

On receiving intelligence of the capture of Colombo, Raja Singha lost not a moment in urging its delivery into his own hands in accordance with the convention, and expressed his indignation at a treaty having been concluded without his participation or sanction. The Dutch, who had probably never seriously intended to keep faith in this matter, any longer than it suited their own interests and their position in reference to their rivals, now excused complying with his demands, under the artful plea[1] of its being necessary to obtain orders

[1] One of his letters contains the following passage: "Your Excellency is left at liberty to act as you may think proper, till notice of this proceeding can be given to the Prince of Orange and the Company. But I would have you remember, that such as don't know God and keep their word will soon feel the evil effects

from Europe, before so important a measure could be adopted, and lost no time in putting the city and all their other military posts in a state of security. Singha's aim in like manner, would seem to have been the expulsion of his new allies, the moment he had become possessed of the chief posts in the maritime districts, and could attack their small force to advantage when divested of that protection. Foiled by the superior cunning of the Hollander, he vented his rage in various ways, forbidding his people from supplying the Dutch with provisions, or paying them duties, recalling the Singhalese in their service, and secretly enjoining on the headmen in the maritime districts to lay waste the country occupied by the Dutch. The latter, however, had already taken precautions against his hostility, had prohibited the presence of his subjects in Colombo, and before his orders could be enforced, had established posts, by means of which they could bid defiance to his revenge. Der Meyden and the council now resolved upon energetic measures. Accordingly, they expostulated in the strongest terms with the Emperor on his proceedings, which they characterised as directly opposed to their mutual convention for the expulsion of the Portuguese, and to his majesty's prejudice; and they urged that hostilities should cease and correspondence be renewed, in which case, they would after demolishing its fortifications, give up Negombo to his hands. On the other hand, if he persisted in oppressing them and their subjects, they declared themselves innocent of the blood that would be the result, and that they would be obliged to have recourse to such means of defence, as God had put into their hands.

Meanwhile, the natives were not less displeased at the arbitrary and cruel conduct of their King than the Europeans, and the ill-feeling to which it gave rise among them had nearly cost that monarch his throne and life. At this time, 1664, the King resided at Nillembé, fourteen miles to the south of Kandy, while the Queen and the Prince his son, were at Kandy. The insurgents having mastered the watch, marched into Nillembé in the dead of night, fell upon and captured the nobles in attendance at the palace, killing some and wounding others, but resolved to defer making an attempt to seize the King till

thereof. I am sensible I have God on my side. You may write frivolous pretences to whom you will, but do not impose them upon us, or you need not expect any further credit."

To this letter the Dutch general sent a reply, couched in a deprecatory tone, but so clearly did the Emperor see through the hollowness of their policy, that he conceived increased hatred for them, and took a number of Portuguese into his service. Shortly after this occurrence, a paper was found affixed to a tree in the vicinity of Colombo, with the following notification. "Colombo having been captured, should by the treaty have been delivered to his majesty, but this has not been performed. If any fatal consequences attend this breach of faith, we declare ourselves innocent thereof. But as we are sure of his majesty's good inclinations to the Dutch nation; so if you wish to send any deputies to treat with him, they shall have a safe-conduct."

the morning had dawned. In the interval, Raja Singha having been apprized of their design, fled to the mountains with a small party of fifty attendants, who on finding the road through the jungle impassable for horses, were obliged to force an elephant before them to break a way through the woods. The insurgents made but a timorous pursuit, conscious that the King's party were well armed; and thus did their cowardice ruin an insurrection supported by the vast majority of the people. Returning to Kandy, they proclaimed the young Prince king in the place of his father, but being from his youth and timidity insensible to the prospect thus opened for his ambition, he manifested reluctance rather than joy at their proposal, more especially as he was to be elevated by his father's downfall. In this state of things, the King's sister perceiving the check the insurrection had sustained, fled with the Prince into the country near the King, which so astonished the insurgents, that, throwing aside the plunder the majority had collected, they dispersed in all directions, while others more politic, seeing the ruin of the plot, killed their confederates, and seized their goods. By this time one of the nobles had assembled a body of men, and declaring for the King, he killed all he caught, innocent and guilty alike. In this state of convulsion and internecine anarchy, the country remained for nearly a month, when the King stopped the slaughter which threatened to depopulate the country, by ordering the imprisonment of the remainder of the rebels, until they could be brought to trial. The sentences passed on these unfortunate men, were, however, worse than death, their bodies being tortured, their estates confiscated, and themselves imprisoned for the remainder of their lives. Raja Singha could scarcely be unaware, that his rigorous and tyrannical government had created all these troubles, yet despotism has such a callous effect on the human mind, that on his restoration, he even increased in cruelty, and thinking that the presence of his son was in some respects an incitement to rebellion, he resolved to prevent it for the future by poisoning him. This gratuitous cruelty, would almost lead us to conclude, that the second Singha had inherited the vices of the first with his name. So ungrateful, moreover, was Raja Singha, that he put to death in the most barbarous manner, most of the nobles who had shared his flight and assisted him in his adversity.

The object of the Dutch being to monopolise the commerce of the island, and the trade in its choicest productions, they endeavoured to maintain as friendly a footing with the natives as their schemes of aggrandisement would permit. Perceiving how completely they had cajoled Raja Singha in reference to the possession of the maritime districts, they addressed themselves to that prescriptive weakness of oriental monarchs—the love of flattery. They despatched numerous embassies to the Kandian court with declarations of their sincerity in desiring peace, but the suspicions of Singha, though sometimes

lulled by their submissive demeanour, could at others be scarcely removed by their professions or assurances. He received their ambassadors indeed, but without renewing the already violated treaty, treated them more as hostages than as diplomatists. Ambassador after ambassador was detained[1] under some pretence or other, and he hesitated not to attack the Dutch strongholds contiguous to his own dominions, but seldom with any success.

The conduct of the Dutch was as base and obsequious, as it was ludicrous. "They," says Knox, "knowing his proud spirit, push their ends by representing themselves to be his majesty's humble subjects and servants, and that it is out of loyalty to him that they build forts and keep watches round his country to prevent foreign nations and enemies from coming; and that as they are thus employed in his service, they come up into his country for the necessary sustenance. And thus by flattering and ascribing to him high and honourable titles, which he greatly delights in, they often succeed in retaining the districts they have invaded, and he, the honour. Yet at other times upon better consideration, he will not be flattered, but falls upon them unawares, and does them great damage."

The state of affairs was thus perplexed, when the French were induced to turn their attention to the power and wealth accruing to the Dutch republic from their eastern possessions, by the representations of Carron, formerly an officer in the Dutch service, who, from being slighted or suspected at Batavia, became so entirely alienated from the interests of Holland, as to have made overtures to the court of France for the attack of Point de Galle. The safe arrival at this crisis, of a Dutch East India fleet, valued at upwards of sixteen millions of guilders, by offering an increased temptation to French ambition, at once determined their resolution; and M. de la Haye, viceroy of the French settlements at Madagascar, was despatched in 1672, with a fleet of fourteen sail against that settlement. So vigorous a defence was offered, however, by the Dutch commander, that M. de la Haye judged it expedient to proceed to Trincomalee. Here the French contemplated forming a settlement, under a conviction of its importance in relation to their own establishments on

[1] One ambassador more intrepid than the rest, determined rather to die than to linger in a protracted captivity. He accordingly formed a resolution, if he did not receive permission from the court to depart by a certain day, not to wait any longer, but to return to Colombo. When the day arrived, he girded his sword upon his side, proceeded to the palace, and making a profound obeisance to the naked walls, took a formal leave. As he was going away, he saw some English prisoners who had been present at the scene, to whom he made a present. Two or three of his slaves accompanied him on his return. The Emperor, instead of detaining him on his march, with the caprice for which he was remarkable, sent some of his courtiers to conduct him to the Dutch territories. A letter addressed by Governor Winter, of Fort St. George, to Raja Singha, in which he demanded the release of the English détenus in his dominions, met with no more attention than the reclamations of the Dutch.

the Coromandel coast, and three envoys were dispatched with presents to the Kandian court. These, Singha received with the greatest honours and liberality, ordered the supply of the fleet with every thing of which it was in need, and hoping that they might become embroiled with the Dutch, and thus assist him in ridding himself of that troublesome people, gave them permission to build a fort in the bay, and to enrol a number of his subjects in their service. This fortification being nearly completed and garrisoned, the French admiral set sail for the coast of Coromandel, at the same time sending M. de Lanerolle and his suite to Kandy, to assure the king of his speedy return, and of his unalterable devotion to his service. De la Haye failed, however, to fulfil his engagement. Being met on his return by Admiral Van Goens with a Dutch fleet, four of his vessels were captured, the rest dispersed, and the newly raised fort fell, with the garrison and artillery, an easy prey to the victor.

The indiscretion of the French ambassador, if possible aggravated the loss. He persisted in making his entry into Kandy on horseback, passing the palace on his way to his lodgings in direct opposition to the earnest remonstrances of the courtiers, who warned him that such a proceeding was not only unprecedented, but expressly forbidden by the Emperor. This advice did not prevent the Frenchman from risking the success of his mission for the gratification of his personal vanity. Raja Singha, though indignant at this violation of Kandian ceremony, overlooked it in a stranger, and ordered every requirement of the ambassador and his followers to be furnished from the palace. After a short interval, M. de Lanerolle was summoned to an audience of the Emperor. A gorgeous procession was marshalled to conduct him by torch light to the palace, but as he was to be kept waiting about two hours according to Singhalese usage, the Frenchman regarded it as an intolerable affront, to which no consideration of policy or interest could induce him to submit. Some of the Singhalese nobles seeing that he was preparing to quit the palace, ordered the elephants which were stationed about the entrance to be brought nearer and prevent his departure, but finding that he drew his sword, and seemed determined to proceed, they let him pass, while his suite, surprised and alarmed at the consequences that might attend his obstinacy, left him and ran away. This outrageous insult upon the dignity of his court, no sooner came to the ears of Raja Singha, than he ordered the ambassador and his followers to be well beaten, and afterwards put in chains. M. de Lanerolle was kept in this situation for six months, but his companions[1] were liberated upon an assurance that they had no share

[1] Bitter dissensions are said to have arisen between the ambassador and his suite, who accused him as the author of their sufferings. Raja Singha more humane than usual, made an attempt to reconcile the enraged parties, but ineffectually.

in the indignity which had been thus wantonly offered to the sovereign.

In 1680, the fortress of Maluwane, near Colombo, was attacked by Singha at the head of 30,000 men, but owing to the defection of one of his generals, who went over to the Hollanders with a part of the troops, he was compelled to raise the seige.

Raja Singha's death took place in 1687, after a protracted reign of fifty-five years, and he appears to have been at least 87 years of age at the time of his decease. The person of Raja Singha was not above the middle size, but muscular and compact. His complexion was of a deep mahogany; his eyes large, rolling and expressive of inquietude, and he was remarkable, according to Davy, for his enormous nose: only a small portion of grey hair was scattered over his head, but he had a long shaggy beard. He wore a cap stuck full of feathers, and his dress was so fantastic that he resembled a mountebank rather than an emperor: like most eastern monarchs, he seemed to measure his importance by the jewels and gold which adorned his person. He was temperate in his diet, and chaste in his manners, and, therefore, bore his years well, nor would he allow the slightest irregularity among his nobles in that respect. "Many times when he heard of their misdemeanours, he not only executed them, but severely punished the women if known, and he had so many spies that there was little done which he did not know of. And often he gave command to expel all the women out of the city, but by little and little, when they thought his wrath was appeased, they did creep in again."

Although martial and energetic enough in his youth, Raja Singha seems to have resigned himself to sloth and inactivity during the latter years of his reign, as much from the state of exhaustion in which incessant civil wars and foreign invasion had left his country, as from his own love of inactivity. Singha, like his uncle Don John, despised the religion of his ancestors, and like him was an atheist and infidel. He was succeeded by his son Mahestane,[1] under the title of Wimala Dharma Suria II. whom he strongly recommended before his death to remain at peace with the Dutch, which that monarch, who was naturally of a religious and unambitious temper, found little difficulty in complying with. His reign of twenty-two years, was marked, in consequence, by the occurrence of no important political event, not an individual was put to death, and the country was neither disturbed by war nor rebellion; but being inclined to superstition, he endeavoured to restore the ordinances of Buddhism to their pristine splendour, and was in every respect governed by the priesthood. By the co-operation of the Dutch, he dispatched

[1] Till seven days before he expired, he kept it a secret that he had a son. He then produced the prince to the court at Hangaranketty, where he latterly resided; and to convince the chiefs who had their doubts, that he was not imposing upon their credulity, he was the first to prostrate and acknowledge his successor.

an embassy to Siam, requesting that a number of the highest order of priests might be sent to Ceylon to revive there the rites of neglected Buddhism. Twelve Upasampada, or chief priests, were accordingly procured, and the remainder of this sovereign's reign was occupied in aiding their endeavours to reform the faith. The military state of Ceylon was neglected, to such a degree, during this reign, that the Emperor had not 1000 men who knew the use of fire-arms, and the cannon they possessed, they were ignorant how to turn to account.

In A.D. 1707, Wimala Dharma was succeeded by his eldest son, Koondasala (otherwise called Sreeweera Praackrama Narendra Singha), then but seventeen years old, and who gave early signs of a turbulent disposition. Following the example of his father, he left the Dutch in the quiet enjoyment of their territories during his long reign of thirty-two years, but his addiction to cruelty and drunkenness, and the absence of all restraint on his passions, had as fatal an effect as a foreign war on the quiet tenure of his sovereignty, and he had nearly lost a throne which he did not deserve to keep, by outraging the highest of his nobles, who lifted up the canopy (a Singhalese phrase for a rebellion), but the failure of their enterprise brought with it a termination to their lives. Koondasala had no offpsring, and was the last of the Singhalese race of monarchs.

In A.D. 1721, on hearing of the death of the Queen of Kandy, Rumph, the Dutch governor, resolved to send an embassy to the Kandian court to offer the condolence of the East India Company and of the Governor and Council of the island on the mournful event. Cornelius Takel, the ambassador employed upon this occasion, wrote a circumstantial account of his embassy, which is preserved in Valentyn. He had arrayed himself and suite in mourning, as most appropriate to the occasion. When they had arrived at their lodgings, at a short distance from the Emperor's palace, two nobles were sent to conduct them to the audience. These messengers were dressed in white, and informed Takel that old times having passed away, and a new year commenced, it would be hardly suitable at such a season for his excellency to appear before his majesty in the garb of woe; and as he had ordered all his courtiers to put off their mourning, it would be proper for him to do the same, with which he complied. When the ambassador, attended by the first adigaar and different officers of the court, had come in front of the hall of audience, four curtains were thrown open, and the King was seen sitting upon his throne. The ambassador pulled off his cap, and knelt down upon one knee, but all the other persons with the interpreter, crossing their hands over their heads, fell down six times successively prostrate upon the earth. After getting up and proceeding five or six steps they repeated these prostrations a second and third time. The Emperor began by inquiring after the health of the Governor and Council, and the treatment Takel had experienced on his journey through his

dominions. The ambassador then made formal inquiries after his Majesty's health, and represented the ardent desire of the Dutch Government to cultivate his friendship and promote his interest. The Emperor expressed his great satisfaction at these proofs of respect from his *upright* and *faithful* Hollanders, for whom he professed the most exaggerated regard, as long as the sun and moon endured. The ambassador then proceeded to state the principal object of his mission, which was to present to his Majesty the condolence of his Government on account of the decease of his "late high born, excellent, and all accomplished queen," and in their name he implored the Almighty to comfort his Majesty on this afflicting occasion, and by other rich blessings to compensate his calamitous loss. They prayed also, that he might for a long course of years be preserved in perfect and permanent health upon his golden throne, and that his good subjects, the faithful and loyal Dutch, might long experience the favour and protection of his majesty. Such was the complaisant mode practised by the Dutch towards a monarch whom they were at this very time virtually confining as a sort of prisoner in the interior of his dominions, while those of his subjects who were more immediately exposed to their sway, were suffering by their oppression, and impoverished by their rapacity.

Some of the Dutch governors exhibited a greater regard for justice than others, thus the administration of Rumph was distinguished by equal humanity and ability during the seven years it continued, but even he could not always repress the exactions of his inferiors; and it is certain, that long before the arrival of the English, the Singhalese had anxiously sighed for an opportunity to shake off the galling yoke. The death of this governor was precipitated by an insurrection of the slaves at Colombo, and the murder of some of the Europeans. One of his successors, Vuist, attempted to render himself an independent prince, and in the furtherance of that object, resorted to the most atrocious cruelties, endeavouring to extort confessions by torture of crimes which had never entered into the thoughts of his victims, and rid himself by this means of all those in the island, who, from their wealth and influence were most capable of opposing his pretensions. At length, being made prisoner, Vuist was sent to Batavia, where he was sentenced to be broken alive upon the wheel, and his body to be quartered and burnt, and the ashes to be thrown into the sea. His successor, Versluys, so far from being warned by his example and fate, raised the price of rice to such a pitch, as to cause a famine for the gratification of his avarice. A new governor, Doembourg, was finally sent in his place; but to such a pitch of audacity had the officers in the service of the Republic attained, that Versluys absolutely refused to resign possession of his charge, and ventured so far as to fire on the Company's vessels in the roads. At length, however, he was obliged to yield to superior force, and sent under arrest to Batavia. Though Ceylon was dependent in general matters of

policy, upon the superior government at Batavia, yet the governor of the island appears to have enjoyed the privilege of a direct[1] communication with the Home Government. Galle, styled "a commandery," was considered a post both of honour and profit, and the commanders, from the opportunities offered them at this, the chief seat of the foreign trade of the island, of gaining a practical insight into the operations of Eastern commerce, were usually selected to fill the vacancies in the chief government at Colombo.

The arrival of Van Imhoff in 1736, brought the first gleam of prosperity to the Dutch settlements in Ceylon. Unfortunately his government was but of short duration, and in 1761, the oppressions of the Dutch, caused a furious insurrection of the Singhalese, who destroyed the plantations, and butchered many of the inhabitants.

The short and uninteresting reign of Sree Wejaya Singha, was distinguished by mildness, lenity and good government. For eight years the Kandian provinces, undisturbed by civil dissension or foreign invasions, had an opportunity for recovering in some degree from the prostration by which they had so long been overwhelmed. In A.D. 1747, however, he was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Kirti-Sree Singha, in whose reign a war was commenced between the Kandians and Dutch, the King having resolved to attempt their expulsion: no great energy was displayed on either side, and after some successful inroads into the maritime provinces, the King was compelled to evacuate them. At the same time, A.D. 1763, encouraged by dissensions among the Kandian chiefs, the Dutch who had penetrated to Kandy with an army of 8000 men, and retained possession of the capital for nine months, were compelled to abandon it and retire with precipitation into their own territories, their force being greatly reduced by the pestilential climate and the irregular attack of the natives. Their retreat was also attended with considerable loss from the vigilance of their ever threatening foe, and but a small part of their original force ever reached Colombo. The war was continued by a new governor, Van Eck, who succeeded in repulsing the Kandians, and by harassing and driving them to the mountains and forests, prevented them from cultivating their fields. The Kandian Dissaves, it is alleged, were meditating the surrender of the King, on condition that each should be left in the possession of a local sovereignty, when Van Eck died. The result of the contest was to the advantage of the Dutch, in whose favour the humiliating prostrations hitherto exacted by the proud court of Kandy from the Dutch ambassadors, were dispensed with, and the King, in the treaty which ensued, by ceding Putlam and Batecalo, gave them an additional means of hemming him in. In this reign, the Mahawanse was

[1] Roggewein maintains that the privilege of a direct communication with the Home Government was attended with a pernicious result, and tempted more than one Governor to withdraw themselves from the obedience due to the Company, and aim at becoming absolute princes of the island.

compiled from the reign of Praackramabahoo of Kurunaigalla to Bud. 2301, by Tibbootoowera Terronanse.

The arrival of Falck in 1765, and his talents and humanity, worked an immediate and beneficial change. He considered it impracticable, not to say unwise, to occupy the interior, when all its productions might be purchased cheaper from the Kandians themselves, than they could be collected by the Dutch, even when in possession of the country. The memory of Falck goes far to redeem the almost unvarying avarice and rapacity of his predecessors: for where in the ever recurring mutations of governors any good had been commenced, it was frequently undone by his successor; and to use the words of M. Burnand, "the petty interests of functionaries, the egotism, folly and want of energy in the general government, formed almost continual obstacles to a settled plan of amelioration." Bent on enriching themselves, the Dutch entirely neglected the natives, for whose interests they never appear to have concerned themselves. Their public policy took its tone from their private interests. Hence every war in which the objects gained did not reimburse the expense, was avoided, and they preferred offering the incense of adulation to a prince whom they could not overcome, to the more manly course adopted by the Portuguese and followed with success by the British. Falck, however, was a noble exception to this crooked policy, and though his prudence prevented his engaging in unprovoked hostilities, he transferred the energy and vigour of the camp to the more useful purposes of peace. Agriculture made a rapid progress during his long administration. Integrity and order were introduced into the several departments of the government. The revenue increased, and the Dutch were rendered independent of the Kandians in respect of the supply of cinnamon; other products were also introduced with advantage.

One of the first cares of Kirtisree had been to purify and reform the religion of the state. For this purpose, the usual recourse was had to Siam for priests and ministers, and the worship of Buddha was once more revived in its pristine purity. The King, whose early youth, had been so addicted to unrestrained licentiousness, as to have given rise to insurrections, which, however, he had the good fortune to quell, now became, by the perusal of religious books, one of the most earnest of their disciples, and became as distinguished for virtue, as his early years had been for vice. He is said to have possessed a noble person and manly air, and to have won the affections of his subjects by his martial and resolute conduct. Kirtisree died in 1778, from a fall from a spirited and vicious horse, that had been sent to him by the Dutch, and which he was riding through the streets of Kandy, and the crown devolved on his brother Rajadhi, during whose reign, the attention of the British Government was first called to the importance of the acquisition of Ceylon. His reign of twenty years was tranquil and undisturbed, either by insurrections or hostilities,

excepting on one occasion, when the Dutch made an unsuccessful inroad into Saffragam: and on another, when his forces invaded the low country to co-operate with the British, who took possession of the maritime provinces in 1796.

Van de Graff, the successor of Falck was worthy of his predecessor, and pursued his schemes with liberality and ability, but his government was of too short a duration to produce a decisive result. Having been informed, in 1791, of the hostile preparations of the Kandians, he prohibited the supply of salt for their use, thinking that by depriving them of so essential a necessary of life, he would reduce them to the utmost distress. As a substitute for salt, it is alleged that the Kandians had recourse to a species of potash, which proving unwholesome, they were on the point of submitting to any conditions, when the Superior Government of Batavia interposed, and interdicted so cruel a mode of conducting hostilities, recommending the trial of more conciliatory measures.[1] On the whole, the unfavourable character in which the Dutch appear, greatly predominates, "and if they left behind them traces of a simpler and a purer faith, they also left their grasping selfishness deeply impressed upon the effeminacy and instability of the native character."

The vast accessions to the British power in India in the decade—1756-66—which in the first of those years exhibited itself to the world as the timid possessor of a few inconsiderable factories, and then, as if by magic, the undisputed lord of Hindostan, naturally led those concerned in its direction to aim at a speedy completion of the outline of territories so unexpectedly and marvellously acquired. To the Madras Government, which could not unconcernedly behold the advantages accruing to the Dutch from the possession of so magnificent a harbour as Trincomalee, naturally belonged the first movement in that which most materially concerned its own special interests. Accordingly in 1766, although the Dutch were then at peace with England, and involved in a sanguinary and unproductive

[1] Hostilities between the Court of Kandy and the Dutch seemed impending in the following year. Van de Graff had prepared to chastise it, in consequence of its having concluded a treaty of alliance with the French, the ultimate aim of which was the expulsion of the Dutch from the island. The Supreme Government, however, again disapproved of the commencement of hostilities, and the preparations for active warfare were suspended. About this time, it is alleged that the Court of Kandy assumed a haughty tone towards the Dutch; so much so that the latter hesitated to send the usual annual embassy to Kandy to solicit permission from the King to cut cinnamon within his territories; but directed one of the native headmen in their service to sound the sentiments of the court. A communication was received in reply, in which it was stated, that the peeling of cinnamon in the King's territories was usually allowed when the local government sent an ambassador to Kandy and craved permission to do so, and that unless an accredited agent of rank were commissioned, permission would not be granted. With this the Dutch declined to comply; as they had become disgusted with the expense and humiliation of these proceedings.

war with the Kandian sovereign, an embassy was dispatched from Madras to the court of Kandy to negotiate an alliance offensive and defensive between the East India Company and the Emperor. Mr. Pybus was directed to impress upon the King the kindly feelings entertained towards him, and to shew the importance of an alliance with a power, whose rapid growth and wide extent of dominion, rendered it a puissant protector. The subsequent neglect of this treaty by the Government of Fort St. George, not only defeated the intentions of the embassy, but left an unfavourable impression on the native mind of our fidelity and fixedness of purpose.

Towards the close of the American war in 1782, when Holland, jealous of the vast dominion acquired by British prowess in the East, and the rapid increase of British commerce in Europe, which had transferred the heart of all monetary and commercial transactions from Amsterdam to London, joined with France and Spain in the unequal yet protracted contest by which the noblest provinces of the empire were wrested from Great Britain, an opportunity presented itself to the Government of Madras for executing the long desired plan for the reduction of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. A fleet under the command of Sir Edward Hughes, and a body of land forces under that of Sir Hector Munro were with that view immediately dispatched by Lord Macartney against Trincomalee, which capitulated after a short resistance, and but for a delay at Negapatam, the fleet would have sailed from thence for the investment of Colombo. An ambassador (Mr. Hugh Boyd) was also commissioned to the court of Kandy, to enter into a treaty of peace with the King, and to remove if possible his unfavourable opinion of the British. Previous to his departure from Trincomalee, he addressed the following letter to Rajadhi[1] Raja Singha.

1 "To the King of Kandy, from Hugh Boyd, Esq,

"I have the honour of acquainting your Highness that I am appointed ambassador to your Highness's durbar by his Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Macartney, Governor of the Presidency of Madras, and that I am charged by him with a letter to your Highness, to explain to you his favourable sentiments and assure you of his friendship. I suppose your Highness has already heard of the great successes of the English against their enemies, particularly the Dutch, whom they have now driven entirely from the coast of Coromandel, having taken from them their last settlement there, Negapatam.

"To carry on the victories of the English against the Dutch, Vice-Adm. Sir E. Hughes, Commander-in-chief of the King of England's ships and marine forces in India, is now arrived with the fleet under his command at Trincomalee in conjunction with the troops of the English East India Company. He has already taken unopposed one of their forts from the Dutch with many prisoners; and he is proceeding with equal vigour and success against their only other fort called Ostenburgh, which will also yield to the great superiority of the British arms. This will have been effected long before your Highness can have received this letter. But in the character with which I have the honour of being invested as ambassador to your Highness, I am desirous to take the earliest opportunity of transmitting toyou these happy particulars, to assure you that it is only against their enemies the Dutch that the arms of the English are directed, and that the highest

Mr. Boyd has described, in his miscellaneous works, his journey to the capital, the reception he experienced there, and the observations he made during his route. Such was the inaccessible nature of the country, that, although travelling with all the speed circumstances would permit, he did not reach Kandy, 172 miles from Trincomalee, by the route which he took, till the fourth of March, having been a month on the journey. The inhabitants generally fled from the villages on his approach, to escape the supplies they were required to furnish gratuitously to the embassy. In consequence, they were often subject to the most irksome and grievous privations.[1] All

respect and attention will be shewn to your Highness's rights and dignity, and that your subjects will be treated with the utmost kindness and friendship, according to a declaration which his Excellency Sir Edward Hughes has already published. I am happy in communicating these matters to your Highness, not doubting that it will give you pleasure to hear of the success and power of your friends. As many more English ships and troops are expected soon to be here, and as some great operations will probably soon be carried on by them for the destruction of their enemies and the advantage of their friends, I am ordered by his Excellency the Governor of Madras to communicate to your Highness as soon as possible the letter with which I am charged. I shall be happy therefore to deliver it to your Highness in person with every expression and friendly assurance you can desire, as soon as I shall know in reply to this that you have given the necessary orders for my accommodation on the road to Kandy, and that you have sent proper persons to conduct me thither. And this I hope your Highness will be pleased to do immediately, as there ought to be no delay in transactions of this importance. I am also charged with a letter to your Highness from his Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic. I only wait to have the honour of hearing from your Highness as I have desired; I shall then immediately proceed to enter on all those important matters in the most friendly and satisfactory ground to your Highness."

(Signed) "HUGH BOYD."

1 The embassy found it extremely difficult to procure the smallest supply of rice, and the suspicious absence of the natives seemed to warrant the inference they could not fail to draw, that it was the aim of the court to suffer them to perish in this manner of hunger. The headmen, full of apologies and finesse, constantly endeavoured to delay his progress, and when he had reached Nallandé, required him to make a detour to Colombo prior to his entrance into Kandy; as it was a custom for all ambassadors to enter on that side. This request proceeded from their insatiable jealousy, and he was obliged to offer a compromise, or his mission would have proved a failure. One of the Mohottales gave him what appeared an extraordinary caution—that he should not believe what the people of the country, as he advanced, might say: for they were great liars, and might endeavour to insinuate improper impressions of enmity or indisposition, where friendship only existed. Boyd replied, that as he was conscious of the friendly disposition of the English to the King and his subjects, so he confided in the same amicable sentiments on the part of his Highness. A Vidahn replied, in answer to his question regarding the health of the King, that it was to be expected that his master should be well, situated at ease, and with plenty in his palace, but that it might be apprehended the English should be otherwise, having had the fatigue of coming so far in ships, and of fighting and conquering the Dutch. Boyd replied, that English ships were large and powerful, that they lived as well and as happily on sea as on land, and that they were so much stronger than their enemies, that the conquest of them gave them no trouble. Mr. Boyd thus describes the palace

however they did receive, they were to owe to the hospitality of the sovereign, and when the ambassador had in one instance purchased a

of the King: "This large stone building had sixteen large stone steps leading up to the entrance, at each side of which was placed a bowman, two huge fellows fantastically dressed; at the head of the steps stood some of their officers, natives and Malays, and the whole area below was filled with soldiers and elephants. Between forty and fifty of these animals were drawn up in a semicircle, with two albinoes in the centre. After passing through an outer and inner court, he was directed to the front of a very wide and high arch, with a white curtain thrown across, where the labours of the ceremony were to commence. A silver salver with the letters was brought, and the Adigaar gave it him to hold with his hands above his head. Even to a man in perfect strength, it was an uneasy attitude to support such a weight so long. The Adigaar told him that the King, in consideration of his weakness, had dispensed with the custom usual on these occasions of taking off the shoes. The removal of the curtain opened to his view a long hall divided by large arches in the centre, and two small ones on each side, which were very prettily adorned with festoons of muslin of various colours. These arches formed two aisles, within which the courtiers sat on their heels, not cross-legged, but with the knees projecting straightforward. The hall was lighted by lamps attached to the pillars of the arches, and large wax tapers burning at the upper end of each aisle. A secretary sat near one of these tapers to record what passed. The custom of transacting all public business at night was peculiar to the Singhalese, and was not practised by any other people in Asia. It arose from the jealous policy of the government, which was always on the watch against domestic treason, admitted all ambassadors with reluctance, and viewed their conduct with suspicion. The hall terminated in a large alcove, within which the King sat with much solemnity, upon a very high throne. There seemed a sort of studied obscurity, as if he desired to "cover his throne with the majesty of surrounding darkness." He wore a large crown upon his head, a very important distinction from other eastern princes, and was a large black man, with an open intelligent countenance, and about thirty-six years of age. On the whole, he put Mr. Boyd in mind of Henry VIII. The removal of the curtain was the signal for the genuflection of the ambassador, and the prostration of the courtiers in attendance upon him. Those who performed the latter, almost literally licked the dust, prostrating themselves with their faces close to the stone floor, and throwing out their legs and arms as in the attitude of swimming; then rising to their knees by a sudden spring from the breast like what is called the salmon leap by tumblers: they repeated in a loud voice a form of words the most extravagant that can be conceived. "That the head of the king of kings might reach beyond the sun! that he might live a hundred thousand years." The King then ordered them to advance, when the whole of the ceremony was twice or thrice repeated. The Adigaar, Boyd observed in an act of humiliation more abject and debasing than the others. Something happened which made it necessary for the minister to come to the lower end of the hall, when this venerable old man trotted down one of the aisles like a dog on all fours, and returned in the same manner to the foot of the throne. Mr. Boyd found the curiosity of the Singhalese nobles very great, and was much struck with the courtly politeness so universal among all classes, but their information was very scanty and circumscribed. They had never heard of America, and they were surprised at their having ceased to hear of the Portuguese, whose power and bigotry had formerly been the objects of their abhorrence and fears. Before his departure he learnt that hostile orders had actually been issued some time since by the court prohibiting any intercourse whatever with the English throughout the country, and threatening the severest punishment against all those who should disobey, with an injunction to seize and detain any who should be found, and that in consequence Trincomalee was extremely distressed for supplies. Boyd expostulated at

quantity of rice for the support of his suite, he learnt on his return that the vendors had been decapitated by the order of the Emperor. This report, which Forbes has traced to the charlatanry of the sovereign, was issued merely to give the ambassador a notion of Singhalese hospitality, which, if it had been genuine, would have been scurvy enough, wrung as it was from the scanty stores of a reluctant people. The country in the direction taken by the ambassador was, as in many respects it still is, in a wretched condition. Occasionally a tolerable pathway was to be met with, but generally he had to force his way through an almost impervious forest, inaccessible even to the light of heaven. Scenes of the richest and most magnificent scenery were not wanting, however, to diversify the journey, but every where a lamentable deficiency of inhabitants evidenced the prostrated state of the country. On his arrival at Kandy, he was met with tedious conferences and vexatious delays, and many days had elapsed ere he was released from attendance at the court to fall into the hands of the French on his return. It would be alike superfluous and unnecessary to enter into all the details of his communication with the Emperor, more especially as the subject matter was never suffered to diverge from complimentary allusions, or interrogatories of the most ordinary character; while a reference to the Adigaar only resulted in promises he was incapable or unwilling to perform. Accustomed to bad faith and perfidy from Europeans, the courtiers of Rajadhi naturally looked upon his offers with distrust. "Twenty years ago," said they, "you sent an ambassador to us when we were at war with the Dutch; your proffers of assistance were answered with guileless openness, and on the departure of your ambassador we heard no more of you or your offers, though we were subsequently attacked by the Dutch. Now you are at war with that nation; anxious to injure them, you come to offer us your assistance to drive them from our island, and you profess to be about to yield us that assistance from the most disinterested motives." Boyd could only appeal to the known fidelity to which the British kept to their engagements, but all his protestations were futile, and though he to some extent removed their prejudices against the English, and received professions

this behaviour, warned them of the consequences that would ensue, and urged the revocation of the orders, with all of which the Adigaar promised to comply, apologizing for the edict as the result of mis-information. In the wars of the Dutch with the Kandians, it is alleged that the former treated their prisoners, of whatever rank and age, with the harshest rigour, and heaped upon them every mark of degradation which the most ingenious cruelty could furnish, or the most brutal barbarity inflict. Even in times of peace, it does not appear that there was ever much intercourse between the subjects of the two powers. The recollection of the grasping policy of the Portuguese, and the selfish conduct of the Dutch, induced the Kandian monarchs to forbid their subjects holding any intercourse with Europeans of whatever nation; and they instructed them to hold in eternal abhorrence a race of people, whom, as they considered, no ties of honour could bind, and against whose treachery no prudence could guard.

of a pacific and friendly disposition, he could not induce them to conclude a treaty, or enter into an alliance, except such a proposition came direct from the King of Great Britain.

During the absence of the ambassador, the admiral having left a small detachment of troops at Trincomalee, deemed it expedient to return to Madras, in order to refit, before he again set out on a cruise after the French fleet, then commanded by Admiral Suffren, a bold and distinguished officer. Several indecisive, although sanguinary encounters, now took place between the two fleets, but the French admiral, in consequence of the effective succour and refitment he procured at Galle and Batecalo, contrived in many respects to outmanœuvre his opponent. Suffren, on learning the capture of Trincomalee by the British, and the subsequent departure of the fleet, resolved to take advantage of the circumstance, and endeavour to surprise the garrison; the success of the enterprise depending principally on the celerity with which it should be undertaken. The troops were landed on the 27th of August without any obstacle, and immediately raised batteries, which commenced playing on the forts, and on the 30th he summoned the garrison to surrender, with which it complied, on being allowed the honours of war and an immediate passage to Madras. Three days after the capture of this important post, Sir Edward Hughes appeared in sight with twelve sail; but perceiving the turn events had taken, and the French colours flying, stood out to sea. Suffren, finding that he possessed a superiority of force, resolved to sail in pursuit, greatly in opposition to the advice of his officers, who were unwilling to risk the benefit they would derive from wintering in the land-locked bay of Trincomalee. "Messieurs," dit il, "si l'ennemi était en forces supérieures, je me retirerais; contre des forces égales j'aurais de la peine à prendre ce parti; mais contre des forces inferieures il n'y a pas à balançer."

The difference in the rate of sailing in the French fleet, compelled Suffren to lie to, to await the coming up of the rest of his squadron. With the design of placing his line parallel with that of the English, he ordered his vanguard to take their place, which they executed with such despatch, as to slightly outsail that of the enemy. To avoid getting to leeward, they tacked a little to the starboard, in which they were followed by the rest of the fleet; but as the greater part still lingered in the rear, Suffren fired as a signal to hasten its movements. This signal was however understood to commence action. The English returned the fire with spirit, but without ceasing to keep to sea, and the action became general. The French fleet, out of order, and to leeward, did little execution, while every shot told from that of the English. In vain did Suffren repeat the signal to his rear-guard to come to his succour, the greater part of his squadron was becalmed, and could not manœuvre, while the enemy, favoured by a fresh breeze, were destroying three of his vessels, and were about to place him between two fires, when their

purpose was diverted by the interposition of another of his squadron. Still however his destruction was imminent, from the distance he was removed from the body of the fleet, and he had resolved to bury himself along with the ruins of his vessel, when the remainder of the squadron gradually approached, and night brought a cessation of the combat, which had continued for several hours. Suffren's ship was reduced to a wreck, and he was obliged to remove his flag to another. By some mismanagement the English failed to secure the disabled hulk, and returned to Madras, having sustained but little damage. Their loss in the engagement had been comparatively slight, not exceeding 50 killed and 300 wounded. The loss of the French was enormous, exceeding 400 killed and 676 wounded. The carnage on board the gallant Suffren's ship, the Hero, was unheard of in any engagement in any age—it was an unparalleled carnage. Such was the result of the battle off Trincomalee, which, notwithstanding the many favourable circumstances that appeared to combine in favour of the French, was commenced and followed up with the most untoward results. The French squadron, much crippled, passed the night on the scene of the combat, and, the English being out of sight, returned to Trincomalee, crowding in without order, and losing the L'Orient a 74 in the passage. Suffren gave unequivocal proofs of his chagrin and annoyance at the want of support from his subordinates, by breaking six of his captains and sending them prisoners to the Isle of France. After the squadron had been completely refitted, he sailed to the relief of the French settlements on the Coromandel coast, then menaced by the English, and finding himself unable to cope with them in the ensuing year, took refuge in the bay of Trincomalee.

Trincomalee, regained by the Dutch in the peace of 1783, was again attacked in 1795, when the union of Holland with the French Republic, and its consequent hostility with Great Britain, induced the government of Fort St. George to prepare a more effectual and certain means of reducing the island. General Stewart was therefore sent with a considerable force, with which he landed at the distance of about two miles from the fort. The climate, and the nature of the ground, occasioned much fatigue and some loss. During the siege, a sally was made by the Malays in the Dutch service, who contriving to steal unperceived into one of the batteries, spiked the guns, and killed several artillery men before they were repulsed and driven back into the fort. The operations, however, being conducted with great vigour, the fortress was surrendered by the Dutch commander, just as the invaders were on the point of storming it.

This was the only real resistance made by the Hollanders to the British troops.

After refreshing his wearied forces in Trincomalee, General Stewart next advanced round the north of the island to Jaffna, which was surrendered by its commandant on the first summons.

Early in 1796, Stewart appeared before Negombo, which was also at once surrendered.

His attention was next directed to Colombo, the strength of whose fortress, and the number of whose defenders,[1] threatened to promise a protracted siege. With three regiments of the line, three battalions of sepoys, and a detachment of Bengal artillery, Stewart set out for its reduction. For twenty miles the road might be considered as one continued defile, capable of being easily defended against a much superior force. Dangerous woods and impetuous rivers, besides ravines, whose bridges had been broken down, had to be crossed before they could reach their destination, at each of which a resolute enemy might have harassed, if not effectually impeded, their progress; but not an ambuscade obstructed their march through the jungle, and not an attempt was made to interrupt their advance, greatly to the surprise of the General and his officers. At the Kalané-ganga, four miles from Colombo, where the stream was broad and deep, and defended by a fort erected on its southern bank, while the course of the river was such as nearly to insulate for three or four miles that tract of country the army had to pass, the English paused, anticipating the beginning of an arduous and bloody struggle. Nature had indeed done everything in her power to render a resistance effectual, for it was a little neck of land on the south side, which afforded the only entrance to this tract, and which from its strength was called the Grand Pass. Two days, however, had scarcely elapsed ere they learnt, to their surprise, that the guns were dismounted, the fort evacuated, and that its garrison had retreated to Colombo. The British at first doubted the truth of the intelligence, supposing it was a stratagem of the enemy to draw them across, and then attack them with advantage. With the caution and anxiety, with which a conqueror enters an enemy's capital, when he finds it deserted on his approach, lest some premeditated treachery should suddenly expose to his view the hidden foe, did the troops cross the river, while the fleet prepared to furnish the army with every thing necessary. That accomplished, an encampment was formed, and the operations of the siege planned. Again were their precautions useless. The cowardly and demoralized occupants of Colombo made but one attempt to defend it. A body of Malays, headed by a Frenchman, were dispatched against the invaders, but were obliged to retreat with precipitation, after the loss of their commander.

In a few days a private capitulation was concluded by the Governor,[2]

[1] Previously to the arrival of the British troops on the west coast of Ceylon, the Swiss regiment of De Meuron, which had been in the pay of the Dutch Government, and had formed part of the garrison of Colombo, had transferred its services to the Government of India.

[2] It is alleged, on what grounds I am unable to say, that a letter had been dispatched by the fugitive Stadtholder from England to Van Angelbeck, governor

who had signified to his officers that such a measure was in agitation, but without producing any effect on their disorders, while the drunken and mutinous state of his troops, and the violence of the jacobin party, gave sufficient grounds for apprehending an internal massacre. Thus wâs surrendered, without a struggle, the capital of the maritime provinces, by a force equal to that of the invaders; and Galle, and the other fortresses of the island, speedily followed the example of the seat of government.

The total want of discipline amongst the Dutch troops, and their mutinous insubordination, joined to the dissensions among the civil and military officers, were perhaps the most powerful aids which the British possessed.

Even the life of Van Angelbeck, their commander and governor, was often endangered by the outrageous conduct of his troops, who had embraced the most violent and jacobinical principles, and wished to place his son, whom they had gained over to their own principles, in the government: and such was the malignancy and impotent rage of the soldiery, that, as the British troops filed past them, they went so far as to strike at them with their muskets, calling them insulting and opprobrious names, and even spitting upon them. This behaviour, which entirely corresponded with their recent cowardice, was equally despised by the strictly disciplined British soldier. They now began to vent the most bitter reproaches against the Governor, accusing him as the author of that disgrace, which their own conduct had brought on them, and, in a tumultuous crowd, seemed determined to display a desperate courage when it was too late; and the Malay troops alone kept up any appearance of discipline.

The Dutch, as we have already seen, did not acquire their possessions in the island without the exercise of much bravery and perseverance. At Colombo, at Galle, and finally at Jaffna, the resistance opposed to them by the Portuguese[1] was in the highest degree honourable and manly; leaving, if a judgment can henceforth be drawn, but little if any ground for the imputation frequently cast upon them, that they had degenerated from the Portuguese of former days. In their turn, the Dutch do not appear to equal advantage. That which they had obtained by energy and perseverance, they lost

of the Dutch possessions, recommending him to surrender the fortresses of the island to a British force whenever it should appear in sufficient strength, and it is also maintained, that the Governor was favourably disposed towards the interests of the Stadtholder, for whom the island was to be held in trust.

[1] Portugal made more than one effort to regain by diplomacy, an isle which it lost by arms: Basnage informs us, that the King, touched to the quick by the loss, sent an ambassador to the Hague to offer new proposals for an accommodation, and for the furtherance of his views solicited the mediation of the Courts of St. James's and Versailles. When Cardinal Mazarin became acquainted with their objects, he forbade the interposition of M. de Brienne the French ambassador, under the apprehension that Spain, with which he was on the point of concluding peace, would be suspicious as to the motives of such an intercession.

by want of discipline, turbulence, and pusillanimity; and the Malays in their service, could not help contrasting their pusillanimous conduct with the valour of the British army. Nothing could be more favourable for the success of the British arms than the disorganised state of the Dutch troops. Divided into parties, disunited and mutinous, they filled the different posts which they possessed with debauchery, conspiracies, and rebellion, so as to have rendered it futile for the Dutch commanders, even if they had had the energy and courage, to make an effectual resistance.

CHAPTER VII.

Embassy from the Government of Fort St. George to the Kandian Court—Advantages offered thereby—Neglect of them by the Kandian Monarch—Maritime provinces placed under the superintendance of the Madras Government—Disturbances among the natives in consequence—Native headmen restored to their functions—Ceylon declared a colony of the Crown after the Peace of Amiens—Death of Rajadhi—Kannesámy, a young Malabar and son of the sister of one of the late King's wives, raised to the throne by Pilámé Talawé, the chief Adigaar, under the title of Sree Wickrama Raja Singha—Commences his reign by the murder of some of the late King's relatives—Pilámé Talawé unfolds his scheme for the dethronement of his puppet to the Governor and his Secretary—General Macdowall is sent to Kandy to negotiate, accompanied by an escort of troops—Failure of the embassy—Two Singhalese ambassadors arrive at Colombo—Plunder of British subjects by the Kandians—Consequent hostilities—Capture of Kandy—Mootoo Sawmy crowned King; he negotiates a convention with Mr. North—Expedition to Hangaranketty—Pretended arrangement between Mootoo Sawmy and Pilámé Talawé—Greater part of the troops withdrawn from the Kandian territories—Conference between Mr. North and Pilámé Talawé at Dambadiniya; treaty confirmed—Death of Colonel Barbut; Major Davie succeeds to the command at Kandy—Native troops begin to desert—Truce broken by the Kandians, who finally attack and take Kandy—Melancholy fate of the garrison—Kandians invade the maritime provinces—Captain Johnston marches through the Kandian country and reaches Trincomalee in safety—Cessation of hostilities in 1805—Administration of Mr. North—Arrival of Sir Thomas Maitland—Is succeeded in the Government by General Wilson—Intestine discord in the kingdom of Kandy—Pilámé Talawé executed and Eheylapola appointed first Adigaar—General Brownrigg assumes the government of the maritime provinces, 1812—Eheylapola raises the standard of revolt against the Kandian monarch—Molligoddé appointed first Adigaar—Eheylapola flies for refuge to the British—Merciless and inhuman execution of his wife and children—Ten native cloth merchants mutilated by order of the King of Kandy—The Governor makes active preparations for war—The British troops march on Kandy—Submission of Molligoddé—Kandy captured—The King traced and made prisoner—Finally sent to Vellore—Convention with the Kandian chiefs, and the administration of the government—A revolt breaks out in Welassé, and a pretender to the throne is put forward—Eheylapola assumes an anomalous position—Kappitapola joins the insurgents—Ravages made by the British troops in the disaffected districts—Arrest of Eheylapola—Dissensions among the insurgents—Kappitapola and Madugalla are beheaded—Hardships and privations undergone by the British army—Alarming aspect of the rebellion, arising chiefly from a remarkable ignorance of the country—A new form of government is promulgated—Another aspirant for the throne raises his standard at Bintenné, but is taken, and banished to Mauritius—Administration of Sir Robert Brownrigg—Arrival of Sir Edward Barnes—Splendid results of his energy—Is succeeded by Sir Edward Paget and Sir James Campbell—Returns in 1824—Is succeeded by Sir John Wilson, Sir Robert W. Horton—Administration of the Right Hon. Stewart Mackenzie, and its benefits to the colony—Sir Colin Campbell—Lord Viscount Torrington—Summary.

After the English had obtained complete possession of the coasts of Ceylon in 1796, an ambassador was again dispatched to the Kandian court; and the King of Kandy sent an ambassador to Madras. The government of Fort St. George, through Mr. Andrews, offered advantages to the Kandians, which they had not quietly enjoyed for the last two hundred years. They were to receive a concession of the leways or salt marshes of Putlam on the western coast, and to be allowed the use of ten vessels, for their foreign and domestic commerce, exempt from duty and surveillance. But with the inexplicable caprice of the despot, Rajadhi refused to sign a treaty, in the terms of which he had concurred, although it had been previously signed and sealed by the Governor of Fort St. George; and thus did his impolitic timidity debar him from obtaining a restoration of any of the territory seized from his predecessors by the Dutch, while he soon found that he had only exchanged a weak for a powerful neighbour.

The government of Ceylon was for some time dependent on that of Madras, but was subsequently separated from the government of the East India Company in 1798, and declared a colony of the British crown, the Hon. Mr. North being sent to fill the office of Governor. It was not however till 1802 that it was transferred to the superintendence of the Colonial department.

Previous to that event an unfortunate circumstance, arising from the employment of Malabar agents, called dubashes, by the civil servants of the East India Company, who were at first engaged as civil servants on the island, and endeavoured to introduce the same regulations and system of collecting the public revenue[1] as prevailed on the Coromandel coast, early threatened the tranquillity of the colony. These men were placed in the situations formerly occupied by the native headmen; and having no interest in the welfare of the country, abused the authority with which they had been invested, and committed numerous acts of injustice and oppression on the helpless Singhalese, who in reliance of support from the Kandian monarch, rose up in tumultuous bodies in several parts of the island to throw off the galling yoke under which they suffered. No great effort of the military force was required to quell these disturbances, but to ensure the tranquillity of the country for the future, the modeliars, with their subordinate officers, were restored to their duties and original influence. With a view to a right understanding of the events which we are about to relate, it will be necessary to remind the reader that the territory which now belonged to Great

[1] An annual tax of one fanam (1½*d.*) was at the same time imposed upon the produce of cocoa-nut and other fruit-bearing trees. The inequality with which this tax weighed upon the proprietors, from the great scarcity of money, became insupportable, and, in a representation made to Government, they offered to pay in kind a certain proportion of the fruit of every tree. This proposal was refused. After the revolt, the Government finally determined to abolish the tax altogether.

Britain, formed a belt round the island, extending in some places not more than six, in others thirty, and on the northern side, sixty miles into the interior. The inland provinces, cut off from all communication with the sea, and occupying the greater part of the island, were still retained by the Kandian monarch.

In 1798, the death of Rajadhi Raja Singha, after a peaceful reign of twenty years, produced an important revolution in the Kandian Court. "He bore the character of an indolent, voluptuous man, addicted to love and poetry, and devoted to nothing else." Though he had five queens, he died childless and intestate.

On the death of Rajadhi, it was for some time doubtful who would be chosen his successor. The nomination, according to the etiquette of the court, rested entirely with the first Adigaar, who, in the present instance, was Pilámé Talawé, an ambitious and intriguing courtier. He seems to have come to an early decision as to the choice he should make, if we may judge from the conversation which he held with the chief priest, an able and upright man, in the presence of a Dissave, during the former King's illness.—Chief Priest. "The King's case is desperate; he can live only a few days. What are your plans respecting his successor?"—First Adigaar. "I have a good plan in view; we will have a king who will listen to us, and not ruin the country."—Chief Priest. "Yes, such a one as you contemplate will attend to advice and be tractable at first; but if his education be not good, your plan will fail; he will finally follow his own bent, and the country will suffer."—First Adigaar. "There is a remedy for the evil you anticipate: if the king turn out ill, we can apply to the English; they will check him."—Chief Priest. "What you propose might answer in the time of the Dutch, but now it is out of the question. Rest assured, if the keeper do not take care of his elephant, not only the lives of others but his own will be endangered. In choosing a king, do not proceed a step without deliberation; you must choose one who will take care of religion, the country, and yourself."

The individual selected by the overweening influence of the minister, according to his own principles, and to the exclusion of all the royal family, was a young man only eighteen, called Kannesámy, son of a sister of one of the queens dowager, uneducated, according to Cordiner, and having nothing to recommend him but a good figure. He was as usual regularly proposed to the chiefs and people, and as usual accepted and publicly acknowledged. Sree Wickrama Raja Singha, as the young prince was styled on his accession, was, as we may readily conceive, but a puppet placed upon the throne, the wires of which were held and directed by the ambitious Talawé.

The first objects of the Adigaar were to rid himself of his enemies, among whom he reckoned all who could resist or interfere with his

schemes of ambition, and to allow the odium of murders committed by his direction to fall on the young man on whose head he had placed a crown, which he intended to transfer to his own brows—a result he expected to accomplish either by the open assistance of the British Government, or by secret treason and the assassination of the King. Murder, that for many years had not appeared on the political stage of Kandy, now again shewed its face. The second Adigaar, and one of the principal Dissaves, who had opposed the choice of the minister, were waylaid and assassinated, and Carpa, a faithful servant of the former, was hanged. Urged on by the Adigaar, the King gave orders for the imprisonment and execution of his uncle, whose only offence was that of giving good advice. He was saved by the persons to whom the order was secretly communicated, who had the virtue and courage to obey part of it only. In unison with this monstrous conduct, the King selected the two daughters of this very uncle for his queens, who hearing at Mátelé, on the way from Madura, of their father's confinement, refused to proceed, and were brought by compulsion to Kandy. The principal queen of Rajadhi, with many of his relations, was also immediately thrown into prison, while Mootoo Sawmy, the queen's brother, and an aspirant to the throne of Kandy, fled to the English, and was protected at Jaffna; the others were kept under the immediate eye of government at Colombo, so that they had no power to disturb the existing government.

In February, 1799, Mr. North had his first conference with Pilámé Talawé, the chief Adigaar, at Avisahavellé. His conversation was at that time veiled in mystery, consisting of insinuations respecting a supposed friendship between the King and our native subjects, but chiefly referred to the Malabars, the King's countrymen, of whom he complained as instruments calculated to subvert his influence and that of the native chiefs at the Kandian court, nevertheless the full scope of his villany was as yet undiscovered. In December he desired a second interview, and after again adverting to the Malabars, through whom he professed to have forfeited the King's confidence, he then made a direct proposal to the Governor to assist him in taking away the life of the King and placing himself on the throne, when he would give the English the supremacy of the country. Such a proposal was rejected with the indignation it deserved, and the conference immediately ended, but not before the Governor had remarked, that the power which had placed the King on the throne might prevent a change in his counsels, such as that he had referred to. In January 1800, he undisguisedly explained his views to Mr. Boyd, Secretary to Government, declaring that he had imbibed from his infancy an unconquerable hatred for the Malabar regal dynasty, which had ever oppressed his country; that he had raised Kannesámy, an ignorant and obscure youth, to the throne, to render him odious in the eyes of the people, and bring about a revolution

that should terminate in the extinction of this alien race, and give the Kandians a legitimate native ruler. In subsequent interviews with various British officers, he used every possible argument, but all to no purpose, to induce them to favour his views. Mr. Boyd assured him that the Governor never could acquiesce in the dethronement of a prince whom he had acknowledged, and who had committed no offence; notwithstanding his sincere desire of the continuance of his (the Adigaar's) power: that the latter object might be secured, provided the King of Kandy could be induced to place himself and country under the protection of Great Britain, and admit an English garrison into his capital; but that such arrangements should not be made unless the inviolability of the King's person, and the continuance of his dignity, were stipulated as preliminaries; that it was the Governor's wish that his Kandian majesty should voluntarily remain at Kandy under the safeguard of an English garrison, and that the Adigaar should continue to exercise the sovereign authority in his name.

The Adigaar replied, that such an arrangement could not well take place under the reigning King, who did not possess the confidence of the nation, that Kandy was torn by faction and civil dissension, and that the King would fly from the capital on the approach of the British troops. He seemed astonished that the Governor should profess so much anxiety to support the King, and remarked that the latter did not wish British troops to be sent to Kandy, and was not a friend of the English.

He inquired moreover what would be considered aggression, and if an invasion of the British territory would not rank under that category. It was now evident that the King's life was in imminent danger, and that hostilities were to be apprehended from the Kandians. In order therefore to frustrate the schemes of the Adigaar, by a more perfect knowledge of the court, and to establish a permanent political and commercial interest there, the Governor, in another interview with the Adigaar at Seetawaka, promised that Major-general Macdowall should be sent as an ambassador, if the King would permit his being attended by a sufficient military force to obtain respect. To this offer the crafty minister demurred, inquiring why a treaty could not be made at Seetawaka. The Governor replied, that nothing would give him greater satisfaction, provided he, the Adigaar, had full power from the King to enter upon an undertaking of that kind. The Adigaar admitted that he had no such authority, and intimated that his influence was no longer what it had been, and that he feared he should not succeed.

A proposition was also made for the King's removal, for greater safety, into the British territories, with his own consent, where he should enjoy all his royal privileges, deputing to Pilámé Talawé the conduct of affairs at Kandy. A British subsidiary force was further promised, if a sufficient guarantee, either in land or produce, were given by the Kandian government. But that the ambassador should

be directed to oppose the use of any threats or compulsion against the King, or any diminution of his real authority, if he found it better established, or his life more secure than was generally supposed.

It would be tedious to enter into all the details of the frequent conferences that took place between the perfidious minister and the Ceylon government, it will suffice to enumerate the chief points illustrative of their respective policies.

At a later interview, a great obstacle was presumed to have been got over; the Adigaar having alleged that he renounced any homicidal attempt on the King's person or dignity. He still urged, however, that all the functions of government should be committed to himself, through the influence of a British army at Kandy; and wished the troops for that purpose to be sent up immediately, with General Macdowall as ambassador; but the latter point was refused, unless the previous consent of the King should be obtained. Subsequently the letter intended for the King of Kandy was shewn to the Adigaar, which, with some alterations, he approved of. He then entered into a discussion regarding the remuneration to be made to the English for taking the kingdom under their protection. They were to have at their disposal the revenues of the country, chiefly consisting of rice, areka nut, and pepper, with full power to cut wood, and to collect cinnamon wherever they chose. He proposed to return to Kandy to meet the general, unless his presence should be required at court. From a question he put as to who would succeed to the command after the departure of the general, he appears to have expected that the ambassador's escort would take military possession of Kandy, and the answer was calculated to excite a belief that the Governor intended to carry such a measure into effect. At length an answer was received from the King, signed by the first Adigaar, but with the royal seal affixed. This was considered insufficient, and Mr. Boyd insisted that the King's consent should be obtained by means of his own signature. To this the Adigaar agreed, and then read over the treaty and made some alterations as the various topics were discussed; but Mr. Boyd perceived that he had not yet abandoned his treasonable projects, and when on a later occasion he threw out hints which clearly proved his insincerity with regard to the treaty, Mr. Boyd let him know that he perceived his drift.

Again the Adigaar asked, if an irruption into the British territories would not be a sufficient aggression, and was again told that it would be considered provocation enough; but that should such an inroad take place, he would be regarded as the person who had instigated hostilities, and need not for one moment expect support or protection from the British government. Though the Adigaar refused, on trifling pretexts, to sign a fair copy of the treaty which he had approved, and did not give a satisfactory reply as to whether the King would be found at Kandy by the ambassador, yet he was informed that the Governor had resolved to send forward the embassy with the troops, considering the King's permission as having been

given through him, and that he relied upon his acting cordially and sincerely in the settlement of the treaty at Kandy. This the Adigaar promised, as also to cause due respect to be paid to him.

Governor North having then finally determined on sending an embassy to Sree Wickrama, with the twofold view (according to Cordiner) of maintaining a friendly intercourse with that prince, and carrying on political objects of importance, General Macdowall, the commander-in-chief of the forces, whose well known ability and conciliatory manners rendered him everyway worthy of being selected for the occasion, was appointed to undertake the commission. As it was intended that the embassy should be as splendid as possible, and should make a strong impression on the minds of the Kandians, by far exceeding anything of the kind that had hitherto been seen on the island, the Governor had previously sent Mr. Boyd, his private secretary, to Seetawaka, there to arrange with the Adigaar and officers of the Kandian kingdom, for its passage through the country and its reception at court. As the General was to be accompanied by a large escort, it was necessary to remove the fear and suspicions of the Kandians, as they had always been extremely averse to the entrance of a military force into the country. These objects having been effected, the embassy prepared for its departure. It was accompanied by detachments from several regiments, and a body of artillery, and bore some very valuable presents for the King, consisting among other things, of an elegant state-coach, drawn by six horses, a betel dish, with ornaments of solid gold, which had belonged to Tippoo Sultan, and was valued at 800 star pagodas.

At the second audience the General introduced the business of the embassy, and made those demands which he was authorised to do on behalf of Great Britain. The principal of these were—Article 3, by which it was stipulated, "that in order to secure the honour and safety of his Kandian Majesty and his successors, his Excellency the Governor of the British possessions in Ceylon, shall send immediately into his Majesty's territories, a detachment of seven or eight hundred men, which force may hereafter be increased as occasion may require; and as the troops are to be employed for the purpose of securing the King on his throne, and defending him against all his enemies, foreign and domestic, his Kandian Majesty agrees to defray the expense of four hundred men with a proportion of officers, &c. The troops which are stationed in his Majesty's dominions shall only be considered as the defenders of him and his successors." By another article it was proposed, "that a road should be made through the Kandian territories from Colombo to Trincomalee; as hitherto the tapals or letter-bags had to be conveyed by a circuitous route along the sea-coast by Manaar and Jaffnapatam."

The King, however, would on no account accede to these proposals, but expressed his decided aversion to any intercourse or connexion existing between his subjects and Europeans. At the same time,

however, he expressed a desire to live on amicable terms with the British, whose power he acknowledged to be greatly superior to that of the Dutch.

Between this audience and the one for taking leave, several messages and conversations took place between the General and the Adigaar on political topics. The greatest precautions were used by the Kandians to prevent any intercourse between the Malays and Malabars in their and our service, and with the natives in general. In spite of these precautions, however, some valuable information was obtained. Several Malays in the King's service found an opportunity of expressing their sorrow in not being able to return to Colombo with their old companions. Most of these men had been slaves to the Dutch, and had escaped, on account of ill treatment, to the Kandian territories. They would have gladly returned to their former masters, and submitted to any punishment for their desertion, rather than live as they did in continual fear from the caprice of a despotic and barbarous court. At the last audience the King put a gold chain round the General's neck, and presented him with a sword, and embroidered belt and scabbard. He also gave him a ring set with different sorts of precious stones, and an elephant. These, when added to the presents sent by the King to Governor North, were of small value compared with those his Kandian Majesty received from the British. Nor was the escort even supplied with provisions while at the Kandian court, a piece of hospitality that had always been conferred before. The General, having obtained orders for departure, set out on the 2nd of May, on his return to Colombo.

The Adigaar, however, failed in his engagements, and his influence was insufficient to carry the objects of the treaty into effect.[1] Soon afterwards, the Dissave Leuke, one of the nobles of the court, wrote to Colombo, to the effect that the King was desirous of forming a treaty with the British government, similar to that concluded with the Dutch. Several overtures were made on both sides through various channels, without any conclusive result. The Kandians wished to obtain an establishment on the sea-coast,[2] and to be permitted

[1] Forbes very pertinently remarks, "It is difficult to imagine what delusion could have led any one to expect that a suspicious, jealous, and haughty despot, who styled himself in his counter proposals, 'King of Lanka, as great among men, as Iswara among the gods,' would delegate all power to his minister, and transfer his own person from possible danger to certain restraint. As might have been predicted, the mission was a total failure, and the same consequences resulted from this as from former embassies, that they ministered to the vanity of the Kandian monarch, and exalted him in the eyes of his ignorant subjects, who contrasted the studied splendour of the royal pageantry with the ceremonies enforced upon the British representative."

[2] To render the full import of this article obvious, it is only necessary to state that whatever produce the Kandians exported or imported, passed through the British custom-houses. Areka nuts, their principal export, was charged 75 per cent; and the tax on salt charged by the English government, was from 800 to 1000 per cent. above the cost of its production.

to have ten ships, which should be allowed to sail from and return to the English ports with such merchandize as should be thought proper, without being searched or paying duties; and the policy of the British government rejected their demand. Pilámé Talawé persevered in duplicity and intrigue, exciting his countrymen to prepare for war, fomenting disturbance within our territories, sending false and ambiguous reports, with the view of compelling the English to take up arms against his sovereign. The Governor made many attempts to open a correspondence with the King, through a less suspicious channel, but the Dissave and chief priest, who were favourites of the King, and supposed to be enemies of the Adigaar, declined every overture to this end.

Early in 1802, the second Adigaar, an accomplice of Pilámé Talawé's, was sent as ambassador to Colombo. He renewed the proposal for dethroning the King, which being rejected, he demanded the cession of the three islands conceded to them by the Dutch treaty, and the right of employing ten vessels for the purposes of commerce, but without success; such a proposal being deemed inadmissible by the Governor. In March, the first Adigaar pointed out the line on which a road might be cut across the country from Colombo to Trincomalee, but requested that it might be done speedily; so as to be completed without the knowledge of the King. He also pressed for an interview with the Governor at Seetawaka, that he might have an opportunity of vindicating his conduct. A reply was sent that the road would not be made without the King's consent, and the Governor could not meet him until by obtaining the King's consent to the treaty, he had satisfied him of his own sincerity and his sovereign's wishes. Furthermore, he declined to send another embassy to Kandy; having by this time discovered that our negotiations had neither raised us in the estimation of the Kandians, nor procured protection for our native subjects.

The Kandians now prepared for war, and orders were issued from the court that every man capable of bearing arms should hold himself in readiness to march to the frontiers. Several British subjects trading within the enemy's territories, were forcibly detained and maltreated by the natives. Subsequently a party of Moormen, belonging to Putlam, and subjects of the British government, who had from time immemorial carried on a trade in areka nuts, and had always been well received by the natives, were plundered of a quantity valued at £1000, with the cattle used for their conveyance. After a minute investigation of the case by the government, the innocence of the Moormen was fully proved, and every circumstance indicated that the Adigaar had been the instigator of this act of violence and injustice, one of his agents having conveyed the booty to Ruwanwellé, and disposed of it to traders from Colombo.

In September, a remonstrance from the British government was forwarded to the Court of Kandy, to which an answer was returned

at the expiration of a month, acknowledging the justice of the complaint, imputing the blame to the renter of the areka farm, and promising restitution. In consequence of this assurance, the Moormen returned to the Seven Korles, where they remained for several weeks, travelling from village to village, without result, and were finally dismissed, with a promise, "that if the season should prove favourable, and they would return in January, the King would perhaps listen to the Governor's request, and restore a quantity equal to that of which they had been despoiled." In November a letter was received from the Court of Kandy, stating that the property in question had been sold, but that an equivalent should be given to the sufferers in the course of one or two months. This promise having been evaded, a commissioner was sent to receive the areka nuts from the agents of the Court of Kandy, or a pecuniary recompense.

This conciliatory offer was rejected by the Adigaar, and another attempt was made to delay reparation for the outrage until the season for active operations in the interior should be past. Meanwhile the Kandians menaced various parts of the frontier, for which the most unfounded pretences were made by the Adigaar. Under these circumstances, the government determined to send a force to obtain full indemnification for the expenses occasioned by the treachery of the Kandian court, and security against the repetition of similar outrages. Previous to this, however, the intention was communicated to the Adigaar, and a letter was written to the King, expressive of the pain with which the government commenced hostilities, and proposing terms of accommodation, equally moderate and advantageous, in the hope that he would immediately comply with them, as well for the security of his own person, as for the maintenance of peace. This conciliatory conduct, whether taken as a proof of weakness, or thwarted by the ambitious spirit of the Adigaar, who longed for war, hoping that he might accomplish during the struggle his long meditated scheme of treachery, was rejected with disdain by the Kandian prince, and counter proposals were set forth, so absurd in their pretensions, as clearly to demonstrate the intention of the court to avoid any lasting or reasonable arrangement.

A late writer has ventured to make some rather unwarrantable remarks on this negotiation, which it will suffice to quote, to disprove, "There being no satisfactory evidence that the King was a party to the outrage, it is not obvious that he should have been held immediately and personally responsible for the unofficial acts of his villanous minister, whose treason we had to a certain degree countenanced. The local government should perhaps in the first instance have demanded the punishment of the Adigaar, but Mr. North seems to have had through the whole course of his intriguing policy a leaning in favour of Pilámé Talawé. He could, however, have had no real good will to the Adigaar, for except on one point there

was no unity of object between them. They both wished to depose the King, but each wished to possess exclusively his territory." The writer in question apparently keeps out of sight the key, subsequent events offered to the springs of action by which the monarch was impelled, though he must have been aware that he far outvied all preceding kings in the depth of his treachery and the pitilessness of his cruelty. He forgets also that the Adigaar was the *only* medium of communication between the British Government and the King, and that he would have taken care to stifle in the birth any complaints calculated to compromise himself, yet this is made the foundation of his charge against Mr. North.

Relying on the strength of fastnesses, and the inaccessible nature of the country, no less than the depth of his own cunning, the Adigaar viewed imperturbably the commencement of a contest, in the issue of which he thought he saw the balance preponderate in favour of his own aggrandisement. He had satisfied himself that it would be easy to dispatch the King in the confusion, and he aimed at securing his own interest by the offer of an advantageous treaty to the British, of whom he equally intended to rid himself when he should have consolidated his usurped power. The exiled Princes had before the war penetrated into his design, and the Malabar relatives of the reigning Prince had long solicited the intercession of the Nabob of Arcot with the British Government, to promote the escape of their kinsman from his dominions, but in vain. Since the Governor had first rejected his treacherous overtures, the Adigaar had cherished a secret resentment against him, and while pretending to carry on a fair and open correspondence, he was deeply meditating in what manner he could effect his destruction.

The force under Major-general Macdowall, consisting of the 51st regiment, two companies of the Bengal artillery with a body of gun lascars, two companies of the 19th foot, 1000 of the Ceylon native infantry, one company of Malays, and a small corps of pioneers, marched into the interior in February 1803; and another division of the army marched from Trincomalee, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Barbut. The enemy now retired from the flat country to the hills, and the inhabitants cheerfully brought supplies into the camp. The pestilential atmosphere of the western side of the island, rendered as rapid an advance as the rugged nature of the country would admit, absolutely necessary.

A post was formed at Katadenia, within the Kandian provinces, for whose defence a small detachment was left, and the army reached Dambadiniya in high spirits. Nothing as yet indicated the presence of any native force, on the contrary, the headmen declared that they had received orders from the King to treat the British troops with kindness, and supply them with the necessaries at their disposal. The most correct discipline had indeed been observed in the army, the property of the inhabitants protected, and

no irregularity permitted. A small fort having been erected at Dambadiniya, and a garrison of 100 men left to defend it, the army continued its march, having received tidings of the unopposed progress of the force from Trincomalee. On the 19th, the two strong and important posts of Galle Gederah and Geeriegamme were forced after a slight resistance, and the enemy left in his flight three curious pieces of brass ordnance and a great quantity of ammunition. In the redoubt, built of hewn stone, with two large gateways situate on the summit of a rocky mountain, and commanding a narrow pass leading to it, fifty sepoys were left. The army then moved on to the other fortress, similar in its construction, and equally strong. The appearance of the huge mountain on which it was raised, inspired the beholder with astonishment and awe, and the post skilfully defended, would have been impregnable. On the appearance of the troops a heavy fire commenced, and continued till the grenadiers of the 19th had entered the battery, when the enemy retired, carrying off their wounded. The troops having ascended the pass, it was found to be a kind of natural staircase winding up the side of the mountain, intersected by a succession of perpendicular rocks, all of which were within range of the Kandian battery, while each side of the path was lined with impervious thickets, from which the enemy might have fired without any danger of being discovered or pursued. But the Kandians at first fired too high, and fear afterwards prevented them from aiming better. While this outpost was being carried, firing was heard from the opposite side of Kandy, indicating an engagement between Colonel Barbut and the enemy. Accordingly a party having been left to garrison this post, the army pushed on for Kandy, and the enemy continued their flight with so much speed, that they made no defence at a third strong battery, a mile and a half beyond Geeriegamme. The same day the Trincomalee division stormed the stronghold of Canavetty, twenty miles eastward of Kandy, and advanced towards the capital. As it approached, the Mahavellé-ganga, the opposite bank, the village of Wattapologa, and neighbouring hills were observed to be occupied by the enemy in force. A few discharges, however, sufficed to dislodge them, and the river having been crossed, the division took its post about a mile and a half from the capital. The same day Gen. Macdowall's division arrived within three miles of Kandy, having crossed the Mahavellé ganga in safety, and the two divisions came in sight of each other. It now only remained for the troops to march into the town, which was done on the following day. Not an inhabitant was to be found, or anything but a few pariar dogs, the city having been evacuated the day before, and set fire to in several places. The treasure and all the most valuable articles had been removed, but a large quantity of ammunition and brass cannon fell into the hands of the victors.

An intimation having been made by the inhabitants of the northern

and eastern provinces, of their desire of having Mootoo Sawmy, the brother of the late queen, for their king, he was brought from his retirement, and placed with all the forms of eastern ceremonial in the palace at Kandy, where he enjoyed the shadow of royalty, but the assurances which he had given the Governor of his possessing the attachment of the Singhalese nation, proved totally deceptive, and none of the headmen in the central province evinced any favourable disposition for his rule, considering him ineligible to the crown on account of a fraud he had committed during Rajadhi's reign, and for which he had been publicly disgraced. Nor does the policy of the British, in investing him with a power incompatible with the previous negotiations respecting the settlement of the government, appear to have been either prudent or far-sighted. The conditions on which he was permitted to assume it were not less ungenerous, for they would have transferred from the Kandian monarchy the only valuable possessions of which it had not already been despoiled, and though the chiefs of the districts to be ceded might be insensible to the calls of patriotism, self-interest formed a surer bond to unite them against a titular king, who had made such ruinous concessions.

After abandoning Kandy to the British troops, the Adigaar had taken up his post along with the King at Hangaranketty, an almost inaccessible spot, about eighteen miles from the capital; and from thence he began to exert his insidious schemes for the entrapment of the British garrison in the latter place, commanded by Colonel Barbut. The British officer was but too willing to listen to his specious overtures, one of which was, that if he would send a sufficient force to their place of retreat, he would deliver the King into his hands. He even went so far as to explain to General Macdowall the nature of the post, and pointed out the easiest line of march to it. Accordingly, a body of 800 men, in two divisions, marched by different routes, as the Adigaar had requested. They found that batteries were erected on every eminence which commanded the paths through which the soldiers were to pass, and that natives were lying in ambush in the thickest coverts of the jungle, where the ground was swampy and impassable.

When they had advanced a few miles from Kandy, a heavy firing commenced upon each of them in all directions, which would have been attended with considerable loss but that the enemy's matchlocks were levelled too high to take effect. The firing continued without interruption for a considerable time, till the vigour of our musketry and the able direction of the cohorns drove the natives from their posts; yet though compelled to shift their ground, they desisted not from the attack, but continued to annoy the troops with their jingals and firelocks from the neighbouring hills and thickets; and accompanied them in their march. The rugged and mountainous character of the country rendered the march one of the most harassing and toil-

some that can be conceived, for of a journey of nearly twenty miles, scarcely three could be performed on horseback. At length the two parties having succeeded in forming a junction before Hangaranketty, took the palace after a slight resistance, but the King had escaped before their arrival, and they found nothing worth mention but a few jingals. As the detachments, from a deficiency of coolies, had only carried with them provisions for eight days, any further attempt to pursue the King would have been fruitless, and as Colonel Baillie justly suspected the Adigaar of treachery, he determined to return immediately to head-quarters, having first burnt the palace.

The same opposition they had met with in advancing, the troops now experienced on their return, but they reached Kandy with much less loss than might have been expected, greatly to the chagrin of Talawé, who had hoped to lead them into new snares and involve them in perplexities, which would have placed both parties entirely in his power. The connection between Trincomalee and Kandy was now entirely interrupted by the enemy, who had murdered several parties of coolies going up with provisions. On the return of Colonel Baillie, Colonel Barbut proceeded therefore for a short distance on that road, with the view of inducing some of the headmen of the country to come in and declare themselves in favour of Prince Mootoo Sawmy. But the attempt to conciliate the natives met with no success, and several of the detachment were killed by the enemy. The Kandians were now lurking in all directions among the jungle near the capital, to cut off stragglers, and received from their government a reward of ten rupees for the head of every European, and five for the native soldiers in the British service.

Fort Frederick at Katadenia having been menaced by several thousand Kandians, parties from the troops yet left at Colombo, were immediately sent to reinforce the small garrison, but the endemial fever, to which this part of the country is frequently subject, attacked the whole force with such virulence, as to leave scarcely an individual capable of service, and it was determined to destroy and abandon the post, and remove the stores by water to Negombo. Two expeditions of the enemy, which had attacked the British territories in considerable numbers, were both at this time dispersed and defeated by one-tenth of the number of British.

The advent of the rainy season preventing the progress of hostilities, and threatening the reduction of the force by sickness, it was determined that the greater part of the troops should return to their former stations, and that Colonel Barbut should remain in garrison at Kandy with a force of 1000 men, with which he was satisfied he could maintain himself securely against the whole army of the enemy.

In March, the Maha Modeliar, or head Singhalese servant of Government, received two letters from Pilámé Talawé, in one of

which he expressed his surprise that the Governor should incur so much trouble and expense, instead of entering into an arrangement; in the other, which was more confidential, he proposed compliance with the long-refused deposition of the King, and the establishment of his own power.

To this an answer was returned, that if the safety of the King's person were secured by delivering him into the hands of the English, the province of the Wanny yielded to Mootoo Sawmy, and the Seven Korles, with the road across the country, to the British, peace should be restored. Soon after the second Adigaar arrived at Kandy, carrying a firelock and match wrapped up in white muslin, as an emblem of peace. He was received by Major-General Macdowall with every mark of respect due to his rank, and it was agreed after several conferences that the fugitive King should be yielded over to the care of the British Government, that Pilámé Talawé should be invested with supreme authority in Kandy, under the title of Ootoon Koomarayen, the Great Prince, that he should annually pay 30,000 rupees to Mootoo Sawmy, who would hold his court at Jaffnapatam; that Fort Macdowall with the surrounding district, the road to Trincomalee, and the province of the Seven Korles, should be ceded to his Britannic Majesty, and that a cessation of arms should immediately take place between the two powers. And thus did Mootoo Sawmy, who had been proclaimed King of Kandy, and brought to the capital by the British, who had furthermore received the proffer of a military force for his support, within a very few days, and without any fault on his, or misfortune on their part, find deliberately concluded and afterwards ratified a treaty, by which he was to become a pensioner on one they knew to be a villain, ready to commit the worst of crimes, yet whom they were about to raise to supreme authority over the Kandians.

Subsequently, on the faith of the fulfilment of this treaty, made by an avowed traitor with a foreign invader, General Macdowall left Kandy for Colombo, by the Balané pass, with the greater part of the force, which he reached in safety from the natives, but in peril from a more formidable enemy. Nearly the whole of the 51st regiment was immediately confined to the hospital, and in less than three months three hundred died. Colombo now wore an aspect of universal gloom. Every day witnessed the death of both officers and men, and every street contained numbers, who were attacked by the jungle fever, while the ever-recurring funeral processions marched in silence through the fort to conceal from the invalided the mournful fate of their companions in arms.

Notwithstanding the armistice just concluded with the Adigaar, a hostile disposition was still shewn by the other nobles. These now collected the people from every quarter, invaded various provinces subject to the British, committed depredations, but retired with precipitation before a small British force, which destroyed their fortifi-

cations and dislodged them from the country. The day after the troops had left Kandy, the Adigaar advanced within three miles of it with a large force, but attempted nothing, and wrote to Colombo to request that he might be permitted to hold an interview with the Governor for the purpose of arranging a definitive treaty of peace; at the same time intimating that his Excellency's visit to the Seven Korles would produce a good effect, by quieting the apprehension of the natives, and increasing their confidence in the protection promised them by the British Government. Anxious to restore tranquillity, by negotiating with the only real authority in Kandy, with whom a correspondence could be opened, the Governor and his secretary arrived at Dambadiniya in May, attended by a small escort, and was waited upon by the headmen of the neighbourhood, who declared their satisfaction with the change of government which had taken place, and promised fidelity and obedience. The Adigaar, on his part, after a long conference with the Governor, fully agreed to the terms of the treaty which had been drawn up in Kandy by General Macdowall and the second Adigaar, and affixed his seal and signature to it. It was now thought that the Adigaar was sincere, and that he had at length determined to act with good faith, and his proposal, that General Macdowall should be again sent to Kandy to aid him in executing the terms of the treaty, was agreed to. At this moment Colonel Barbut, who commanded at Kandy, having been apprised of the intended conference at Dambadiniya, seized the opportunity for paying his respects to Mr. North, and repaired thither, escorted by a detachment of the Malay regiment. He undertook to obtain the acquiescence of Prince Mootoo Sawmy to the convention, but was unfortunately seized with the jungle fever next day, and was obliged to be sent down to Colombo, where he soon after expired. The loss of this able officer gave the Kandian government an easier opportunity for perpetrating those atrocious crimes, which they soon demonstrated to have been the aim of all their intrigues. The Adigaar was observed to tremble during his interview with the Governor, which was ascribed to the nervousness he might naturally be supposed to feel in meeting those to whom he had been so lately opposed, but the real motive was not long in transpiring, and subsequent events proved that he had laid a scheme for making Mr. North a prisoner, and was only deterred from his attempt by the force of the escort and the unexpected arrival of Colonel Barbut. General Macdowall met with no interruption on the road, but the coolies carrying supplies to Kandy, both from Colombo and Trincomalee, were barbarously murdered; while the fever, small-pox, and famine, committed fearful havoc among this race of people, many of whom died on the high-roads and in the wretched houses of Kandy, where hungry dogs were seen to devour their remains. Nor was the garrison at Kandy in a much better plight. Not only had it been thinned by sickness and death, but almost all the European soldiers were confined to the

hospital. By the swelling of the rivers, the boats were washed away, and the violent rains, which overflowed the country, rendered any communication between the two capitals extremely difficult. In the mean time the Adigaar did not repair to Kandy, as he had promised, to meet General Macdowall, and wrote, in June, that he could not wait on him without the permission of the King. The expectation of closing the war by a treaty once more vanished, and the General, having been seized by the prevailing disorder, returned to Colombo.

The Kandians now began to approach very near the capital, and entrenched themselves in strong positions. They likewise made every attempt to seduce the Malays from their allegiance, and Captain Nouradeen, the chief Malay officer, was urged by his brother, a Malay prince in the Kandian service, to induce his countrymen to revolt and assassinate the British soldiers; in return for which the King of Kandy would reward them handsomely with lands and money. He immediately divulged the communication to the commandant, Major Davie, and did every thing in his power to prevent desertion, but in spite of his endeavours, small parties of the Malays and Lascars went over to the enemy. In the middle of June, Major Davie received a letter from the Adigaar, in which he mentioned that he was in disgrace with the King, owing to his endeavours to serve the English, and requested him to undertake another expedition to Hangaranketty, as the only means for enforcing tranquillity. The Major having been apprised through a confidential agent of the Dissave Leuke that the first Adigaar was a perfidious villain, who deceived the whole world, and that no confidence could be placed in him, and that his own partizan, the second Adigaar, had quarrelled with him, was convinced also of his intention now to decoy the remainder of the troops, and declined compliance with his proposal, as he had already promised more than he was either able or willing to perform. Meanwhile the Malays continued to desert, and the Europeans were dying daily in numbers. Paddee was almost the only article which remained for their subsistence, and in their sickly state they were unable to beat it into rice. Preparations were making by the Kandians in different quarters to attack the garrison, and Major Davie was left in doubt whether these demonstrations were intended as an infraction of the treaty, or whether their object was to forward its execution. Prince Mootoo Sawmy already trembled for his perilous situation, and would gladly have renounced for ever all pretensions to the throne of Kandy, could he have obtained a safe-conduct to his former abode at Jaffnapatam.

Previous to this, accounts had been received at Colombo of the imminent danger of the garrison, and had excited considerable alarm, and it was determined by the Government that measures should be taken for the speedy evacuation of the Kandian country. With the view of facilitating this design, a detachment of the Ceylon native infantry was directed to proceed to Kandy with the least possible

delay, but the want of coolies to carry provisions delayed their departure till the end of the month. Such, in fact, had been the dreadful sufferings of the coolies during the campaign, that those of them who had returned to their villages, gave so sad an account of their distresses, and the melancholy fate of their companions, that others of the Singhalese were completely deterred from entering in the service. Towards the close of June, the strong posts of Geeriegamme and Galle Gederah were surprised by the Kandians, and the communication between Colombo and Kandy was now entirely cut off.

The Kandians daily increased in numbers by levies from all parts of the country. As the British garrison became weaker and more enfeebled they gathered courage, and determined on the assault of the capital. Of this intention the chief Adigaar, in his usual mysterious manner, apprised the commandant, stating at the same time the distressing circumstances under which he was placed, from having lost the confidence and incurred the displeasure of the King. In consequence of this information, field-pieces were placed in different directions for the defence of the town. On the 24th of June, before daybreak, in the presence of the King and his court, who were stationed on an adjoining hill, secure from danger, the enemy led on by their chiefs, who knew that a merciless monarch was watching their conduct, attacked the guard posted on the hill, which commanded the back of the palace, where the British troops were quartered, and took them prisoners, with the gun in their possession. Soon afterwards a strong party of Malays in the Kandian service, headed by Sanguylo, their chief, attempted to force the palace at the eastern barrier, where a field-piece was likewise posted. They were opposed by Lieutenant Blakeney and a few men of the 19th regiment. Sanguylo crossed the stockade, and was immediately seized by the Lieutenant; they struggled and fell together, and while lying on the ground, Sanguylo stabbed his opponent mortally with his kreese.

At length, however, he was himself run through, and the field-piece being loaded with grape shot, brought down such a heap of the invaders, that the Kandians, intimidated by the loss, withdrew to a greater distance, and manned all the rising grounds, from which they galled the garrison by the discharge of their grasshopper guns, and an incessant fire was kept up on both sides till two o'clock, P.M. The officers of the garrison were exhausted with fatigue. There were only about twenty convalescent Europeans fit for duty, and 120 men of the 19th regiment were lying sick in the hospital, incapable of being moved. A torrent of Kandians pressed upon the palace; the European officers of the Malay regiment represented to Major Davie that the place would soon be untenable, and entreated him to enter into a capitulation with the Kandians, while there was yet time. After some consideration, a white flag was displayed by the British garrison, and the firing ceased on both sides. Many of the Kandians then

approached, and the commandant, along with Captain Nouradeen of the Malay regiment, went out and conversed with them, and subsequently repaired to the quarters of the Adigaar. It was then stipulated that Kandy, with the stores and ammunition in it, should be immediately delivered up to the Kandians; that all the British soldiers should march out of Kandy, with their arms, on the road leading to Trincomalee; that Mootoo Sawmy should be permitted to accompany them, and that the Adigaar should take care of the sick and wounded, and supply them with provisions and medicines, until they could be removed to Trincomalee or Colombo. The above articles were written on olas, signed and exchanged between Major Davie and the Adigaar, who likewise delivered him a passport, written in the name of the King, to enable him to proceed unmolested on the road. Preparations were therefore made on the return of Major Davie into the city for the removal of the whole garrison, excepting such of the sick as were incapable of moving, and the same day the troops, consisting of 14 European officers, 20 British soldiers, 250 Malays, 140 gun Lascars, with Prince Mootoo Sawmy and his attendants, marched out of Kandy, and proceeded to Wattapologa, on the banks of the Mahavellé-ganga. At that place they were obliged to halt all night, for the river, never fordable, was now flooded, and there were neither boats nor rafts by which they could cross it. It rained very hard, and the party remained under a bogaha, (now called Major Davie's tree,) on the summit of a rising ground, exposed to the inclemency of the weather. Next day the troops were employed in endeavouring to form rafts, but a rope could not be carried across the river, owing to the depth and rapidity of the stream. The King had foreseen the difficulty, and instantly ordered the chiefs to assemble with their armed followers. Other Kandians also appeared on the opposite side of the river. A party of headmen were now sent to Major Davie, who informed him that the King had been greatly enraged with the Adigaar for allowing the garrison to leave Kandy, but that if they would deliver up Mootoo Sawmy and the five relatives who accompanied him, they should be supplied with boats to cross the river, and receive every assistance to enable them to accomplish their march to Trincomalee. Major Davie replied, that he could not deviate from the articles of capitulation, which both parties were bound to observe. Two hours afterwards another party of chiefs waited on the Major, and addressing him in a mild and friendly manner, solemnly declared that the King was desirous to see and embrace the Prince, and that he would receive and protect him as a relation. Major Davie again replied, that he could not part with Mootoo Sawmy without permission from Colombo. On this they again departed, but returned almost immediately, and declared that if the Prince was withheld, the King would send his whole force to seize him, and prevent the British troops from crossing the river. After another consultation with his officers, Major Davie addressed

himself to the unfortunate Prince, depicted the ruinous consequences of a refusal to the force under his command, entreated him to consider that he had not sufficient power to detain him longer, but that the King had pledged himself to entertain him kindly. "My God!" exclaimed Mootoo Sawmy, "is it possible that the triumphant arms of England can be so humbled as to fear the menaces of such cowards as the Kandians!" Major Davie could not help entering into his feelings; but as in their state of bewilderment, resistance appeared hopeless, and likely to involve them all in destruction, the unhappy Prince was surrendered unconditionally to the chiefs, who conducted him with his relatives and servants to Kandy.

On his arrival, Pilámé Talawé and Millawa received orders to bring them before the King at Oodawetté, in the vicinity of the city. When they appeared, the King desired Eheylapola to ask Mootoo Sawmy, "If it were proper for him, who was of the royal family, to join the English?" The unfortunate Prince made no defence, replying, "He was at the King's mercy." He was next asked if any Kandian chiefs were connected with him. He answered, "A few letters had been received from Pilámé Talawé." This the King refused to believe, and ordered the Malay Mohandiram to take the prisoners away to execution. One was impaled, the rest were put to death by the kreeses of the Malays, and the servants, deprived of their noses and ears, subsequently reached Trincomalee. This was the first act of the tragedy.

Speedily the King again summoned the first Adigaar before him, and bade him follow the English and put them to death. The minister objected to the order, remarking, "It is highly improper for those who have submitted to be put to death." "What!" said the enraged King, "are you siding with the English again?" The minister then left the royal presence, observing, "Since he urges the measure, what can we do?" He made another attempt to dissuade the King by means of a favourite, who went in and represented the impropriety of such proceedings. On this second remonstrance, the King became furious, and starting from his seat, vociferated, "Why am I not obeyed?" The command, as will be seen, was now too soon obeyed.

The Kandians for some time had ostensibly appeared to be making preparations for enabling the troops to cross the river. Night, however, came on before anything was completed; and they went away, promising to return with boats in the morning. Next day they were seen assembling in arms in great numbers, but no boats appeared, nor was any assistance given in forwarding the preparations for the passage, and a warp which had been carried across the river was maliciously cut.

At length a flag of truce was sent by the Adigaar to Major Davie, conveying a proposal, that he, together with two officers, should meet the Adigaar and two other Kandian chiefs, at a place about half

way between the ferry and Kandy, for the alleged purpose of finally arranging the measures which were required to convey the troops across the river, and to assist them through the Kandian territory towards Trincomalee. Strange to say, this infatuated officer complied, and with two of his captains and Captain Nouradeen of the Malay regiment, proceeded to the place appointed for the conference. Here they met three chiefs, but not the Adigaar; they informed Major Davie that the King wished to have a personal interview with the British officers at the palace, for the purpose of negotiating with them in person. Nouradeen strongly remonstrated with the Major against complying with this request, but in vain. Major Davie, apparently satisfied by the assurances of the chiefs that no deception was intended, and hoping perhaps that he might promote the retreat of the troops, gave his assent to accompany them to the King.

The Malay Mohandiram, in the Kandian service, succeeded in the mean time in persuading parties of the Malays and gun Lascars to desert. Having now deprived the troops of their principal officers, they hastened the bloody catastrophe.

A body of Kandian Malays and Kaffres, accompanied by a large number of natives, now pressed on the troops, and told them that their officers were gone to the Kadughastotté to cross at that ferry; that they must lay down their arms, and that they should be conducted the same way. Too weak to resist, they did as they were desired, and were marched altogether towards Kandy. They had advanced about half way, when the Kandian force was drawn up on each side of the road, and the British troops allowed to move to the centre of the lane; they were then ordered to halt, and the men of the Malay regiment were desired to march on, which they did, with the exception of four Malay officers and a few Malay servants who refused to precede the English officers. A Kandian chief asked the Malays, if they were willing to enter into the service of the King of Kandy. Some of them replied, that they were already the sworn soldiers of a great king, and that they could not serve another. The chief immediately ordered that those who had thus replied, should be bound and committed to the charge of the Kaffres. He then asked the rest of the Malays,[1] whether they chose to suffer death or to enter into the Kandian service; they, intimidated by the preceding example, all replied, that they would serve the King of Kandy, and were immediately conducted to the city. The other officers and

1 The Malay princes, who were settled at Colombo, hearing of the desertions that had taken place among their own people (a circumstance not to be wondered at, when the harassing duty and deprivation of every comfort to which they were exposed is considered), waited on the Governor, and assured him of their regret and indignation at such an occurrence, renewing their profession of inviolable attachment to the British government. The Malayan prisoners at Kandy, separated into four divisions, were sent to different parts of the country, and jealously watched by the natives. By pretending to assist them in their various attacks on the British settlements, they fortunately succeeded in escaping before the lapse of many months.

troops[1] were led out, two by two, along the road to Kandy, at a distance and out of sight of each other, and barbarously massacred in a small hollow or dell. About the same time the hospital in Kandy, containing upwards[2] of 120 men of the 19th regiment, was entered by the enemy, who, in compliance with orders, threw the dead, dying, and sick, all into a deep pit prepared to receive them.

Major Davie[3] and his companions were conducted to Kandy, and from thence to Hangaranketty, where they were exhibited to gratify

[1] Barnsley, a corporal of the 19th regiment, who had been left for slain among the heaps of dead, though seriously wounded and tormented by thirst (having a deep cut from a sword on his neck, and a contusion from the blow of a club on his head), rolled over a precipitous bank into the watercourse of a rice field, and feeling some returning strength, resolved to exert the remnant of life yet left in an endeavour to escape. When darkness had set in, he contrived to swim across the river, although suffering excruciating pain. In his feeble state, the kindness of various natives relieved him from hunger and thirst at great personal risk; and this is one of the many proofs that the cruelties of which the Kandians have been guilty, were to be attributed to the vices of their rulers, and are not necessarily inherent in the native character. The soldier finally reached the post of Fort Macdowall in Mátalé, and along with its garrison escaped to Trincomalee, and recovered from his wounds.

[2] One of these, having previously had the blisters, which had been applied to his stomach in the hospital, torn off, was felled to the ground with the butt-end of a musket, and left for dead among the festering heap of his slaughtered companions. He recovered enough, however, to crawl to a neighbouring drain, where, on being discovered the next morning, he was hung up to a tree and left to perish. The rope happily broke, when he was again discovered, and again hung up in the same way. But again the rope snapped, and he contrived to creep to a hut at a little distance, where he supported himself for ten days with nothing but the grass that grew near the door, and the drops of rain that fell from the roof. At length he was accidentally discovered by an old Kandian, who after looking at him, disappeared, and returned immediately with a plate of rice, which he put down and went away. The King, who was callous beyond measure with respect to ordinary human suffering, was captivated with the tale of the numerous and romantic escapes of the soldier. Superstition for a moment extinguished his barbarity: he felt sure that the man could not have been so often preserved but for the special interposition of Heaven, and he accordingly ordered him to be taken care of by one of the chiefs, and to receive every requisite accommodation. He was allowed a house in Kandy, in which he remained till the arrival of the British in 1805, and suffered no further ill-treatment; but the horrid barbarities which he beheld, and which the slightest offence was sufficient to excite, kept him in constant fear. A woman who had been detected in merely conveying a message from him to Major Davie, was instantly put to death. He presented himself at the British head-quarters in a Kandian dress, and his pale and haggard looks, and his long and matted beard, exhibited a melancholy appearance.

[3] Major Davie's life was spared, according to Mrs. Heber, from a kind of honourable feeling, as being the individual with whom the treaty had been made. He was subsequently removed to the province of Dombera, and a plan was concerted by some Kandian Malays to carry him off through the Veddah forests to Batecalo, where they expected to be well rewarded by the British government. The plot was discovered, however, while it was still in embryo, and Major Davie, then suffering from ill health, was brought to Kandy, and expired a few days after he reached the capital. The Malays who intended to liberate him were outlaws, and had been implicated in one of the several conspiracies for the assassina-

the King's vanity, and afterwards confined in separate apartments. The fate of the brave and noble Nouradeen remains to be told. Being conducted, with his brother, to Hangaranketty, the Adigaar attempted to compel them to prostrate themselves before the King, but to this act of humiliation they peremptorily refused to accede. They offered, however, to salute him in a manner agreeable to their own rank and usage, telling him that they inherited royal blood, and that their grandfather had been an independent monarch.

The King, in a fit of caprice, seemed to enter into their feelings, addressed them kindly, and requested them to enter into his service, and take the command of the Malays. Nouradeen replied, that he could not entertain his majesty's offer without entailing upon himself everlasting infamy, that he had already sworn allegiance to the King of England, and that he would live and die in his service. The two brothers were then ordered into confinement, where they remained for more than a month, when they were again sent for, and asked whether they chose to suffer death or to serve the king. They again unhesitatingly replied, that they were ready to sacrifice their lives in the service of their illustrious master. The Kandian potentate now turned his face from them in a rage, and ordered their immediate execution. Their bodies were refused burial, and ropes being tied round their legs, they were dragged into the midst of the woods, and left as a prey to wild beasts.

On the very same day, on which the British troops had been massacred, the Adigaar having collected together all their effects, gave orders for the firing of a royal salute to announce the national triumph —a triumph hastened at every stage, and finally consummated by the blackest treachery ever recorded.

In our judgment of the conduct of Major Davie at this unhappy conjuncture, it is almost needless to remark, that the feelings of passion and resentment which naturally arise at the violation of British faith and the first duty of the soldier, must, however difficult it may be, be banished from the mind. That performed, as we have endeavoured to perform it; every obstacle in the way being fairly considered; and last of all, a portraiture of ourselves in the situation of the unfortunate commander having been mentally drawn, it may be possible to arrive at a comparatively dispassionate conclusion as to the real exigencies of the case. The result of such an investigation will be found to be more fatal to the character of Major Davie than the most hasty and impassioned decision. He could, in the first place, have no right to expect that the surrender to certain death of the unfortunate Prince, who had been

tion of the King. It is alleged that the government made several attempts to negociate with the Court of Kandy for the liberation of Major Davie, but the King having demanded for the ransom of his prisoner a seaport on the coast, the British government refused to accede to such terms. Major Davie assumed the dress and habits of a native, from whom he is said latterly to have been scarcely distinguishable.

tempted to assume a nominal sovereignty, should free him from the difficulties of his situation; on the contrary, it elevated the spirits of the King, and stimulated him to attempt that act of atrocious cruelty, which harmonized so well with his cowardly character. He must, moreover, have been devoid of all energy and mental resources, or a moment's reflection would have suggested that there were other routes much less dangerous and impracticable than the one that he selected. The Kandians were two days in consummating their perfidy. Had he, during the storm of the first night, when the Kandians, from their inability to withstand an exposure to the inclemency of the elements, had in all probability retired to their houses, disencumbered himself of his surplus baggage, and by his own example, and that of his officers, inspired his troops with that courage and resolve, which seldom fails the British soldier in the moment of danger, had he, I say, marched for the Kadughastotté ferry, the passage of which would have been far from insuperable to a lightly equipped force, with the simple aid of a warp; and with several clear hours before him, threaded the defiles of the Balané, the safety of his force would have been to all human certainty insured. Had he even taken the more circuitous route, by the ferry at Gonorooa, to Colombo, there is no ground for believing that he could have failed in the enterprise. It was not until two days had elapsed, and the dejection arising from hunger, exposure to the pitiless elements, and the apparently certain destruction in store for them, had done its work, that coward fear had taken possession of the troops. Why had it so soon seized upon their commander? Major Davie had already had a fair specimen of Kandian faith and sincerity, by the attack of Kandy, in defiance of a solemn treaty. The slightest attention to the offers of Kandians was not then for a moment justifiable. But what if the passage of the river at the very ferry at which he took up his post were practicable: Forbes intimates as much; and certainly the ease with which Captain Johnston's small force subsequently crossed, would warrant the belief. Had he crossed the river, a rapid march through the Atgalle pass would have placed him in security at Fort Macdowall in a few hours. A march of from twelve to fifteen miles, by any one of the three routes, would have placed him in comparative safety.

Our duty thus discharged, we may cordially concur with Forbes, where he remarks, "We may mitigate our severe opinion of the indefensible acts of this unfortunate man, who by lingering out his existence in a miserable captivity, expiated his errors of judgment; and we may imagine how much the scenes of sickness and suffering, which he constantly witnessed, may have affected his mind. We also see that his superiors, with better opportunities of information, were equally the dupes, and only by good fortune escaped becoming the victims of Kandian treachery."

With what far different feelings were the tidings of the result of the ill-starred campaign received at Kandy and Colombo respectively!

To the former the inhabitants who had fled into the country, on the approach of the British, now hastened to return, and made preparations for the celebration of the Perrahera, which occurs at the end of July, and was on this occasion accompanied with more than usual thanksgiving and rejoicing. To the latter the news came like a thunder-clap, and produced universal consternation. A virulent malady was decimating its population, a desolating European war had again recommenced, a destructive campaign had terminated without result, if not with the deepest disgrace, and the expectation of an attack from an enemy whose courage would be inflamed by his negative success, to render him in his turn the aggressor, wound up the catalogue of woe and misfortune.

Simultaneously with the attack of Kandy and Fort Macdowall,[1] the fort of Dambadiniya was blockaded by the enemy. It was a small redoubt, slightly constructed of fascines and earth, and garrisoned by only fourteen convalescent Europeans, and twenty-two invalid Malays, commanded by Ensign Grant. He was repeatedly summoned by the Kandians, headed by the second Adigaar, to give up the post, and a flag of truce was sent in every day for upwards of a week. They solemnly declared that they would allow the detachment to march out unmolested, with their arms and whatever else they chose to take with them, and would supply it with coolies to carry off the sick.

Ensign Grant, though almost unable to move, would listen to none of their proposals. He strengthened the fortifications with bags of rice and stores of provisions, and sustained an almost incessant fire from several thousand Kandians for ten days. His men lay sheltered

[1] Fort Macdowall had been for three days in a state of blockade, being completely surrounded by the enemy; when Barnsley arrived, and being discovered by the enemy on his approach to that post, they availed themselves of his services, and sent him forward with a flag of truce, in the hope that his communication of the capture of Kandy would induce Captain Madge to capitulate. Repeated offers had been previously made to him of a passport for Trincomalee, with the whole of his sick and baggage, on condition of his surrender—proposals which he had summarily rejected. On learning the massacre of the troops in Kandy, Captain Madge at length determined to commence a retreat to Trincomalee, a distance of 126 miles, before the enemy could be fully aware of his intentions. The garrison consisted of thirty-six Europeans, officers and privates, and twenty-two Malay soldiers. Having resolved to abandon the sick, he spiked the guns, and made the requisite arrangements for evacuating the fort as soon as the moon should have sunk behind the hills. The lamps of the garrison were left burning, and the retreat was commenced in silence. The enemy were not long, however, in discovering his departure, and at once pursued him. For about four days he was exposed to their hostile attacks, at the end of which he was met by a detachment of 150 men of the Malay regiment, proceeding from Trincomalee to reinforce the garrison of Kandy. The combined force retreated to Trincomalee, which they reached on the 3rd of July, unmolested by the Kandians. The promptitude with which the retreat was undertaken, and the skill and courage with which it was effected, reflected the highest credit on the military talents of Captain Madge.

behind a breast work, and only took an occasional aim at the enemy when they came very near. The garrison was at length relieved, and the place dismantled and evacuated, the stores and provisions being destroyed.

An attempt was now made to surprise the second Adigaar, by sending a party in the night to the place where he was stationed, but their approach being discovered, he fled with his attendants to the woods, leaving his bungalow a prey to the British, who set it on fire.

For several weeks after the calamities just detailed had occurred, stillness reigned over all the coasts of the island. The hospitals were crowded with the sick and the dying, and the barracks were occupied only by a few invalids and convalescents. However great, therefore, might be the anxiety of the government to punish the Kandian court for its treachery and cruelty, resources for carrying on the war with vigour no longer existed. Thus circumstanced, and unable for the moment to procure assistance from the territories of the East India Company, all ideas of undertaking any offensive operations against the enemy were for a time banished from its councils. The Kandians elated with their success, soon began to seduce the native subjects of the British government from their allegiance, and to foment disturbances in various parts of the country. The object of their policy was to divide as much as possible the remnant of the British forces, and at the end of July, the whole of the frontier was threatened by the enemy nearly at the same time. It was soon evident that some desperate incursion was meditated against the heart of our territories, and the King of Kandy in the vanity of his heart, prepared to attack Colombo, the capital. The province of Matura was occupied by large bodies of the enemy, and the inhabitants having been compelled to join them, were in a state of complete revolt. The Commandant having called in a small garrison at Tangalle, a compact and strongly situated fortress, twenty miles to the northward, it was immediately on being evacuated, seized by the enemy and dismantled. Captain Beaver having been ordered to take the command at Matura, was compelled to go by sea from Point de Galle, the road being blocked up by the Kandians. His incursions into the country were attended with great success and little loss, the enemy seldom waiting for the arrival of the troops. Captain Beaver next set out to retake Tangalle, and forced two of the enemy's batteries with little difficulty. Near Dickwell the Kandians were posted behind a low wall, and from their fire, appeared to be in great force. After driving them from their entrenchments, Captain Beaver continued his march unmolested to Tangalle. That post was found abandoned, and nearly destroyed by the enemy. A small detachment was, however, left behind, and Captain Beaver returned to Matura. By his active exertions, the Kandians were soon compelled to retire within their own territories, tranquillity was restored to the province, and the natives flocked to him in numbers

to renew their professions of loyalty.[1] The seditious conduct of the inhabitants of Cogel, in interrupting the communication by land between Galle and Matura, and attempting with their fishing boats to interrupt it by sea, induced the Commandant of Galle to send a detachment to punish them. This was accomplished by burning above fifty boats, and destroying all the houses in the villages. One of the ringleaders was captured and hung, and five others severely punished under the martial law rendered necessary by the disordered state of the country. In August a large body of the enemy advanced within fifteen miles of the capital, first taking the little fort of Hangwell, and making themselves masters of the village, together with the house of the Modeliar, who had fortunately removed his family previous to the attack, as well as secured his own retreat. An alarm was now spread that the Kandians intended attacking the Pettah of Colombo, in consequence of which many of the European families retired from the suburbs into the fort, but the Governor remained quiet at his country house.

As soon as the intelligence of the capture of Hangwell was received, Lieutenant Mercer was ordered to take the command of a small detachment, and proceed to attack the enemy. Having come up in the evening with an advanced body of the Kandians, he dispersed them, after killing some of their number. Next day, he attacked and stormed a battery which they had formed in a strong position, and from which they had retreated to draw him into an ambuscade. Although they succeeded in this, they were defeated and driven from their post with great slaughter, and many prisoners were captured. Lieutenant Mercer then marched on, and retook possession of Hangwell. Several successful forays were at this moment made into the Kandian territories as a mode of retaliation, but with no more definite aim. After the capture of Hangwell, the Kandians were soon driven out of that part of the British territories. Captain Hankey proceeded against the enemy with great spirit and activity, and after storming three of their batteries, took possession of a strong post at Avisahavellé. When they arrived at the banks of the Kalané-ganga, an attempt was made to dispute their passage, but unsuccessfully. The troops advanced with eagerness, and the Kandians fled in great trepidation; numbers were

[1] The Kandian war, however disastrous in many respects, had the good effect of destroying the power of the King in our own territories. Previously, he had a nominal, undefined authority over the whole island, and the Dutch had submitted to be called his door-keepers. This humiliation, by giving him consequence in the eyes of the Singhalese subject to us, had enabled him to create disturbances. After the massacre at Kandy, nearly the whole of them revolted from us, under the notion that our situation was desperate, and that they must conciliate the conqueror; for their experience of our equitable government could scarcely have rendered them really hostile. Now the King lost not only all his influence over our districts, but much of his authority in his own, in consequence of the repeatedly destructive incursions of small bodies of our troops into his territories unopposed.

bayonetted in the water. After ravaging the enemy's territories, they returned to Hangwell.

A numerous army of Kandians now menaced Chilau. Mahomed Ali Ibrahim, an officer of the Ceylon native infantry, marched out with a small party and repulsed them with great bravery, numbers being left dead upon the field. Shortly after this feeble and almost untenable post was again beset by an immense multitude of the enemy, who erected batteries in all directions round it, but they were subsequently dispersed and their batteries destroyed; the mud fort of Putlam was likewise attacked by the enemy, but a vigorous sally having been made in the night by a party of Malays disguised as Kandian peasants, the Kandians were surprised and put to flight. When the King heard of their sudden and unexpected repulse, he ordered the officer in command to be executed, and notified that every person who failed in accomplishing the object of his enterprise, should in like manner forfeit his life. The only thing which in some degree counterbalanced the toils and sufferings to which the troops were exposed was a comfortable supply of excellent provisions. The provinces being all in revolt or occupied by the Kandians, the troops were allowed to kill what cattle they pleased, and to fell the cocoa-nut trees for the sake of the excellent cabbage on their stems; a plentiful supply of arrack combined to keep them in excellent health and spirits, though the country through which they passed was liable to heavy dews, and the air was hardly less pestilential than other parts of the country.

The fort of Hangwell being in ruins, Lieut. Mercer found himself obliged to take post in the Modeliar's house, which was enclosed by a slight wall. There he was three times successively attacked by large bodies of the enemy, but defended his position with great resolution and success.

The King of Kandy having consulted many of the prisoners, who were treacherously detained in his dominions, as to the prospect of an attack on Colombo, received a dubious reply; yet being encouraged by his own people, knowing the weakness of the garrison, and relying strongly on the artillery he had now in his possession, he determined to hazard the attempt, even at the risk of his own life, and proceeded to the attack of Hangwell. The day before the attack, the post at Hangwell had been reinforced by a small party under Captain Pollock, but did not much exceed 100 men. The grand army of the Kandians, commanded by the King in person, having advanced with more than usual boldness, poured a volley of grape on the besieged, which struck the wall by which they were defended without injury. Captain Pollock, anxious to bring the enemy as near to him as possible, made no attempt to retard their progress, but sent a detachment under Lieut. Mercer by an unseen path in the woods to enfilade the left flank of the undisciplined multitude, and sallied forth with the remainder of his garrison to attack the enemy. The slaughter of the enemy was terrific, but

the resistance was prolonged for two hours, when the shot of a field-piece having nearly hit the King, he retreated precipitately, and was followed by the whole army. A royal Kandian standard, several English guns, and a large number of prisoners, fell into the hands of the victors, along with a large body of Indian Lascars and Malays; who no longer overawed by the enemy, hastened with joy to their former masters. The defeated monarch having been overtaken in his flight by the Dissave Leuke and the Maha Modeliar, in the violence of his fury, ordered both their heads to be struck off, and left their bodies unburied; and his cruelty was not satiated until numbers of his headmen had fallen victims to his resentment. The feeble state of Captain Pollock's small force prevented it from following up its success by a pursuit of the enemy, or the carnage would have been greater, and the King most likely taken; a party of Malays in his rear having anxiously awaited the approach of the British to deliver him into their hands.

Captain Pollock destroyed a richly ornamented bungalow erected not far from Hangwell for the reception of the King; in front of it stood two stakes, on which it was intended to impale the English who should be taken prisoners. Captain Pollock now advanced into the Kandian territories after a series of successful attacks, and when near Ruwanwellé found the enemy posted at all the passes of the road, and very strong batteries erected for their defence, from which they were driven with considerable slaughter. On arriving at the river, the opposite bank was seen lined with batteries and cannon, from which the enemy kept up a heavy fire of grape and musquetry. The remnant of the Kandian army defeated at Hangwell was there assembled, reinforced by a large army under the second Adigaar, and they seemed determined on a stout resistance. A ford in the river having been discovered, the advance instantly pushed over, and a large number of the natives fell at the first attack. The whole army now gave way, the assailants pursued, and a small English reinforcement unexpectedly appearing, the mountaineers fled in all directions. A large quantity of guns and ammunition fell into the hands of the British.

These successes decided the fate of the campaign. The King saw his impotence for aggression, and once more sought shelter in the bosom of his native mountains. At Ruwanwellé a palace erected for the King in an elegant and sumptuous style was occupied by the troops, and in the surrounding village which was comparatively rich and populous, were found magazines and stores of provisions, which the King had long been preparing for this unfortunate expedition. Next morning the palace and eleven hundred houses full of provisions were consumed, and the troops returned to Seetawaka. The success of the British was equally great on the eastern coast: they had blockaded the little port of Hambantotté on the land side, but an armed vessel in the harbour afforded a secure retreat by sea in case of necessity. The small garrison made several successful

sorties on the besiegers, and, when approaching in larger bodies they had erected a large battery on a hill in the rear of the fort and five along the beach, the Commandant determined to attack the post on the hill before daylight, and having communicated his intention to the commander of the vessel, the latter hauled his ship as close as possible to the enemy's batteries on the shore to cover the advance of the Malays. The Kandians being driven from the hill, the combined parties attacked the batteries on the beach, from which they also drove the enemy with great loss. The Kandians had invaded the province of Batecalo, and succeeded in raising an almost general insurrection amongst the inhabitants. They were now driven back into their own territories, and several of the rebels suffered death.

The Pandara Wannian, a chief of one of the British provinces, and who had once already been pardoned for rebellion, again revolted, and at the head of a large body of Kandians, captured Moletivoe, and overran all the northern districts. On the approach of his troops to the village of Kottiaar, the few Malays stationed there, made good their retreat. But that important tract of country was soon recovered, and the enemy driven beyond the frontier. Detachments from the garrisons of Manaar, Jaffnapatam and Trincomalee, next proceeded to clear the district of the Wanny of the enemy, and having surprised the Pandara's troops, they inflicted on them a severe loss.

Intelligence having been received at Colombo that the first Adigaar had assembled a large force in Saffragam for the invasion of the British territories, Captain Macpherson was sent with a party to disperse it, but after laborious marches through a difficult country, and great toil, retired without meeting an enemy worth mentioning, after having first destroyed or consumed many neat villages with cocoa-nut groves and rice fields, and carried off any spoil worth removing. About this time Pilámé Talawé endeavoured to re-open his treasonable correspondence with Mr. North, but this time without success, his ill faith having become but too notorious. Another detachment was sent in December, under the command of Captain Mowbray, to burn and destroy all the houses, stores and gardens, still left in the rich province of Saffragam. For its protection, all the Malays in the Kandian service, as well as the people of the Three and Four Korles had been assembled, and were dispersed with great slaughter, and the detachment retired to Hangwell, with slight loss. Incursions into the Kandian territories were also made from Putlam and Negombo, and a considerable extent of country laid waste, a large quantity of grain, areka nuts, and salt having been brought away.

In September 1804, Captain Johnston of the third Ceylon regiment, had been directed to proceed from Batecalo with 300 troops, and form a junction with another party on the British frontier, after which the united force was to push forward into the Kandian country. It would seem that if such an arrangement had ever been really intended, the plan was subsequently abandoned for a desultory

warfare of petty inroads, by separate parties advancing from various points, but in no case retaining permanent possession of the districts thus overrun. As the original orders given to Captain Johnston had not been countermanded by more recent instructions, and his movements had been so rapid that the tapal sent after him was unable to overtake him, he ventured through the dangerous defiles which abound in the vicinity of Kandy, crossed the Mahavellé-ganga unopposed, and marched direct upon the capital, which he found deserted by the inhabitants. Captain Johnston soon, however, found himself in a most critical situation. He could obtain no intelligence of the other detachments by whom he expected to have been joined, many of his men had made themselves intoxicated with the arrack found in the palace, and he heard that the enemy clothed in the dress of the lately murdered garrison, were in great force in the neighbourhood, waiting till the effect of the climate had so reduced the numbers or weakened the strength of the troops, as to render them as easy a prey as those of the preceding year. His troops moreover, were, in some measure, awed by the recollection of the late massacre, of which catastrophe, several of the apartments in the palace in which they were quartered, contained mournful memorials, in the accoutrements, &c. of the murdered soldiers which were displayed on the walls. It was under these discouraging circumstances, that Captain Johnston departed from Kandy[1] to fight his way through

[1] As many of my readers might wish a more detailed account of this memorable retreat, I have subjoined the more remarkable passages, derived from a narrative of one engaged in the expedition. "The recollection of the late mournful events rushed on their minds, on their finding that there was no prospect of the arrival of the other divisions, and a cry ran through the ranks, 'A massacre, —a second massacre. General Wemyss has sold us; North has sold us; we cannot retreat, it is of no use to try it; let us remain where we are, and fight to the last man.' Kandy resounded with their cries; horror and despair were in every man's face; all was confusion, until Captain Johnston collecting his troops around him, and lifting up his arms to heaven, exclaimed, 'I am innocent; I am innocent of every thing; I neither know the cause, nor any design in this; for if you are sold, I am also sold; but let us not despair, for while we have our arms and life there is hope; but to remain here is certain death, it is the same as if we were to turn our arms against each other, and die by our own hands.' Then to tranquillise the minds of the men, he pulled out his instructions and read them over. He then shewed where he concealed them on his person, that, in the event of his being killed, they might not be lost. This being done, he coolly and seriously recommended an immediate retreat, strictly enjoining order and regularity, together with obedience to orders, and above all, silence; keeping close together and waiting for each other, and on no account to separate; as if the front were heedlessly to push on, the rear must be separated from it, and both become an easy prey to the enemy. 'Men,' he cried, 'be careful of your ammunition; do not heedlessly fire it away, or allow it to be damaged, for on that depends our safety. Remember the massacre of our countrymen two years ago, whose bones we passed over the other day, and have again to pass over. To avoid so sad a fate, be firm, cool, and upon all occasions obedient to orders, and we shall yet reach our countrymen in safety."

The Passage of the Mahavellé-ganga.—"As soon as they came to the side of the river where Major Davie had in vain attempted to cross, two rafts were made,

forests for one hundred and thirty miles to Trincomalee, and before he had succeeded in crossing the Mahavellé-ganga, the feelings of

during which time an attack was made upon them from both sides of the river. The shouts and howlings of the enemy even drowned the report of their gingal pieces; repeatedly they attempted to cut the warps, but without success: the little band succeeded in repassing the river, in which was sunk their little ordnance; the soldiers abandoned their knapsacks, and the officers their baggage; wines, spirits, and provisions, all were destroyed; they reserved only their arms, ammunition, doolies, ration arrack, and the tents; every thing else was sacrificed to lighten the men and facilitate the retreat. The enemy gave every obstruction in their power, and did all they could to impede their progress. They seemed inspired with ten-fold fury at the success of the troops in crossing the river; a general rush was made upon them from all quarters; the cries were if possible redoubled; every effort was made, in vain, to overwhelm this handful of men. After a severe struggle, the enemy at length retired, and a short breathing time was thus bravely earned; and onwards they moved, melancholy and harassed, but determined in spirit, through the terrible Atgalle pass. In many places, the roads were so narrow, the army had no other way to march than in Indian file, that is, rank entire. They had wound along these roads in the advance, with pleasure and admiration, flushed with the hopes of victory and success; now they were the sources of their greatest uneasiness. As the word of command to the troops was given with difficulty, silence being so necessary, it was passed along in a whisper from front to rear, from man to man; besides they were more exposed to the enemy, who lost no opportunity of annoying them. Every tree and bush seemed to send forth fire; the attacks upon the rear were incessant, while the native troops at every approach of the enemy, rushed in amongst the whites: they seemed panic struck; fear and dismay were evident in their dingy faces; and well it might, for the Kandians rushed upon them with ferocious rage, inspired by the direst hatred; but as soon as half a dozen whites formed, they in their turn fled equally dismayed. When night came, the troops had not, even then, one moment to repose, but sat with their arms in melancholy silence, while the hills and woods re-echoed the yells of the foe. Their awful howls and terrific shouts during the darkness of the night were truly appalling: even then the fire was kept up upon the little army.

"Next morning, the toilsome march again commenced; the front could with difficulty be restrained in their advance, so anxious were they all for their individual safety, unmindful of the consequences either to themselves or their comrades. They had often to be halted until the rear came up; for these were obliged to face about and repel the enemy. The sepoys were so intimidated, that Captain Johnston placed them in the centre, the Europeans in the van, and the Malays in the rear. These last, though bold and active, were so often overpowered that a good many Europeans had to be mixed among them, which rendered them more steady and dismayed the enemy. Still their assaults were incessant, especially in the passes and defiles of the mountains whence they rolled down huge masses of rocks upon the line of march, and had felled large trees across the path. The army had with them a small quantity of salt beef; for the rest of their provisions they were forced to forage, but this was not difficult, as wild hogs and buffaloes were plentiful and well tasted. At length, from the dreadful obstructions thrown in their way, and the incessant attacks of the enemy, it was found impossible to carry on the sick and wounded. These, along with the coolies, fell into the hands of the enemy. Many were taken, their hands and feet bound, their mouths stuffed with grass to prevent their cries, slung upon a bamboo pole, and thus borne off to be butchered like sheep. When the army had occasion to stop, however shortly, numbers secured in this manner were recovered by their comrades, when missed in time, by a hasty charge with the bayonet. In this melancholy march they made slow progress. Their fatigue was great; many

his gallant band had to be further depressed by passing through the field of slaughter and the scattered bones of their comrades who had

became diseased in their bowels, others foot-sore, all were weak and spent; some so much so, that they became unfit to carry their arms. Orders were given for such to take their muskets to pieces, and throw one part of the lock in one place, another in a different, and to break the stock and ramrod, that they might be of no use to the enemy. Thus every thing was conducted in the best manner; but no man threw away his arms while he was able to drag them along; and many poor fellows were to be seen with the muzzle in their hands and the butts trailing on the ground, loath to part with their only safety. As the distress increased, discipline became more and more lax; and the men often refused to obey their officers. This was the case among the Europeans, the stoutest of whom were much inclined to separate and urge on right forward, every one being only taken up with himself. To stop this destructive tendency in the men, required the utmost efforts of the officers; as the non-commissioned officers were as bad as the privates. At one period they flatly refused to obey command, replying to their officers, 'What is the use of our stopping to be lost for a few?' They turned a deaf ear to those in the rear, and to the affecting appeals of their officers, who every now and then placed themselves in front calling out, 'My God! my God!—Stop men—do stop. Will you not obey command? If you do not, we must all inevitably perish, front as well as rear.' Captain Johnston was almost driven to distraction by their refractory conduct. It was only by reasoning and arguing the point, that anything was done even for the safety of all.

"At length they arrived in a small plain, where a simultaneous attack was made upon them from the woods on every side. It was like anything but a battle such as is usually fought; for the enemy still concealed themselves behind the trees, which were quite close to the open space but not extremely thick. Here there was some opportunity of retaliation: all was now the most prompt obedience to every order. Their chiefs and even the men were seen flitting among the trees. No rash and inconsiderate fire was kept up by the little band; but as soon as a white turban was seen, two or three muskets were levelled at it. A great many of them fell. Formerly the muskets had only been pointed to the quarter whence the smoke issued, now the aim was the man himself. This so intimidated the enemy, that they never ventured out upon the British. Two of their chiefs fell, when they immediately ceased firing and there was an interval of rest. A very melancholy scene here took place, a lieutenant of the 19th received a shot in the groin: he walked on with the others until the blood was coming out over the top of his boot at the knee; at length he became quite faint, and was put into a doolie with another officer who had been knocked down by a ball. They were sent off by a bye-road under the care of the guides, with instructions to join again upon the route. One of them begged and implored some of his men to remain beside him, and he would reward them handsomely, as he was well able to do. His appeals were vain—the danger was so manifest, none would comply. At length he addressed himself to one of his own grenadiers, offering him as a recompense £500. and his discharge, or whatever he wished him to do for him. To these tempting offers the poor fellow turned a deaf ear. At length he said, 'I will go with you—stand by you—live or die with you; but not for your reward—it is pity for you and the love I bear you; all the world would not otherwise induce me. I will share your fate, come what will, but it is for love alone.' They moved off, the lieutenant holding a pen knife open in his hand, resolved not to fall alive into the hands of the enemy.

"All was now confusion and altercation as to the road they should take, the vanguard being for one route, which indeed they took, some for another. The exertions of Captain Johnston and his officers were truly wonderful. But their misery still continued to increase, as their strength became exhausted, and the coolies who bore the sick and wounded, sank under their loads. To ease them,

composed Major Davie's force, to which the Kandians, who had assembled on the opposite bank, pointed as a warning of the fate they themselves might expect: neither could they fail to call to mind that it was a party superior in numbers to their own that had left so sad a memorial. However, the same prudence, spirit and decision, which had conducted them thus far, prevailed in carrying them through a host of enemies cowering in the far spreading forests of Mâtalé. The Kandians in many parts of the route endeavoured to obstruct their way with large trees which they felled for the purpose, or raised breastworks to oppose their progress. For some days they were engaged in one continual skirmish, while they were at the same time exposed to a scorching sun or a pelting rain. At length, however, the Kandians slackened their pursuit, and the little band of heroes reached Trincomalee in safety, with a loss of two officers and forty-eight men, in a state of the greatest lassitude and exhaustion from the various privations which they had experienced, and the great fatigue they had undergone. Although useless for the purpose for which it had been originally destined, and discreditable to those who had exposed a portion of the army to unnecessary hardships and probable destruction, yet the gallantry of Captain Johnston and his party, taught the Kandians a respect for British troops, which they had not felt before, and afterwards reluctantly admitted. One of the chiefs, who harassed Captain Johnston in his retreat, assured Major Forbes, "that the commander of the party must have been in league with supernatural powers, as his personal escape while

the doolies were thrown away, and blankets slung on bamboos, substituted. The weather was extremely hot during the day, except when it rained, and the nights and mornings were very cold. This brought on agues, which afflicted almost all the Europeans. Water was also extremely scarce, and in general bad, when it could be got. Still fighting and struggling on they came to that place where they should have found the three men and the coolies who had been sent a nearer and safer way; but alas! they were never heard of; their fate may easily be conceived. To add perplexity to the sufferings of the army, the sun became so obscured by clouds that they did not see it for some days. Hitherto their course, which lay due east for Trincomalee, had been guided by it; now they became completely bewildered. The guides, over whom a strict and jealous watch was kept, had either lost their way or pretended to do so; they repeatedly had to climb to the tops of the loftiest trees to look about them. In this dilemma, Captain Johnston had recourse to the whip, and tying the guides to the trees, flogged them to make them look sharper; at length the rain began to pour in torrents, and it became extremely cold. This proved the means of their safety, for the Kandians soon after gave up the pursuit, as they cannot stand rain and cold. And thus they at length reached Trincomalee, having previously come up with the vanguard near Lake Minneria, cold, wet, dirty and lousy; almost naked, many barefoot and maimed, officers and all were alike, starved and shrivelled; their countenances haggard; forming an assemblage of the most miserable men it is possible to conceive. All had to go to the hospital on their arrival; their strength appeared only to have endured to this point, then to have utterly deserted them. Indeed the retreat was as fatal as the massacre had been; for almost all died in the hospital, few, very few, survived."

passing through a continued ambush, and his superior judgment and energy were otherwise unaccountable." The sensation caused by this unfortunate expedition was very great, one or two officers were severely dealt with, but Captain Johnston was acquitted by a court martial.

The Kandians still continued, however, to harass the frontier country in despite of the measures taken to drive them into the interior, and in 1804 they again made preparations for an attack on the British settlements. This, however, was prevented by the British having assumed the offensive, and their success was unattended by any considerable loss. As there appeared to be no reason for expecting peace, active operations were again commenced in September on every side of the Kandian dominions, particularly in Saffragam, where the Adigaar was residing at the head of a considerable force, and in a state of very doubtful amity with the King. In February 1805, a general invasion of our territories by the Kandians again ensued, in consequence of a notion on their part, of the defenceless state of the fortresses in our possession, but the arrival of a reinforcement from England, and considerable levies of sepoys from the Madras presidency so increased the strength of the army, that it was able to act with vigour and effect. The Kandians were completely routed, and retired with great loss into their own country. Soon afterwards, the first Adigaar hastened to the capital to which all approach was shut up, and the public was for three weeks in suspense as to the motive of these extraordinary measures. It then appeared, that during the illness of the King, Pilámé Talawé had reinstated himself in full authority.

Indirect advances were soon after made by the Kandians for a cessation of hostilities, which, as it proceeded from their weakness, was more durable than any written treaty.

In 1805, Mr. North was succeeded in the government of Ceylon by General Maitland. His administration of the maritime provinces will call for no particular comment; for, confined as they were to the narrow strip of territory which encircled the imperial domains, it partook more of the nature of a temporary military occupation than of any settled plan of civil policy. It is then to his diplomatic correspondence with the Kandian court, and the hostilities to which it necessarily gave rise, to which we shall have occasion to advert in connection with Singhalese history.

It will demand no very profound or searching analysis to fathom the motives, conduct and operation of Mr. North's policy. That excellent maxim of Horace, inculcative of the prudence of a middle course, however sound in its application to the ordinary routine of worldly policy, is inapposite in reference to the conduct of Europeans, when involved in the toils of Eastern diplomacy. In such a case, there are but two courses that conduce either to safety or success—a rigid adherence to engagements, and a strong hand to punish their

violation by the opposite party, or a similar and no less unscrupulous resort to treachery when required. It is a Gordian knot that must either be severed by the sword, or its secret complexities should be intuitively fathomed to be unravelled. The *objects* of Mr. North's policy were inconsistent with a perfect fidelity to the engagements he had contracted with the King; in his *mode of proceeding* to attain them, he coquetted alternately with artifice and sincerity—artifice in professing to have a perfectly legal and justifiable end in view, when his whole aims were directed, as subsequent events plainly shewed, to a direct contravention of the most elementary principles of moral right—sincerity, if an attention to the conventional usages of European negotiations can be so termed. Hence the miserable result of his policy. Hence, by the failure that ensued from a combination of principles incompatible with each other, the odium he has incurred upon his otherwise generous, and in many respects estimable character.

Indoctrinated in the school of intrigue, his mental vision was dazzled with the overthrow of dynasties and the revolution in states, so marvellously and successfully accomplished by the ambition of a minister in the melodrama of Indian history: he did not fail to perceive how, their part acted, British might had stepped in and snatched the yielding prize; with the intention of moulding events to his purpose as they might turn up, he was enticed into a maze of intrigue, from whose toils he had neither sufficient patience to extricate, nor skill to disembarrass himself; and compelled to proceed, to attain a result never so short of his ambition, he finally yielded a credulous ear to the fascination of his ever watchful and treacherous foe. Had he pursued a more manly and straightforward course, there can be little doubt, he might in due time have brought to a prosperous issue his aims for the transfer of the Kandian sceptre to the British rule. As it happened, he neglected the opportunity offered him for awaiting in patience the dénouement, the faithlessness and unpopularity of the King would sooner or later have hastened, and deliberately adopted a tortuous policy, whose failure, while bringing discredit on himself, challenged a comparison with the more fortunate administrations of his successors.

With our present knowledge of Ceylon, it is difficult to see, in the event of a British force having had possession of the various passes leading to the mountain region, and a regular inter-communication having been kept up with them and the capital, what necessity there could have arisen for so complete an abandonment of the country, as, from a neglect of this precaution, subsequently took place. Mr. North would seem to have possessed but a very superficial knowledge either of Kandian history, or of the habits and independence of that highland people. Hence his plan of military operations was more fitted for the subjugation of a power whose fate had to be decided on the plains of India, than for the overthrow of a monarch who had a

conscious reliance (however indifferent they might be to himself personally), on the patriotism and national feelings of his people. Again supposing this contingency not to have occurred, and supposing the adhesion of the chiefs to the new order of things to have been obtained, ordinary prudence would have admonished him that by neglecting to secure the passes commanding the provinces of Ouva and Welassé, where the King might find a secure retreat, he was incurring all the risks of a reaction, in case the new government should have become unpopular among the chiefs; in which event, the fugitive monarch would be sure to seize the opportunity for the recovery of his throne.

He seems to have been unconscious of the indifference, not to say the hostility in which Mootoo Sawmy was held by the chiefs; hence he had made no preparation for the course of events ensuing therefrom. Taken by surprise, he deliberately abandoned his but too pliant instrument, and deposed a prince whose only fault had been the betrayal of his country and the surrender of the most indispensable guarantees for its independence, setting up in his place a miscreant who was at the very moment plotting his own destruction. It was thus without any reason more cogent than the apparent interest of the moment, that the prince of yesterday saw himself reduced to a private individual to-day.

The Governor knew the Kandians would never venture to oppose the British on a fair field, or indeed anywhere on equal terms: it is strange he did not reflect that the eyries and mountain fastnesses of this Switzerland of the East in the hands of his wary enemy, were a full equivalent for any force that could be brought against them by an European invader. A circle of posts at the passes, and a strong garrison at Kandy, might have induced the nobles to surrender the King into his hands at once, instead of conniving at his concealment for the purpose of waiting the upshot of events.

The conduct of Mr. North is not alone to be called in question. The incapacity of the military officers is almost in every case too plainly apparent. It was hardly to be expected that they should have had minute or detailed information of the intricate geography of the interior: they might reasonably be supposed to have grasped its leading features, without which all their efforts were too likely to prove futile. Had this been the case, it would not have been left for the historian to record the disastrous issue of this fatal campaign.

Neither the government of General Maitland, nor that of Major-General Wilson, were distinguished by any political event of importance. Outflanking the huge peninsula, Ceylon appeared the most imminently menaced by the ambition of Napoleon, whose aims at this period appeared to be directed to the East as the most fitting theatre of imperial sway. In consequence of this tendency a considerable naval force was concentrated at Trincomalee, as the most central point from which to watch the course of events.

Between 1805 and 1815, then, the armistice or mutual suspension of hostilities, in which the unfortunate war of 1803 terminated, suffered no serious interruption. During this period of gloomy forbearance on either side, little that is interesting occurred relative to Kandian affairs, except in the court of Kandy itself, where the worst passions of human nature were in horrible operation, agitating the breast of a tyrant on the one hand, and of conspirators on the other, and resulting in the most infernal outrages that ever pen of writer gave to the world.

About 1806, Magasthenè, second Adigaar and Dissave of the Seven Korles, died. In his office he was succeeded by Eheylapola. The vacant dissavony was divided between this chief and Molligoddè Dissave, to the great annoyance and discontent of the people. "Such a division," said they, "was contrary to custom; it was a grievance, as two Dissaves would exact twofold services and duties, and that they would resist it." A rebellion in the Seven Korles was the result. On this occasion Pilámé Talawé assured the King that if the district were transferred to him and his nephew, they would soon enforce obedience. The experiment was attempted and succeeded; for the people returned to their duty. His success excited the King's suspicion and jealousy, and increased the estrangement he had already begun to feel towards his old benefactor.

The Adigaar, incensed at the altered manner of the King, reminded him who had placed him on the throne, and told him he neither acted as became him, nor paid that attention to his opinion that he was accustomed to do. The monarch did not patiently receive the reprimand, but replied, "That he was not to be led by his chiefs, but they were to be directed by him." The minister further remonstrated against the oppressive public works then going forward, *viz.* the lake of Kandy, which was made at this time, the new roads, and many new buildings, including the present Paterippoa, &c. These altercations between the Sovereign and his minister greatly increased their mutual hatred for each other, which was soon followed by mutual dread; the one imagining his life insecure from the machinations of the other. The King, who had little control over his passions, soon gave them vent. When the minister expressed a wish to unite his son to the natural granddaughter of King Kirtisree, the monarch, taking it for granted that this was merely a step to the throne, assembled the chiefs, enumerated various grounds of complaint against the minister, accused him of mal-administration, and charged him with being the author of every thing cruel and unpopular that had been done during his reign; but, in an inconceivable fit of caprice, wound up the climax by suddenly relenting, and assured the Adigaar that he forgave him all his offences, and as a proof, he conferred new honours upon him. This pantomime of royalty was, as may be expected, delusive. Shortly after, having omitted the performance of some trivial duty, the minister was summoned to appear before the King

and chiefs assembled in the great square. His offences were recapitulated, and he was deprived of all his offices, and incarcerated in prison, from whence he was released in eight days, and permitted to retire to his country-residence, and lead a private life. The disgraced and angry chief did not remain quiet at home, but soon hatched a plot for the murder of his ungrateful sovereign. Having bribed the Malay Mohandiram and sixty of his Malays to attack the King on a certain day and assassinate him, he further succeeded in prevailing on the headmen of Oudeneura and Yattineura to raise the people of those districts in arms about the same time. On the appointed day and hour, Ballinwattella-ralle, finding the King awake when it was calculated he would have been asleep, requested the conspirators, whose spy he was, to wait a little. The two provinces, however, had already broken out in rebellion, and marred the plot. The King, informed of what was transpiring, immediately sent for Pilámé Talawé, his nephew, and son, and had them secretly conveyed by night to different prisons in the more distant parts of the country. The Malay Mohandiram and his men fled to Colombo. Thus was the attempt at rebellion nipped in the bud, and the ringleaders apprehended. Pilámé Talawé, his nephew, and son, were sent for to undergo their trial. The two former arrived together, and in the presence of the King and chiefs were confronted with the other conspirators, and were sentenced to death on their confession. They were immediately beheaded, and six petty chiefs were hanged and impaled around their bodies. The son, whose place of imprisonment was more remote, was also condemned to suffer death, but as he did not reach Kandy till his relations had been executed, and on a holiday, he was respited, and his life spared at the intercession of the chiefs, but his lands were confiscated.

This, the first scene in the act of retributive justice, took place in 1812. Eheylapola now succeeded Pilámé Talawé as first Adigaar. This appointment is supposed to have been in great measure occasioned by the ascendancy which Pilámé Talawé's family had established with the other chiefs, whereby the King was induced to acquiesce in their wishes. It does not appear, however, that the King ever placed much trust in him, and relaxed not in his suspicions or in his tyranny. Terrified by what had occurred, apprehensive of future danger, and intent on his own security alone, without any regard to the consequences, he ordered that all communication between the disaffected provinces and the loyal ones of Hewahetté, Doombera, Ouva, Kotmalé, and Walapané, should be cut off. He further enjoined that no Moormen or priests should remain in the latter provinces, and that all women born without their limits, should also quit them, and return to their native districts. These orders were as rigorously enforced as they were inhumanly conceived. Wives were separated from their husbands, mothers from their children; the young bride and the aged parent—all indiscriminately were torn from the bosom of their families, and driven from their

homes; producing scenes of distress and feelings of anger and discontent, which not even the most devoted loyalty could suppress. Resolving further to secure his personal safety, the King made a great change in his household, removed to distant posts all officers who belonged to the lately rebellious or suspected districts, and would permit no one to be near his person, who was not a native of those he considered his loyal, as well as mountain districts and natural fortresses. He had already formed certain secret suspicions of the first Adigaar, to which the confessions of the conspirators in Pilámé Talawé's plot had given rise, and which, concealed at the time, fermented inwardly and resulted in intense hatred of the minister. Having lost two sons and two daughters by his first Queens, he married two more at the same time, and sisters. On the occasion of the chiefs making their presents after the celebration of the nuptials, the King's malevolence towards Eheylapola first manifested itself; his gift, though costly, was called mean and unworthy of acceptance. A crisis was now fast impending. The majority of the people were disaffected; most of the chiefs were anxious for a change of government, either from hatred to the King, or as an easy way of getting rid of debts to his relations, from whom many chiefs had received large loans; the second Adigaar's (Molligoddé) debt alone amounting to six thousand pagodas.

In this aspect of affairs, just after his marriage, the King sent the chiefs into their several districts, to superintend the cultivation of the country and the collection of the revenues. Eheylapola, in dudgeon, hastened into his Dissavony (Saffragam), and presently began to act his part. Many incidents about the same time served to increase the rupture between the King and his minister: a village of Saffragam, belonging to one of the Queens, refused to pay its quota, and ill treated her agent; the revenue derived from areka nuts was not duly paid into the treasury; a charge was brought against the Adigaar by a Malabar merchant of his having unjustly deprived him of a large sum of money, which the minister was ordered to refute, or refund the amount; he was further commanded to present himself at Kandy, and bring with him the people of his district who had neglected the payment of various dues to the King, particularly on the occasion of his marriage. Eheylapola's reply clearly demonstrated the aversion he entertained for his sovereign, and widened the breach. Beloved in his district, which is almost entirely isolated from the other Kandian provinces by almost inaccessible mountains, except at two or three difficult passes, he began to meditate resistance, opened a correspondence with Colombo, and made preparations for defence, with the co-operation of the people, who promised to risk their lives in his support. Intelligence of his defection soon reached the King, who instantly stripped him of all his offices, imprisoned his wife and children, whom he considered pledges for his loyalty, appointed Molligoddé first Adigaar, and Dissave of Saffragam, and ordered the

invasion of the province by the new minister. Molligoddé obeyed with alacrity, and entered Saffragam over the summit of Adam's Peak, one of the loftiest and most difficult passes in the island. The courage of the natives oozed out on his approach, and he met with but little opposition. Eheylapola, with some of his adherents, fled to Colombo, and Molligoddé returned to Kandy in triumph, with a crowd of prisoners, forty-seven of whom were impaled. This occurred in 1814. One scene of horror and bloodshed now followed another in rapid succession, till the tragedy is wound up, and retributive justice again appears on the stage. Pusilla, Dissave of Neurakalawa, had unwittingly incurred the King's displeasure by a present that, through the ignorance of his brother, was offered in a disrespectful manner. The brother was imprisoned. The Dissave was soon suspected of correspondence with Eheylapola, and a letter from that chief, abusive of the King, having been found in the possession of one of his attendants, Pusilla was pronounced guilty, his eyes were plucked out, his joints cut, and after this torture, he was beheaded.

The old offence of the Seven Korles was again brought in view; and all the headmen supposed to have been concerned in the rebellion which Pilámé Táláwé quelled, were summoned to repair to Kandy. They were tried by a commission of three chiefs, of whom Molligoddé, whose authority they had opposed, was one, and were condemned to death: after a severe flogging, about seventy were executed, all of them men of some station and influence in their district. Revolting as were these proceedings, the sequel was far exceeded in atrocity. Hurried along by the flood of revenge, the tyrant, lost to every feeling of humanity, resolved to punish Eheylapola, who had escaped, through his family, which remained in his power, and sentenced the chief's wife and children, and his brother and wife, to death—the brother and children to be beheaded, and the females to be drowned. In front of the Queen's palace and between the Nata and Maha Vishnu Dewalé, as if to shock and insult the gods, as well as the sex, the wife of Eheylapola and his children were brought from prison, where they had been in charge of female jailors, and delivered over to the executioners. The lady, with great resolution, maintained her own and her children's innocence, and not less her lord's; at the same time submitting to the King's pleasure, and offering up her own and her offspring's lives, with the fervent hope that her husband's fate would be benefited by the sacrifice. Having uttered these sentiments aloud, she desired her eldest boy to submit to his fate; the poor child, who was eleven years old, clung to his mother terrified and crying; her second son, nine years old, with all the inspiration of martyrdom, heroically stepped forward, and bade his brother not to be afraid—he would shew him the way to die! By one blow of a sword, the head of the noble boy was severed from his body; streaming with blood, and hardly inanimate, it was thrown into a rice mortar; the pestle was put into the

mother's hands, and she was ordered to pound it, or be disgracefully tortured, and defiled by the Rhodias. To avoid the horrid alternative, the wretched woman did lift up the pestle and let it fall. One by one the heads of all her children were cut off, and on one by one the poor mother had to perform the hellish operation. One of the children was a girl, and to wound a female is considered by the Singhalese a most monstrous crime: another was an infant at the breast, and it was plucked from its mother to be beheaded; when the head was severed from the body, the milk it had just drawn in, ran out, mingled with its blood. During this awful scene, the crowd, who had assembled to witness it, wept and sobbed aloud, unable to suppress their feelings of grief and horror.

Palihapanè Dissave was so affected that he fainted, and was deprived of his office for shewing such tender sensibility. During two days, the whole of Kandy, with the exception of the tyrant's court, was one house of mourning and lamentation, and so deep was the grief, that (it is said) not a fire was kindled, nor food dressed, and a general fast was held. After the execution of her children, the sufferings of the mother, who had displayed the most astonishing fortitude throughout the whole fearful trial, were not long prolonged. She and her sister-in-law, and the wife and sister of the Dissave Pusilla were led to the little tank called Bogambarawave and drowned. Such were the most prominent features of this reign of terror, of which, even now, no Kandian thinks without dread, and few describe without weeping. Executions, at this time, were almost unceasing; the numbers put to death cannot be calculated; no one was perfectly secure—not even a priest—not even a chief priest; for Paranatalé Anoonaika-Ounnanse, a good and learned man, in the estimation of the natives, fell a victim to the tyrant's rage. To corporal punishments, imprisonments, &c. those minor causes of distress, it is needless to allude: in the gloomy picture, they were as lights to shades.

Disgusted and terrified at the conduct of the King, the chiefs and people were ripe for revolt, and only waited the approach of a British force to throw off their allegiance.

For some time after Eheylapola's arrival in Colombo, Sir Robert Brownrigg, who had succeeded to the Government of the maritime provinces in 1812, refrained from motives of policy from admitting him to an interview, which would, in fact, have been a tacit espousal of his cause, but the daily augmenting excesses of the Kandian court at length served to render unnecessary any further ceremony. The almost unparalleled misfortunes of this chief, rendered him, in a peculiar manner, an object of sympathy to every feeling heart. His reception by the Governor was such, as was equally honourable to both parties. It was the respect and sensibility of a generous mind to a singular instance of the mutability of human fortune, and the extent of human suffering. Upon the introduction of Eheylapola to the British Governor, the venerable chieftain, feeling embarrassed from his ig no-

rance of the forms of ceremonial etiquette, burst into tears. The Governor endeavoured to tranquillize his agonized mind by solemn assurances of favour and support. The rude and unrefined chief, who had passed his life among the Kandian mountains, gave full scope to the flood of his gratitude; and, as the cruel tyranny of his sovereign had stripped him of every kindred tie, he requested permission to call the Governor father, and to consider him as the dearest relative that misfortune had not swept away.

Acquainted with what was transpiring in the interior, and urged on to its conquest by the ex-Adigaar, who submitted a plan of hostile operations against his native country, it was impossible for the British Government to be long unconcerned. Accordingly, his Excellency, Sir Robert Brownrigg, prepared for hostilities, which seemed to be unavoidable, and stationed a force near the frontier, in readiness to act at a moment's notice, and every arrangement[1] was made for the invasion of the Kandian provinces, should war break out. Cause for declaring war soon offered. Several native merchants (British subjects), who had gone into the interior for purposes of trade, were treated as spies,[2] and sent back shockingly mutilated; the noses of all being cut off, besides some being deprived of an arm, and others of their ears. Two only of these unfortunate men reached Colombo, and presented a most horrible spectacle, the amputated parts hanging suspended from their necks, the other eight died on the road. Soon after a party of Kandians passed the boundary, and set fire to a village in our territory. The declaration of war against the Kandian monarch instantly followed this act, 10th of January, 1815. It announced that the British arms were not directed against the Kandian nation, but "only against that tyrannical power, which had provoked, by aggravated outrages and indignities, the just resentment of the British nation, which had cut off the most ancient and noble families in the kingdom, deluged the land with the blood of his subjects, and by the violation of every religious and moral law, become an object of abhorrence to mankind." The army to be employed was arranged in eight divisions, two of which were to proceed from Colombo, one from Negombo, two from Galle, two from Trincomalee, and one from Batecalo. On the day following

[1] An attempt was about this time made by General Brownrigg, if Mr. Marshall is to be credited, to induce Molligoddé, the first Adigaar, to abandon his sovereign and join the allies, viz. the Kandian insurgents and the British invading force, and hopes were entertained that he would have been won over from his allegiance, but the measure did not at present succeed.

[2] Mr. Sawer remarks, "that it was generally supposed in the Kandian provinces, that the King had no doubt the men were spies;" and considering that Eheylapola had taken refuge in Colombo, where he was received by General Brownrigg, "with the most distinguished kindness and respect," and that it was well known he was actively exciting rebellion against the King, there was some appearance of probability that the men were in reality agents of Eheylapola, and employed with the sanction of the local government.

the troops entered the Kandian territory. The Colombo division having crossed the river of Seetawaka, marched towards Ruwanwellé, a post situated upon a point of land at the confluence of the Kalané-ganga and the Maha Oya, where it was ascertained that a large body of Kandian troops was collected. In consequence of rugged roads and other causes, the troops did not reach the left bank of the Kalané till the afternoon. The enemy fired a few gingals across the river, but retired after a few discharges from a piece of ordnance, when the British force rapidly descended the precipitous bank, forded the river, and by the time they reached the opposite bank, the Kandians had fled. At the passage of the Maha Oya at Idamalpáné, some show of resistance was made, but it was not long before the enemy abandoned their position and disappeared. An attempt was made to surprise Molligoddé, who commanded the royal forces on this line of road, and his palanquin was captured, but during the rencontre, he escaped into the jungle, after having been wounded in one of his legs by a musket ball. Molligoddé must have possessed considerable fortitude and sang froid; for he came into the British camp one night, disguised as a messenger from "Molligoddé," only a few days after he had been wounded. He had a companion with him, who by the deference he paid to the disguised Molligoddé, convinced the officer in command that the messenger was not what he professed to be. Numerous communications were made by Molligoddé, and other chiefs, all professing their willingness to promote the advance of the British troops, provided they could do so without openly renouncing the Kandian government, with this view he assured the British officer, that although the people under his control would fire upon his division, no bullets would be put in the firelocks. Considering the character of the people, and the circumstances in which they were placed, it is obvious that no dependence could be placed in their professions of attachment. Upon the arrival of the troops at Ganitenne, a messenger from a native chief waited upon Major Hook, having been sent to inform him where the men, who had been firing upon the division, intended to retire during the night, and to volunteer to conduct a detachment of our troops to attack them: Major Hook was much puzzled to know how to act in regard to this message. He dreaded perfidy, and the danger to which a detachment might be exposed upon the service in question. He, however, finally determined to send a detachment of Malays and Sepoys, at midnight, to surprise the Kandian post, which was about five miles from the camp. The enemy's sentry was found asleep, and promptly secured, by which means the British troops were able to surround the house, occupied by the Kandians, before they were aware of their approach. The doors being shut and strongly barricaded, it was deemed expedient by the officer who commanded the party, to set the thatch on fire, and to surround the house with his men. To escape from the flames, the Kandians

rushed out, and were met by a hedge of bayonets, through which they endeavoured to pass. The number of men in the house was stated to be about seventy, but how many perished in the flames, or were killed or wounded by the bayonet, was not ascertained. The conduct of the captain in command was by no means approved of by his superior officer. Major Hook now proceeded along the western face of the Balané mountains, towards the principal road from the Seven Korles to Kandy, where it was alleged a large body of the enemy had been assembled, but none were discovered, and the strong passes of Galgederah and Giriagamme were occupied almost without opposition. The advance of the second division, through the Balané pass to the heights near Amanapoora, rendered it necessary to halt, to allow time for the other divisions to approach towards Kandy, for the purpose of intercepting the King, should he retreat eastward.

The King, infatuated with the idea of his invincibility, remained for some time in a state of torpid inactivity, as if unconscious of the general defection of his people, and of the rapid, and almost unresisted approach of the enemy to his capital. At length, however, he began to be conscious that those on whose support he most relied were deserting him, and that, in his falling fortunes, he was left, according to the common lot of tyrants, without a friend. The more desperate, however, his situation, the more cruel became his despotism. In the last moments of his power he could not suppress the emotions of vindictive fury, which he had never previously endeavoured to control. Of two messengers, who brought intelligence of disasters, he ordered one to be decapitated and the other impaled.

The revolt of the Three and Four Korles, and the defection of Molligoddé, the first Adigaar, and all the principal chiefs, accelerated his doom. Molligoddé brought with him the records of his dissavony, the insignia of the Four Korles, and the banners with the device of the sun and moon, denoting perpetual duration. After his reception by the British commander, he proposed to visit Eheylapola. When the two chiefs met, Molligoddé exclaimed, "that he was a ruined man!" "What then am I?" said Eheylapola. These words suggested the most painful recollections, and the two chiefs burst into tears. On the fourteenth of February, the British forces entered the Kandian capital unopposed. The King, having awoke too late from his delusive dream of security, had fled on their approach into the mountainous district of Doombera, accompanied by only a few Malabar attendants; leaving the females of his family, with a considerable treasure, to the mercy of the victor. Driven by heavy rain from a mountain, where he concealed himself during the day, he descended, and took shelter in a solitary house in the neighbourhood of Meddahmahaneura, not aware that there was a force at hand lying in wait for him. The retreat was soon discovered by some of Eheylapola's adherents, under the orders of Ecknelligodda, who surrounded the house in which he had hid himself, with two of his

wives. The door was strongly barricaded, but they battered down the wall of the apartment in which the tyrant was concealed, when he was exposed, by the glare of torch-light, to the derision of his enemies.

Their abrupt and unceremonious entry—the first time for fifteen years since he became King that he had been approached without awe and servile humility—for a moment seemed to confound him, but as the party pressed forward, he suddenly assumed a dignified demeanour, waved them off, and dared them to touch their King. There was a check for an instant, but the chief urged on his followers, and the order to seize him was obeyed by a low caste man. The unheard-of cruelties practised on Eheylapola's family were not the only incentive to perseverance on the part of the people of the Saffragam district to secure him. They had their own sufferings to revenge, and Ecknelligodda had ventured too far to indulge any hopes of safety, unless the downfall or death of the tyrant should be accomplished. If the King should regain authority, he felt certain that he would have been added to the list of forty-seven headmen, many of them friends of his own, who in the previous year had been brought from Saffragam, and impaled by the tyrant's order. Sree Wickrama now shewed himself as obsequious and abject in misfortune as he had been arbitrary and inhuman in the period of his power. He implored that his life might be spared, though he himself had long sported with the lives of his subjects, and was constrained to solicit the boon of humanity for himself and his wives from the followers of a man whose wife and children he had destroyed under circumstances of such aggravated horror and ferocity. Though the life of the tyrant was spared by the magnanimity of his enemies, it was impossible to protect him from the indignities and plunder of some of his infuriated captors. Binding him hand and foot, they reviled him as a monster, unfit to draw another breath, spat on him as he went, and dragged him to the next village with every species of insult and ignominy. From thence the deposed monarch was sent, under an escort, to Colombo, where a house was prepared for his reception. In the largest of the rooms appropriated for his use, was an ottoman or musnud, covered with scarlet cloth; as soon as the monarch entered the apartment, he is said to have immediately sprung forward, and squatted himself cross-legged on this piece of furniture, and examining, with great apparent satisfaction, the place allotted for his abode, exclaimed, "As I am no longer permitted to be a king, I am thankful for the kindness and attention shewn me." His impatience of restraint and of opposition to his will was soon manifested in a glaring manner. Having requested that four of the usual female attendants might be permitted to wait upon his queens, the point was willingly conceded, and the same night one of these women gave birth to a child. The King no sooner heard of this, than he demanded that the woman should be instantly removed. The officer

in charge very humanely refused to comply, and remonstrated on the cruelty of the proceeding with a person in her delicate situation. His Majesty, however, who had not been accustomed to have one of his desires thwarted, however extravagant or barbarous it might be, flew about his apartments in the most frantic rage, vowing that "he would neither eat, drink, nor sleep, till he was satisfied." Apprehensive lest the poor woman should be murdered by the tyrant, the officer gave orders for her removal, at the hazard of her life. The predominating feeling of the King's mind was indignation at the treatment he had received from his own subjects. Thus, when one of the British officers had an audience of him soon after his capture, he pointed in proud indignation to the marks of a rope on his arm, and asked if that was treatment fit for a king. The unmitigated despotism he had so long exercised, the passive obedience with which his commands had been received, made the idea of the recent resistance insupportable to his mind, and this sensation was still further aggravated by the consciousness of his inability any longer to appease his vindictive feelings.

This bitter rancour of the King against the conduct of his subjects, is said to have been of advantage to the British; as it induced him to disclose the places of his hidden treasure, which he preferred falling into the hands of his conqueror rather than to those of his rebellious subjects. This, however, was of no great amount or value.—Sree Wickrama was tall, slightly corpulent, stoutly made and muscular. He had a pleasant expression of countenance, a handsome beard, broad shoulders, and a full chest. His figure was manly, and his general appearance dignified. He was not deficient in intellect, and was generally much more affable and good humoured than could have been expected of a deposed king in a state of confinement. He did not shew any reluctance to discuss Kandian affairs. He declared that if his people had behaved as they ought to have done, he would have shewn the British whether he was a man or a woman. "Twice during my reign," said he, "have you obtained possession of Kandy, and twice have you been very glad to get out of it." An allusion having been made to the severity of his punishments, he rather testily observed, "that he governed his kingdom[1] according to the Shasters"—Hindoo or Brahminical law

[1] The Institutes of Manu are said to have obtained the highest reputation in this quasi code. Manu professed to have great confidence in the utility of punishment. "Punishment," says he, "governs all mankind; punishment alone preserves them; punishment wakes while their guards are asleep. The wise consider punishment as the perfection of justice. By this the whole race of man is kept in order; for a guiltless man is hard to be found." We have elsewhere shewn that the Brahminical system was not in vogue under the Singhalese dynasty: it was an exotic transplanted by the Malabars. A writer in the Edinburgh Review, vol. xxvi. in reference to the atrocities perpetrated by this Prince, remarks, "that horrible as his punishments were, they were much in the ordinary course of things under Oriental despotisms, where subjects are beheaded, impaled, or mutilated at

books.—Not having a minister in whom he could place any confidence, he lived under the constant fear of conspiracies. Until he was made a prisoner, he said he had never retired to rest without the dread of assassination. He trusted none of his courtiers, and it is doubtful if any one of the chiefs deserved his confidence. He was unpopular among the chiefs, but not among the middle and lower classes of his subjects, whose rights and privileges he frequently defended against the injustice and oppression of the aristocracy or nobles. By protecting the poorer classes against their tyranny and extortion, he created formidable opponents—enemies whose ambition, resentment, and influence he could not effectually restrain, and whose vengeance led to his deposition, and the seizure of a country, which for three centuries had been vainly attempted by three European powers in succession.

A fortnight after the dethronement of the King, in a convention held at Kandy by his Excellency the Governor on one side, and the Kandian chiefs on the other, that proceeding was formally ratified; the King of Great Britain was acknowledged Sovereign of the whole island of Ceylon; the preservation of the ancient form of government was guaranteed, along with the customs, laws and religion of the people.

The following particulars are given by a person present at the conference between the Governor and chiefs. "Early in the afternoon preparations were made for holding the conference in the great hall of audience, but the Governor declined using the adjoining room, where the King usually sat on occasions of ceremony, and chose to be placed within the hall at the upper end, with his back to the door of this room, which was divided off by a screen. The troops were drawn up in the great square before the palace, where they remained while the Adigaars and principal chiefs passed, and a part formed a lane to the door of the hall. Eheylapola, late Adigaar, who declined official employ, preferring to remain in retirement, entered first and alone. He was received by his Excellency with particular marks of favour and kindness, and seated in a chair on his right hand. Molligoddé, acting on the occasion as first Adigaar, then came forward, leading in the Dissaves of provinces and other principal chiefs. The Governor rose up to receive them, and with Eheylapola continued standing throughout the conference.

their ruler's caprice, as easily as the subjects of one European country are transported, in another imprisoned, or flogged. However revolting the barbarous punishments of some countries in the East may be, they are as much established by custom and immemorial usage, and are as *constitutional* and as much authorized by the royal *prerogative*, as the milder forms of misgovernment are in the West. The King, when he was deposed, was not judged according to the principles of his own country and state of society; he was judged by the humane and enlightened principles of a more civilized region of the world—for misbehaving in fact beyond the limits of European toleration."

A scene no less novel than interesting, was presented by the state and costume of the Kandian court, with an English Governor presiding, and the hall lined on both sides with British officers. The conference began with complimentary inquiries on the part of the chiefs, which were graciously answered by the Governor, and mutual inquiries made. His Excellency then thanked the Dissaves for the attention shewn to the troops in their various routes through the country towards the capital, which gave occasion to the chiefs to observe that they considered them as protectors, and that by their arrival they had been rescued from tyranny and oppression. The Governor expressed his gratification in having been the means of their deliverance, assured them of full protection in every respect, and added that while he had the honour of administering the government of the island, it would be his study to make them experience the blessings of his Majesty's benign government. The treaty was then read in English by the Deputy-Secretary, and afterwards in Singhalese by the Modeliar. This document, which had been framed as much as possible in accordance with the wishes of the chiefs and people, and with a particular degree of attention to some prejudices, the indulgence of which was plainly understood to be a *sine quâ non* of their voluntary submission to an European power, was listened to with profound and respectful attention, and it was clear from the marked expression of cordial assent in their looks, and the earnestness with which they declared their concurrence, that they were sincere. A chief of venerable and commanding aspect was the organ of the assembly, whose person and countenance were equally striking. His figure, the tallest present, was erect and portly, a high and prominent forehead, a full eye, and a strong expression of natural vivacity, tempered with the gravity of advanced age, marked by a long, full and graceful white beard, and the whole combined with his rich state dress, formed a subject for a portrait truly worthy of an able hand. It was the Dissave of Godapola. He was a great favourite of the deposed King, and remained with him till his capture. This chief collected the sentiments of the assembly, generally in silence, but with occasional explanations, and delivered them to the Adigaar, with the concurrence of the rest. Eheylapola, though not ostensibly engaged in the conference, took a marked interest in every part of it. His carriage was distinguished by a courtly address, politeness, and ease, and he was evidently regarded by the assembled chiefs with a high degree of deference and respect. After the treaty was read in Singhalese, the Adigaar Molligoddé, and the other chiefs, proceeded to the great door of the hall, where the Mohottales, Coraals, Vidahns, and other subordinate headmen from the different provinces were attending with a great concourse of the inhabitants, and the headmen having arranged themselves according to their respective districts, the treaty was again read by the Modeliar in Singhalese, at the conclusion of which the British flag

was hoisted, and a royal salute from the cannon of the city, announced his Majesty George III. Sovereign of the whole island of Ceylon. That portion of the population which had returned to the town of Kandy evinced no concern in the business which was going on in the palace, and did not leave their ordinary avocations. Apparently they regarded the transfer of the government from an Oriental to an European dynasty with perfect indifference."

Thus did the British Government by the right of conquest assume without reservation the same arbitrary and absolute authority over the destinies of the Kandian people, which had by immemorial usage been possessed by the despotic monarchs of Kandy. A board, composed of three civil servants, was now established at Kandy, consisting of a Resident, and a Commissioner of Justice, and Revenue; the first the representative of the Government, the others the heads of their respective departments. The board, with the Adigaars and principal chiefs, formed the great Court of Justice, from whose sentence there was no appeal except to the Governor. Besides the board and a subordinate agent of Government at Ouva, Saffragam and the Three Korles, the civil authority of the country was exercised as before by the native Dissaves and Ratémahatmeyas. The military force retained in the interior was inconsiderable, seldom exceeding 1000 men, who were confined to the eleven stations where military posts had been established. The offices of first and second Adigaar were filled by Molligoddé, the former prime minister, and by a chief of the name of Kappawattè. Eheylapola, to whom the first appointment was offered, begged to decline it, declaring he only wished to be styled 'the friend of the British Government.' There is reason to believe that he looked higher, and that he expected to have been raised to the throne. Having united himself in marriage, he took up his residence at Kandy, where he lived in considerable state, and was regarded by the natives as the great chief of the country.

Between March 1815 and October 1817, the Kandian provinces remained tranquil. The terms of the convention were literally respected by us, and the chiefs and people seemed contented under a mild and indulgent government. But these appearances were deceptive. The Kandian chiefs appear to have tacitly acquiesced in the usual unlimited assumption of power which conquest is presumed to confer in India. Few persons present at the solemn conference gave the chiefs credit for acting with sincerity and honesty of purpose in lending their sanction to a transfer of the dominion of the Kandian provinces to the British Sovereign, it being generally believed that in seeming to do so they submitted with reluctance, but with admirable grace to the force of circumstances, and did as they were desired, leaving to time the development of the result. Their ancient government was in their estimation the best of all possible constitutions, and they considered all innovation as

subversive of it. Having by our means rescued themselves from a galling tyranny and obtained a little repose, they considered the time had arrived for again trying their strength and gaining their independence by attempting the expulsion of their benefactors.

The most conflicting reasons for this love of change have been given by the two ablest writers on Ceylon. By the one, we are assured, that it was to be ascribed "to the loss of influence incurred by the chiefs in submitting to a regular and efficient foreign Government, which as yet they had not learned to respect, and from former examples hoped to overthrow, as much as through the over-conciliatory manner in which they were treated by the highest British authorities, which by inspiring them with a vain confidence in their own importance, and leading them to a comparison of such treatment with that of their late ruler, convinced them that so glaring a want of dignity could only proceed from conscious deficiency of power."

By the other, we are told "that there was no sympathy between us and them; no attracting, but innumerable circumstances of a repulsive nature. The chiefs, though less controlled than under the king, and exercising more power in their districts than they ever before ventured to exert, were far from satisfied. Before, no one but the king was above them; now they were inferior to every civilian in our service—to every officer in our army. Though officially treated with respect, it was only officially; a common soldier passed a haughty Kandian chief with as little attention as a menial of the lowest caste. Thus they considered themselves degraded, and shorn of their splendour. The people in general had similar feelings on this score, at least the Goewansé; or most influential part. Ignorant of their distinctions, high caste and low caste were treated alike by most English who came in contact with them; and undesignedly and unwittingly, we often offended and provoked them when we least intended it, and particularly in our mode of entering their temples, and in our manner of treating their priests, who require respect almost amounting to adoration. Accustomed to the presence of a King in their capital, to the splendour of his court and to its complicated arrangements, they could ill relish the sudden and total abolition of the whole system. The King of Great Britain was to them merely a name: they had no notion of a King ruling over them at the distance of thousands of miles: they had no notion of delegated authority: they wanted a King whom they could see and before whom they could prostrate and obtain summary justice. These were a few only of the leading circumstances which tended to render the natives averse from us and our Government, and anxious to throw it off; and though ungrateful, it was not unnatural on their parts."

The Kandians used to inquire when the English intended to return to the maritime provinces. "You have now," said one, "deposed the King, and nothing more is required. You may leave us."

The people shewed no dislike to us individually, but as a nation they abhorred us. They seemed to entertain a superstitious notion, that the English could not live in the Kandian territory. They made no complaint of oppression or misrule, contenting themselves with expressing a wish that we should leave the country. Conversing on this subject, a subordinate chief observed, "that the British rule in the Kandian country was as incompatible as yoking a buffalo and cow in the same plough." No nation or class of people ever suddenly renounced their prejudices and adopted the habits and modes of thought of another, even under favourable circumstances; and still less was it likely that a vanquished people should love and esteem a nation by which they had been subjugated. Notwithstanding the antipathy with which the English were regarded by the Kandians, the people were not generally prepared to submit to the regal control of one of their own chiefs. Mutual jealousy among the wealthy families apparently prevented the formation of a formidable conspiracy for the purpose of expelling the English. Eheylapola, though universally admitted to be an able and talented chief, had no great or general ascendancy over the other chiefs, except the headmen and people of Saffragam, who had previously enlisted in his cause. The principal chiefs apparently preferred to accede for a time to the British Government than promote Eheylapola's views of assuming sovereign power. When the insurrection broke out, there is every reason to believe that no organized conspiracy against the English existed among any class of the inhabitants of the Kandian country: but uniformity of feeling supplied the place of organization; they all wished to be quit of us. That the establishment of the British power over that of the Kandian chiefs of all grades, from the highest to the lowest, would be very unpalatable and galling, was quite obvious to any one acquainted with the habits and feelings of the people. The chiefs and higher classes of the Kandians generally were greatly offended at what we called the impartial administration of justice. Thereby the privileges and civil distinctions of caste had been practically extinguished, but however strong this feeling of hostility was throughout the country, it was not sufficiently intense to subdue the jealousy of the chiefs towards each other. In short the outbreak of the rebellion in Welassé was purely accidental, and the chiefs and people of the other provinces were as much taken by surprise as the English authorities.

Such being the feelings of the Kandians, a spark falling on materials so combustible, was sufficient to kindle a general conflagration. A rebellion was the consequence: it suddenly and prematurely broke out in October, 1817, owing to an accidental circumstance, and exhibited therefore no previous combination or system. A Moorman employed under the Government, who had incurred the dislike of the people of Welassé, was seized by them and carried before a native

of the Seven Korles, formerly a priest of Buddha, who had assumed the title of King, under the name of Durra Sawmy, and was condemned to death[1] and executed.

The agent of Government at Ouva, who was the first to learn of this proceeding and mysterious whisperings of the treason that accompanied it, instantly hastened with a small party of military into the district to investigate the affair. He found the inhabitants assembled, using insulting[2] language, and indisposed to a conference, and fell by the arrows of the Veddahs, who had been summoned by the chiefs, and attended in considerable force. The officer and his men after considerable difficulty reached Badulla in safety. When tidings of the death of the agent reached Kandy, the Commissioner of Revenue proceeded forthwith to Badulla. He perceived no indi-

[1] The Moormen of Welassé, an active enterprising body of Kandian merchants, were the first portion of the population of the newly acquired territory, who became useful to the English, more especially by furnishing carriage cattle to the Commissariat for the purpose of conveying stores and provisions from the coast stations. This class of the population formed an intermediate link between the traders in the maritime district of Batecalo and the interior provinces. They supplied almost all the salt which was used in the Kandian country; and, as this was an expensive article, being monopolised and highly taxed by Government, the traders required to possess a considerable amount of capital. Although the Moormen had petty headmen of their own caste, they were like the other classes of inhabitants, completely under the control of the Dissave and other Singhalese chiefs of the province of Welassé. These chiefs levied heavy taxes and fines on the Moormen, and insisted upon obtaining from them whatever salt they required, as well as other articles of trade at their own price, and sometimes without any remuneration. In consequence of extortions of this kind, the Moormen solicited the Government that they might be placed under a headman of their own religious persuasion, and their request was granted. Hadjee, the Moorman selected, was a person of superior intellect, and highly respected among his own caste, not only on account of his natural talents, but also in consequence of having made a pilgrimage to Mecca. The Moormen forthwith practically renounced the authority of the Kandian headmen, and withheld some of the dues they had been accustomed to pay either in kind or in money. Being deprived of their usual revenue, the chiefs were greatly incensed with the Moormen, more especially with Hadjee, who had in no small degree supplanted the Dissave in his authority. In the beginning of October, the Assistant Resident at Badulla having received information that "a stranger," with two old and six young priests, had recently taken up their abode in the jungles of Welassé, it was deemed necessary to dispatch a party to apprehend "the stranger." For this purpose Hadjee was selected, and with a small party of Moormen he left Badulla to execute his mission. On arriving at one of the passes leading into Welassé, he was met by a party of men who attempted to prevent his proceeding further. Hadjee secured four of the party, and sent them to Badulla. Proceeding further on the road, he was opposed by a more considerable party, armed with bows and arrows, who, after wounding his brother, captured himself, and took him as prisoner to "the stranger," who was called "Deyo," (a god), an appellation which is usually given to the relatives of a King. The rest of the party effected their retreat to Badulla.

[2] The opprobrious and insulting terms used by the Kandians to Europeans, are Geremoi goulammah,—Beef-eating slaves, begone!

cation of revolt, until he entered the province of Ouva, six miles from Badulla, where the villages were generally deserted, and the few inhabitants whom he encountered, declined holding any communication with him. Shortly after, a party of soldiers with despatches were barbarously murdered in the district of Walapanne. For the purpose of ascertaining the feelings of the people of the province of Mátalé towards the British Government, Sir John D'Oyley, the Resident at Kandy, authorised Eheylapola to proceed from his usual residence at Kandy to that part of the country. As he had large estates in that province, it was presumed he was likely to have it in his power to acquire correct information as to the disposition of the inhabitants.

His Excellency Sir Robert Brownrigg, little aware of the insurrection on the eve of commencing, had left Colombo for Kandy and Trincomalee on an excursion of pleasure in August, accompanied by Lady Brownrigg, expecting that the whole journey would be such, and that they should return in a few weeks, instead of fifteen months, the time of their detention. At Gonarooa, two or three miles from Kandy, he was met by a large concourse of chiefs and their followers in great state, and no reception could be more gratifying. On his return to Kandy in October, the Governor had the first intimation of what was transpiring at Kandellé; at Minneria the accounts brought were of an alarming nature. The chief Eheylapola, who was also returning to Kandy, was in the neighbourhood with a large body of followers. He had just been guilty of an act closely akin to rebellion in disgracing Ratwatte, the Dissave of Mátalé, while on his way to pay his respects to the Governor, depriving him of the insignia of office, and in fact suspending him for the neglect of some trifling attention which he considered due to himself.

The general expectation was, that this measure was merely the precursor to his heading the rebellion, and taking the Governor and his suite prisoners, which he was aware he could have done with perfect ease; as his Excellency travelled without an escort. Fortunately the result did not confirm these apprehensions, they proceeded without molestation to Nallandé, where Eheylapola appeared in great state, with several elephants and two or three thousand people. He waited on the Governor most submissively, and apologised for his extraordinary conduct in the best manner he could. Eheylapola's insult to the British Government is presumed to have been the result of a blind ebullition of rage directed against the first Adigaar Molligoddé, the Dissave whom he had so greatly abused being the Adigaar's uncle. For political reasons of the greatest delicacy, Eheylapola escaped the sharp rebuke he deserved, having been allowed to return to Kandy without any publicly expressed opinion of the Governor's disapproval.

The rebellion now spread like wildfire. The insurgents were speedily joined by the intimate friend and brother-in-law of Eheyla-

pola, Kappitipola, Dissave of Ouva, who, regardless of his recent promotion, and his commission to suppress the rebellion, became their acknowledged leader, as he had before been the instigator of their treason, and accepted the office of first Adigaar under the Pretender. Every day, notwithstanding all our efforts, the spirit of insurrection extended itself, actually increasing in magnitude in proportion to the opposition it encountered. In less than six months most of those districts which had not already appeared in open insurrection were secretly organised for revolt, and only awaited the fitting opportunity for joining the rebels.

For some time the weather was extremely unfavourable for the march of troops, in consequence of heavy rains in the Kandian provinces. Between Hangwelle and Colombo the country was extensively inundated, by which and the swollen mountain torrents the progress of the detachments was greatly retarded. The tappals or mails were intercepted by the enemy in that part of the country which they occupied, and hence it became extremely difficult to effect a prompt and certain co-operation of the troops. In November, a detachment reached the district of Welassé. On the appearance of the troops a large portion of the inhabitants absconded into the jungle, carrying with them their cattle and whatever grain they possessed. Numerous military posts were established in this district for the purpose of keeping up a line of communication between Batecalo and Ouva, the principal post being established at Kattabowe, the most considerable Moor village in the district. The Moormen having been promised protection from the insurgents by the English officers, returned to their homes, and seemed glad of the countenance thereby afforded them; but no sooner had they taken this step than they forthwith seized the cattle belonging to the Kandians who had fled into the jungle, and sold them to the British commissariat for the use of the troops. For some time many of the Moormen played a double game, apparently determined in the end to join the party which held out longest. It is alleged also that not a few of the Moormen, who had been successful in obtaining possession of the cattle of the Kandians, fearing that they would be obliged to restore the property they had pillaged, were the Kandians to return to their homes and submit to British rule, circulated reports much to our prejudice, for the purpose of inducing them to hold out against our Government.

Several other bodies of troops moved towards Welassé from Batecalo and Kandy. In these marches they had to pass through narrow pathways, close jungles, and over steep hills, exposed to the missiles of the enemy, which were chiefly arrows, although some of them were furnished with muskets. Detachments were frequently dodged by three or four Kandians, who, from their knowledge of the bye-paths, could fire upon the party occasionally, and keep up with it on a march. When a man was killed, the detachment was halted; wood was collected, and the body burnt—a measure productive of

delay. The burning of the body was adopted to prevent mutilation, as the enemy was in the habit of impaling the heads of the slain close to a British post. When a man was wounded so as to render him unable to march, he required to be carried, and this operation was commonly effected by putting him in a cumley or country blanket, suspended under a bamboo. In this manner two coolies were able to carry one man. These circumstances greatly retarded the march of troops, and exposed them long to the fire of the enemy. It was eventually deemed advisable to suspend the ordinary plan of marching troops, conveying stores, and transporting sick by day through the disaffected parts of the country, and to perform these duties under the obscurity of night. By nocturnal marching fewer casualties ensued from the fire of the enemy, but the labour and long protracted fatigue of the troops were greatly increased. This result may easily be conceived, when the ruggedness of the country and the impracticable nature of the pathways is taken into account. In addition to the natural impediments which occurred, such as deep rivers, mountain torrents, rugged precipitous roads, morasses, &c. the Kandians constructed many artificial modes of obstruction. In the pathway, along which it was necessary to march, they frequently dug pits, in the bottom of which pointed stakes were placed. Numerous other modes of hindrance were adopted, many of them evincing considerable ingenuity. The progress of troops was consequently extremely slow during the night—often not so much as a mile an hour. Frequently it was impossible for the escorts of provisions and stores to cross the mountain torrents in the dark, consequently they were obliged to halt, and lie down for a time upon the damp grass, exposed to inclement weather. The chilly dews of night, and the exposure to tropical rains were fertile sources of disease.

The detachments having formed a junction about the heart of the disaffected country, it was deemed advisable to inflict a severe punishment on the inhabitants for the purpose of checking the insurrection. With this view the work of devastation commenced; the houses of the inhabitants were forthwith set on fire and burnt to the ground, and all the cattle, grain, &c. belonging to the people were either carried off by the troops, or destroyed. The inhabitants appeared to be horror-struck at the devastation thus produced: they ceased to shout at the troops, or to fire upon them; while they were seen on the neighbouring heights and close to the skirts of the plain, gazing in silence upon the flames which consumed their habitations, and the removal of their cattle, which they had had no time to carry off. Next day some of the headmen and their followers made their submission, and solicited forgiveness. In consequence of these favourable appearances, sanguine hopes were entertained during the month of November that the flame of insurrection was nearly extinguished. These hopes were not, however, destined to be realized. The insurrection continued to extend, and in February the whole of the Kan-

dian provinces were placed under martial law. In March, 1818, all the country was in arms against us, except the lower part of Saffragam, the Three and Four Korles, Oudeneura, and Yattineura; and, excepting the first Adigaar, every chief of consequence had either joined the rebel standard, or was under arrest, and confined for favouring, or being suspected of favouring the rebel cause. Eheylapola[1] himself, and the second Adigaar, Kappawatte, were of the latter number. During the three following months our affairs assumed a still more melancholy aspect. Our little army was much exhausted and reduced by fatigue, privation, and disease; the insurrection was still unchecked; the communication with Trincomalee had been cut off by reason of the success of the insurgents in Mátalé; the post at Nallandé had been dismantled; all our efforts had been apparently fruitless, not a leader of note had been captured, though large rewards had been offered for their apprehension, and not a district subdued or tranquillized. Fortunately, the private animosity subsisting between Eheylapola and Molligoddé, first Adigaar, induced the latter to exert his influence in support of the British supremacy, which he had good reason to identify with his own safety. By his influence in the district of the Four Korles, its inhabitants refrained from insurrection, a neutrality of great importance at this period to the British interest; as through that province lay the principal defiles and mountain passes of the road which led from Colombo to the Kandian capital. It was, nevertheless, a melancholy time to those on the scene of action, and many began to despond and to prophesy (what indeed was far from improbable) that the few districts not yet against us would join the enemy; that the communication between Colombo and our head-quarters at Kandy would be cut off, and that we should be very soon obliged to evacuate the country and fight our way out of it. This gloomy prospect was of short continuance; large reinforcements were received from India, and the aspect of our affairs brightened with the same rapidity that they had become overcast. The Kandian chiefs, forgetting that their strength lay in union alone, were unwilling to sacrifice their petty jealousies and personal disputes even to forward a cause in which they had perilled their lives and hereditary properties—objects to them almost equally dear. They were equally incapable of continued perseverance in any one object. Kappitipola was defeated in several attempts which he made about this time with all the force of the country he could command, often amounting to many thousand men.

Meanwhile the pretender had been persuaded to cross the Maha Vellé-ganga, and to proceed to a station in Dombera, where a palace

[1] The case of Eheylapola Maha Nilemé is thus alluded to in a minute of Government: "He is removed for a time, because Government considers his presence here as detrimental to the public good, but it is not at all meant to charge him as a traitor." He was, however, never restored to liberty, but died in exile in 1829, an untried state prisoner.

had been constructed for him. There he was treated by the chiefs and people with royal honour, and the usual reverence shewn to a king. Madugalla, an influential headman of Dombera, who had joined the pretender in August, and had displayed so remarkable a degree of enterprise and energy in his own district, as fully to justify the appointments which he had received of second Adigaar and Dissave of Mâtalé, coming to an open rupture with Kappitipola, detected, and in his indignation at the deception which had been practised upon him and the whole Kandian people, openly exposed the impostor king, whom he placed in the stocks; and it was then ascertained that the pretender was a native of the village from which he took the name of Wilbawe, and that he was in no way related to the royal family. The hostility of the people in most of the disaffected districts at length abated. A predatory[1] warfare had been in existence for nearly a year, during which period the principal part, indeed almost the whole of the population, men, women, and children, had lived in the woods and on the tops of mountains. Their grounds had been uncultivated for two seasons, Many of their cattle were killed; their small stores of grain were expended, having been, in many places, destroyed and plundered by the British troops. The monsoon rains were approaching: they had therefore no other prospect before them by holding out against the English but accumulated hardship and famine. Our proceedings now, therefore, were as successful as they had before been unfortunate; hardly a day passed but some rebel chief was taken. Among them Ellepola Maha Nilemé, one of the most distinguished, who, on being brought before a court martial, was sentenced to be decapitated. He conducted himself with great firmness, and begged that his body might be left a prey to dogs and jackalls, in the expectation of deriving a certain

[1] As my object is to convey to the reader a brief, but clear description of the manner in which hostilities were conducted, I will illustrate it by an extract from a general order issued by the Government:—"A party marched from Madoola to chastise the rebels of a neighbouring village, and fell on a body of them concealed in lemon grass, killed several, and took one prisoner, burnt the houses of a Mohottale, and other headmen, who had been concerned in the murder of the late Mr. Kennedy. The prisoner gave information of the hiding-place of a horde of insurgents near to Madoola, when it was determined to surprise and seize them the same night; which was effected in the most gallant manner. The rebels were in a cave, situate near the summit of a mountain, which being silently approached by the detachment, small divisions were posted in the pathways at each end of its mouth, while the remainder proceeded to the front. The alarm was now given within, the inhabitants set up a hideous yell, and rushed from the cavern. Twenty of them were slain at the instant, and the remainder precipitated themselves down the steep declivity of the mountain, by which they must have severely suffered. In the darkness that prevailed one woman and child were unfortunately killed, but the instant it was understood that women and children were in the cave, that generosity inherent in the breast of the British soldier, displayed itself, and they were protected."

degree of merit in a future state from undergoing this voluntary indignity. His body was, however, interred by order of Government. Another pretender to the throne, who had set up in opposition to the first, now disappeared; district after district submitted; till, in October, Kappitipola and Pilámé Talawé were surprised and seized by a detachment of troops under the command of Colonel Frazer, in the neighbourhood of Anuradhapoora. Madugalla was captured, and the relic which had been clandestinely removed from Kandy, recovered, and the whole country completely tranquillized.

Wilbawe contrived to extricate himself from durance, and escaped, first to the Veddahs of Bintenné, and subsequently to the remote province of Neuwara Kalawa, where he remained unnoticed for twelve years: although he was at one time compelled to assist a party who were searching for him near the deserted city of Anuradhapoora. The large reward that was still offered for his apprehension having stimulated the perseverance of a Buddhist priest, who was familiar with his features, he at last detected the object of his search in his wanderings, and having given information, Wilbawe was secured in 1829. When arrested, it was found that he had received a severe injury in the shoulder from a wild elephant, and that hard labour and anxiety had greatly changed his appearance, and given him a peculiarly melancholy cast of countenance. He had been a handsome man, and with features strongly resembling the Kandian royal family, of which native scandal said he was an illegitimate member. He was tried and convicted; but afterwards received a pardon from the British Government. Madugalla and Kappitipola were tried by a court martial, and sentenced to be beheaded; the latter, who combined in an extraordinary degree, activity, ambition, enterprise, a love of intrigue, and a want of principle, when he found that cunning and subtlety were ineffectual to save him from punishment, met death with a firmness and courage worthy of a different fate and better cause. Pilámé Talawé, son of the late first Adigaar of the same name, but as free from the cruel propensities of his father as he was devoid of his abilities and energy, again escaped execution, and was transported to Mauritius. Eheylapola was not tried, nor were his lands confiscated; but he was also banished to Mauritius along with several chiefs of inferior note, many of whom were permitted to return to Ceylon on the death of the deposed king in 1832, on condition of residing in the maritime provinces, and engaging not to revisit the Kandian country.

"It would be difficult to give the English reader," says Davy, "an accurate idea of the manner in which, during the rebellion, hostilities were carried on on either side. It was a partizan[1] warfare,

[1] The following song of triumph, composed in the Pali language, and translated by Mr. Armour, testifies to the prowess, or self-satisfaction of Ecknelligodda,

which, from its very nature and circumstances, was severe and irregular, particularly when at its height, and after lenient measures had been tried in vain. When a district pronounced, one or more military posts were established in it, martial law was proclaimed, the dwellings of the resisting inhabitants were burnt, their fruit trees were often cut down, and the country was scoured in every direction by small detachments, who were authorised to put to death all who resisted or were found with arms in their hands. The natives, on their part, never met us fairly and boldly in the field; they had recourse to stratagems of every kind, and took every possible advantage of the difficult nature of their country, and of their minute knowledge of the ground. They would way-lay our parties, and fire on them from inaccessible heights, or from the ambush of an impenetrable jungle; they would line the paths through which we had to march with snares of different kinds, such as spring guns and spring bows, deep pits, lightly covered over, and armed with thorns, spikes, &c., and in every instance that an opportunity offered, they shewed no mercy and gave no quarter. Such a system of warfare, of which the outline has been already given, had better not be given in detail. There were certain redeeming circumstances occasionally exhibited, which might be dwelt on with pleasure, traits of heroism and of undaunted courage that have never been exceeded on the side of the British, and traits of parental attachment, and of cool resignation to their fate amongst the natives that have seldom been surpassed. The sufferings and miseries inflicted and endured on both sides while the conflict lasted, will merit notice no more than the details of the warfare. We suffered most from the harassing nature of the service; from fatigue and privation, and from the effects of these and of night marches, and of an unwholesome climate producing disease. The sufferings of the natives were of a more severe kind and complicated nature. In addition to the horrors of war in its most

Dissave of Saffragam, who co-operated with the British troops against the insurgents in Ouva:—

"I. Having divested himself of fear for personal safety, and of anxiety for his wealth, through loyalty to the European potentate, Ecknelligodda, Dissave, with undaunted courage and resolution, prosperity perched on his shoulders, and followed by armed bands, went forth against the rebel multitude, and like the bird Garooda, destroyed the insurgent serpents.

"II. Possessed of courage and gifted with victory, as were the mighty heroes Ramah Arguna, Vasoo Deva, and Beema Lena, and bounteous as the Kalpa Wurksha, did not he, the great Ecknelligodda, rush forward and extinguish rebellion throughout Ouva?

"III. He, having received the sanction of the great Brownrigg, the English commander, accompanied the troops with a powerful host from Saffragam, pursued and hanged the rebels on trees, thereby stunning them with terror and dismay.

"IV. The archers in their ambuscades laid their hand on the bowstring, but before they could discharge their arrows they were stultified with fear, and underwent severe chastisement. Why have ye forgotten all which Ecknelligodda accomplished?"

appalling shape, they had to encounter those of disease, want, and famine, without chance of relief. Our loss from disease alone amounted to nearly one-fifth of our whole force employed, and altogether to more than a thousand men. The loss of the natives killed in the field, or executed, or that died of disease or famine, can hardly be calculated, but it was probably ten times greater than ours."

On the termination of hostilities and return to order, an entire change in the management of the Kandian provinces was accomplished. The paramount influence of the chiefs in the different districts was destroyed by placing civilians or British officers in authority over them to collect the revenue and administer justice, while all the inferior headmen, instead of being appointed annually by the chief, received their situations direct from Government. This arrangement not only consolidated British rule, but was a real benefit to the natives, who were no longer defrauded of justice, because they had not the money or influence to control the decision of its dispensers.

The administration of Sir Robert Brownrigg was an eventful one for Ceylon. He appears, almost immediately after his arrival, to have directed his whole attention to the political state of the Kandian provinces, and the acquiring a more precise and accurate knowledge of the interior. Hence, when by the conclusion of a general peace, it was definitively arranged[1] that Ceylon should remain in the hands of Great Britain, and not again revert to the Dutch; for in the latter case any attack would have been impolitic, he was at liberty to employ an adequate force for its reduction, and at once determined (in opposition, it is alleged, to the advice of the Council) to revenge the intolerable insults and wanton aggressions which a powerless and merciless despot had offered to the British power, by dethroning the tyrant, and uniting the island under the authority of the British crown. For this determination there were abundant

[1] Notwithstanding the long interval of nearly two centuries and a half that had intervened since Ceylon had been held by Portugal, it still retained a hankering after the original seat of its power in the island, and in 1816 a Portuguese officer arrived at Colombo on his way to Goa, and clandestinely endeavoured to obtain a sight of the old records of the Portuguese and Dutch Governments. The Deputy Secretary having been informed of the circumstance, took an opportunity of questioning him upon the subject. The officer alluded to our being in possession of *the whole* island. This excited suspicions, and led to the discovery that in 1661 a treaty had been entered into between Great Britain and Portugal, by which if Portugal recovered Ceylon from the Dutch, the port and fortress of Galle were to be ceded to the former; but that if Great Britain should wrest the island from the Dutch, Colombo should revert to the Portuguese. It further appeared, that by two *subsequent treaties* between the Dutch and Portuguese, the former were to retain all their conquests in Ceylon without any stipulation or reservation whatever; and that in 1692 Portugal had definitively recognized the right of the Dutch to all the territories they had acquired there; by which treaty whatever claims upon Colombo, Portugal might originally have had, were for ever set at rest.

excuses on the plea of justice, protecting our own subjects from aggression, and relieving the Kandian people from a monstrous tyranny. "On the score of policy," says Forbes, "it was unobjectionable, our position as masters of the maritime provinces being one of extreme weakness; as an enemy in possession of the interior could always assemble a force and direct it against the most vulnerable post before the British authorities could ascertain the point to be attacked, or send the necessary succour." It is superfluous to add, that the plan of operations was crowned with complete success, and it was only by a departure from the salutary precautions, the necessity of which had been demonstrated in the first Kandian war, that the insurrection which subsequently broke out was to be attributed. That error was soon, however, remedied by his vigour and perseverance, and he had the satisfaction, on his departure, of feeling assured that whatever might be the benefits accruing to Ceylon from the energy of his successor, he had contributed his full share to laying the foundation of British power in this magnificent island.

The aspect of European society in Ceylon, underwent a considerable change during the latter part of Sir Robert Brownrigg's rule, by the dispersion over the interior of the island of the civil and military servants who had hitherto been concentrated at the chief towns of the maritime provinces. This measure, though divesting the places referred to of their great charms, in a social point of view, was politically necessary; and whatever improvements have since been effected in the interior are, in great measure, to be ascribed to the new field thus opened to the activity of men, who, in addition to their ordinary civil duties, found it expedient to devote the remainder of their time to agricultural pursuits.

In a financial point of view, the situation of Ceylon, for some time previous to this period, had been most deplorable. In every year the returns of the revenue exhibited a large deficiency, as compared with the expenditure, and the mother country, ground to the earth with taxation, and revealing, in every vibration of her social machine, the clanking of the drag by which she was held down, was expected to fill up the vacuum in Ceylon as in the greater part of her widespread domains, instead of that object being accomplished by a paring down of the expenditure on the part of the Local Government. Nay, so lax was the Home Government, and so audacious its local representative, that not only was the secret service money placed at their disposal entirely misappropriated, but it was notorious that the most flagrant profligacy pervaded almost every act of the Government. This state of things arrived at its acme under Sir Thomas Maitland, who, under the conviction that Great Britain was an inexhaustible mine of wealth, that could not be too deeply worked by her children, deemed it consistent with his duty to improvise a few useless appointments for the apparent purpose of discovering how far the most reckless extravagance might proceed unchecked.

In 1820, another pretender to the throne of Kandy appeared in Welassé, expecting to be joined by the Veddahs, who however had found rebellion neither advantageous nor profitable, and held aloof. His escaping the vigilance of his pursuers proved, nevertheless, that whatever his right to the throne might be, he had many influential friends in the Kandian provinces; as large rewards had long been offered for his apprehension. When captured, he was placed in the stocks at Badulla. He is described as having been a young man of prepossessing manners and address; and as having acquired much general information on the affairs of Ceylon. When commanded to account for his presumption in styling himself, or allowing others to style him, King of Kandy, he replied in a manly tone and spirit: "because it is my birthright." He was further asked, why he had dared to appoint a native chief, second Adigaar of the kingdom. "I am King," said he, "and if I reign but an hour, a day, or week, I have a right to appoint the most fit persons to be my ministers." The general opinion was, that if he had been able to assemble a sufficient force, in so strong and inaccessible a country, he would certainly have caused no little trouble. Being totally unknown to the Europeans and natives of the maritime provinces, he had previously frequented the streets of Colombo, Trincomalee, and Galle, dressed in the simplest attire, and it was only latterly that he had assumed the dress which he considered suitable to his rank. Since his arrival in Ceylon from the continent of India, where he had been brought up and educated by a Singhalese priest, he had visited most parts of the island, and had displayed no slight sagacity in his remarks upon its condition: it was therefore the more surprising that he should assert his claims when the people throughout the country were totally unable to aid him and his adherents. He was sentenced to death by a court-martial—martial-law having been proclaimed in Welassé—but the Governor had no intention of carrying it into effect, owing, as Mr. Marshall states, to his conviction having been found invalid, the article of war he had violated not inferring capital punishment. It being desirable, however, to obtain information respecting the conspiracy and its abettors, he was informed by the Commandant at Galle, that his life depended upon the manner in which he should reply to his interrogatories. He expressed his readiness to comply, and in answer to a question respecting Wilbawe, the old pretender, who had caused the late rebellion, stated that he was at that moment a prisoner at Badulla. He also declared, that it was that very man who had encouraged him to assume what he had been taught to consider his birthright, but he was now well aware that he had induced him to do so to ruin him, as he knew well his claims to the Kandian throne; that he had now told the whole truth, and that he was greatly influenced to do so, in order to be revenged upon the villain who had induced him to set himself up as king, with the treacherous intention of betraying him; that

Wilbawe had a younger brother in Bintenné, who he had no doubt, if even the elder were cut off, would one day raise the standard of revolt. The young pretender, Koomara Sámy, was then banished to Mauritius. In 1823, another attempt was made in Newera Kalawa, and another pretender had the hardihood to set himself up in the wilderness. The Government having obtained information that large bodies of Kandians were resolved to support him, dispatched Colonel Frazer, with a body of troops, with orders to proceed by forced marches, so as to apprehend him before his followers could be aware of the discovery of their designs. He was apprehended near Anuradhapoora, with a number of his ill-advised adherents, and subsequently honoured with the appointment of scavenger at Kandy, so contemptible had such attempts at rebellion now become in the eyes of the government.

After the departure of Sir Robert Brownrigg, Sir Edward Barnes, the new Governor, devoted all his energies to the formation of roads through the central province, some of which had been planned by his predecessor, and fully availed himself of the system of Rajakaria, or forced labour. So untiring was his zeal and personal activity in superintending these important public works, that his spirit was infused into every person employed, and the undertaking was carried on with the greatest ardour and diligence. Each subdivision of a class or caste was summoned by its own headman, who, as he was unremunerated by a regular salary, depended on what he could extract from his own people: it was self-interest therefore—a motive paramount to all others in natives—which insured the headman retaining all the members of his department in their original vocation and due subjection. Under any man of less energy, unrequited compulsory labour would have been an absolute curse, depopulating the country by exposing the labourers to the pestilential atmosphere of the jungles, and producing no adequate results. "Not only," remarks Forbes, "did this system maintain caste with the utmost strictness, but it retained and supported in full power over the people those headmen, whose interests could never be otherwise than opposed to a regular government." Nor should it be forgotten, that without giving the natives any reason to complain, the regularity of system backed by power to enforce all legal rights, enabled the British Government to exact much more both of labour and revenue than any native despot would have ventured to demand.

In 1823, Sir Edward Barnes temporarily vacated the Government, which was filled during his absence by Sir Edward Paget and Sir James Campbell, but returned in 1824, and held the post he so worthily filled until 1831, when he was succeeded by Sir Robert Wilmot Horton. Previously to his departure, he had constructed the Pavilion at Kandy, where the Governor now takes up his residence during the hot season. No Governor of Ceylon has attained, and none has deserved a greater degree of popularity than

Sir Edward Barnes. To mark their sense of his services, a monument has recently been erected by his admirers, and has been appropriately placed upon the spot which bears the chief testimony to his energy —the road to Kandy.

In 1834[1] a slight legislative boon was vouchsafed to the colony by the establishment of a legislative council, into which three, and ultimately six unofficial members, of which three were natives, were admitted; though it required some firmness on the part of Government to carry into effect this act of liberality. The concession of a charter of justice by the Imperial Parliament was at the same time announced. A short time previously the order of the King in Council, abolishing all compulsory service (Raja Karia) reached the island, and the natives passed in a day from a state more bitter than slavery to the most perfect freedom. The abolition of this grievance had been recommended by Lieut.-Colonel Colebrooke, in his report on the administration of the government of Ceylon, in consequence of its having been so irregularly maintained as to have been productive of much injustice. The system of forced labour made it necessary that a power of punishing those who refused to work should reside somewhere. In practice, the power of investigating the facts which authorised punishment, and the authority to inflict the penalty were exercised by the same person. In their former oppressed state, it is true that justice was impartially administered to the rich and poor, so far as the facts of the case could be ascertained; yet the rich man was disgusted with the impartial conduct of the judges, and the poor suitor did not benefit by it; for the rich litigant could bribe the influential native in office, and he could command the oaths of those who, placed and secured under his control, were not only liable to be overworked by his orders, but were even subject to punishment at his caprice. Soon after the beneficial and important changes consequent upon the abolition of compulsory labour and the introduction of the improved system of administering justice began to be felt, the chiefs, seeing that their tyrannical power and undue influence were thereby abolished, conspired together, and contemplated along with some intriguing priests to overthrow the British power. The highest class did not perceive any immediate benefit to themselves from the new system of liberal policy, and were naturally jealous of the advantages conferred on the great body of the people, whom they had hitherto held in subjection, but this conspiracy shewed how wise as well as humane was the stroke that had broken the rod of the oppressor; for it was by it that the chiefs were enabled to goad the

[1] The new Governor was instructed to effect reductions in the civil expenditure to the amount of £40,000. a year, and accepted the governorship at a reduced salary. Though he acted throughout with the greatest tact and delicacy, yet the unreasonable character of the persons affected by his measures, led them to give vent to their acrimony by hanging the representative of the Sovereign in effigy. It is almost needless to add that the efficiency of the service was increased.

people into open rebellion against the British Government in 1817—now, in 1834, as not one of their former followers or present dependents would assist in again putting the yoke on their own necks, it was proposed to have recourse to deception, and rouse them during a religious festival by a false announcement, that the British Government had restored forced labour, and abolished the Buddhist religion.

The first object of the disaffected was to possess themselves of the Dalada, but fortunately for the peace of the interior, they were defeated by the watchful activity of the agent of Government and the fidelity of the priests, who were indebted to him for their appointments. Through the exertions and fidelity of Mahawella-tenné, this extensive conspiracy of chiefs and priests was brought under the notice of Government, and as a reward he was appointed to the highest native situation in the Kandian country. Poison and massacre[1] were spoken of as the means to be used against the Europeans, including the Governor and the Agent of Government, and the destruction by fire of the bridge at Paradenia during the flooding of the Mahavellé-ganga, with a view to cut off a retreat from Kandy. But no very definite plan had been fixed, and the utter absurdity of their views, and the hopelessness of such an attempt would possibly have led to its abandonment, but it was found necessary to check their wild designs, and several of the principal chiefs and a few priests were arrested. The diabolical plan had been matured with a secrecy which, considering the numbers to whom it was necessarily entrusted, is truly surprising. Circumstances soon occurred which gave grounds for acting on the suspicions preferred. Among the principal conspirators were Molligoddé, first Adigaar, brother to the former minister of the same name, Dunawille[2] Dissave, commonly known by the name of Loco Bandas, Raddegodde Lekam, and a native officer of the Ceylon

1 The particulars of this conspiracy are given by Lieut. de Butts. "It was arranged that one of the principal chiefs should invite the Governor to a grand entertainment, which was to have been given at a house in the neighbourhood of Kandy, and to which all the military officers and civilians resident at that station were to have received a general invitation. In the event of its acceptance, it was settled that the wines should be drugged to such a degree as to stupify all who drank thereof. The gentlemen were then to have been knocked on the head, and the ladies reserved to grace the harems of the conspirators. By supplying the troops of the garrison with arrack *ad libitum*, it was confidently hoped that the vinous propensities of the European soldiery would soon put a large proportion of them *hors de combat*, and that the remainder, surprised and without officers, would offer but a faint and ineffectual resistance."

2 Dunawille Dissave, or Loco Bandas, was a son of a wife of Millawa, Dissave of Welassé, who died a state prisoner at Colombo in 1822. Loco Bandas, then a mere youth, accompanied his father to Colombo, where he was arrested. Here he was sent to an English school, where he made tolerable progress in acquiring a knowledge of the English language. He was also much noticed by the officers of the garrison, by which means he learned to speak the language rather fluently. Shortly after Millawa died, his reputed son returned to his paternal residence, Dunawille, about eight miles from Kandy, and married in 1824. His time was chiefly spent in attending the court of the Civil Commissioner at Kandy. Occa-

Regiment. One of the circumstances which seemed to have been a bond of union amongst those who at least contemplated treason, was, that the charter of justice, by putting all power of punishment in the hands of the District Courts, and introducing the English criminal law, effectually prevented the ill-treatment of slaves, and rendered their services of much less value. The open and even violent manner in which several Europeans declaimed against the abolition of compulsory labour and the other benefits conferred upon the mass of the people in Ceylon, no doubt had its effect on the chiefs, and in some degree palliates their offence, which was little more than arranging to destroy improvements, which some of their superiors too openly condemned.

In January, 1835, several chiefs and priests were tried for treason before a judge of the Supreme Court, and a jury composed of six Europeans and seven natives of high rank from the maritime provinces. The prisoners had objected to being tried by Kandians (even chiefs), and the event justified their foresight; the evidence against them was strong and conclusive, but they were acquitted through the ingenuity of the counsel employed in their defence and the notorious leaning of the jury; though several of their own body had been brought forward as witnesses against them on the part of the Crown. The Europeans were unanimous for conviction, but the seven natives were of a contrary opinion, and the prisoners were acquitted. No evil consequences ensued from this verdict, and the people learned from the trial what would have been attempted against their new liberties. The chiefs whom the evidence had proved to be unworthy of confidence were removed from office, and those who had been instrumental in detecting the schemes of the conspirators[1] were rewarded. The schemes in question, in addition

sionally he was employed in court as an interpreter, and was ultimately appointed to a situation under Government. He was certainly the most active, if not the most talented of all the conspirators. In 1845 he was assistant-superintendent of police at Kandy.

[1] The disaffected persons at one time seem to have intended to adopt a legal mode of seeking redress for the grievances under which they considered themselves to labour, by forwarding a memorial to England, to be presented to the King by delegates, who might be able to give detailed information on its several topics. The principal grounds of the dissatisfaction of the chiefs were, "the abolition of some appointments of rank and consequence, and the diminution of other rights and emoluments." They also alluded to their apprehension of the probable abolition of the ancient and honourable offices of first and second Adigaar, Dissave, &c., which were instituted in times of high antiquity, and had always been regarded with veneration as accessories of the constitution of the country, and on the attainment of which the perpetuation of the honour and consideration of the noblest families of the country depended.

Nor could the Kandian chiefs and the nation in general conceive how they had deserved so great a misfortune. They prayed also, "that as they voluntarily ceded their country and transferred their allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, their loyalty and services since might meet with generous consideration, and that such consideration might operate so far in favour of the Kandians, as to save their country

to those already detailed, embraced the restoration to the throne of some alleged relative of the deposed King of Kandy; the procural of assistance from Siam and France, and the seduction from their allegiance of the Ceylon Rifles. Following the common views of government in oriental countries, the conspirators wished to have a king to rule over them for the purpose of promoting their power and influence, and preserving their ancient institutions and usages, without contemplating any limitation or restriction to his despotic authority.

The great changes recommended by the commissioners of inquiry had been only a short time introduced, when an immense improvement in the condition of the people, as well as in the face of the country, became apparent, for increased cultivation of grain by the natives, and the formation of coffee and other plantations by them and Europeans was the natural consequence of destroying the monopoly of a nation's labour.

Sir R. W. Horton was succeeded by the Right Honourable Stewart Mackenzie in 1837. Though the administration of the latter was but of short duration, it was as valuable to Ceylon in an intellectual, as that of Sir Edward Barnes had been in an industrial and material point of view, and the plans which he had devised for the improvement of the country, so far as he had time to carry them into effect, were important and valuable. Both the privileges and the thraldom of castes or classes of population were now abolished, and civil liberty established among all ranks. The poorer by this means acquired valuable rights, while the importance and dignity of the wealthier were diminished. "The native landed proprietors," says Mr. Mar-

from dismemberment, and from being incorporated with the maritime districts, so that it might continue to subsist in its ancient integrity as the kingdom of Kandy, and retain its celebrated name of Singhala." Should, however, their native offices be deemed no longer necessary and abolished, the petitioners craved the enactment of an ordinance to the effect that such of their countrymen as have held, or were eligible to hold, the aforesaid native offices, should be also eligible at present to serve the office of Assistant Government Agent, inasmuch as they were already conversant with the main duties of such offices, such as the collection of grain, revenue, &c., and that in process of time, such of them as obtained a competent knowledge of the English language and of business should be eligible also to some of the higher civil appointments, and that until such new appointments be made, the present holder of the offices of Adigaar and other superior native appointments should be continued therein with their respective salaries, emoluments, and honours undiminished. The apprehension of the memorialists in regard to the dismemberment of the Kandian country, and the abolition of the offices of first and second Adigaar, was well founded. The ancient kingdom of Kandy was soon incorporated with the maritime provinces, the whole island being divided into five provinces, which have been elsewhere enumerated, and of which the revenue and judicial departments are chiefly administered by Europeans. A few Kandians continue to be employed in subordinate situations, where they have little influence. The higher posts and the chief objects of a laudable ambition are by our assumption of the government of the country, and the defective qualifications of the natives, at present placed beyond the attainments of its indigenous population, with some exceptions, of every class and grade.

shall, "were denuded of political power, and deprived of the hope of obtaining personal consideration, except by superior knowledge or the acquisition of riches, modes of attaining distinction, to which they have not been trained, and to which they are little disposed. Dissatisfaction is therefore to be expected for some time, as no effectual attempt has yet been made to equalize the privileges and immunities of the two races, and the distinction between the Europeans and indigenous inhabitants is as wide as ever. The poorer classes of the Kandians, moreover, have not been much accustomed to continuous exertion, and rarely hire themselves as labourers, so that they reap comparatively little benefit from the capital invested in the cultivation of sugar and coffee by Europeans."

Sir Colin Campbell succeeded the Right Honourable Stewart Mackenzie in 1841. His administration was distinguished by no remarkable political event, and will chiefly be remembered for the success obtained by the coffee planters, the rapid increase of plantations in consequence, and the prohibition issued to the civil servants, forbidding the acquisition of land for agricultural pursuits, and enjoining them to dispose of that already in their possession, the twofold duties of their official and agricultural callings, being rightly deemed incompatible. Attempts were made by some Kandians to excite insurrection so late as 1842, and menaces have even been thrown out in later years, but the complete communication between the maritime and central provinces has left the metalled impress of our power in so unmistakeable a form, that the Kandian tiger is fain to repose in his lair, and gnash his teeth over the recollection of his abortive and treacherous efforts to regain his independence.

In 1847, Lord Viscount Torrington was selected as the successor of Sir Colin Campbell. With two or three exceptions, every preceding Governor had been of the military profession, great expectations have therefore been formed of the advantages likely to be derived by Ceylon from the milder and more benignant sway of a civilian. I confess I am not disposed to coincide with those who hold the progress of Ceylon under British rule to have been unexceptionable. On the contrary, it has been sluggish to a degree. To judge of the great results that might have been accomplished, and to compare them with those which have been accomplished, it is only necessary to call to mind that Ceylon comprises within herself, in an absolute plethora, every production that can minister to the wants of man; that no country in the world possesses so small a portion of land unfit for cultivation, that the present wants of nineteen-twentieths of her population, consisting of fruits and the simplest vegetable diet, may almost literally be reached at arm's-length. But I might fill pages, if I were to specify the singular advantages of this magnificent island. I will rather ask the intelligent reader whether, after a consideration of those I have already adduced, he will not concur with me in the opinion that results very little short of those which have

been already attained, might have been expected from Ceylon under the sway of any of the foremost Governments of Europe, which should have united in its hands the final possession of the whole island, and bestowed therewith the blessings of European order and security. So long as a Governor of any one of the British colonies shall remain fettered in the most minute operations of his policy by a bureaucracy at home, responsible only to a legislature, which has never taken a world-wide grasp of the empire so fortuitously placed under its protection; and that legislature is responsible in its turn to a nation of the most localised character—a nation which has seldom or never ventured to peer out of the narrow circle of its insular domains, which has ever generalized on generalities in reference to its colonial dominions, till it has evoked the mingled contempt and indignation of its adventurous children there located; so long, I say, as this and the other evils to which I have elsewhere alluded shall continue, no grand result can possibly be expected to arise, in any way commensurate with the capacities of the Anglo-Saxon race, or the capabilities of the countries it occupies.

END OF PART THE FIRST.

PART II.

ILLUSTRATIVE OF SINGHALA, OR THE ANCIENT KINGDOM OF KANDY, UNDER ITS NATIVE DYNASTY.

It may be well to remind the reader in as few words as possible, that the ancient kingdom of Singhala, which was dismembered in 1833, *comprised the whole interior of the island, that is the whole country, with the exception of the belt of coast called the maritime provinces, which varied in breadth from eight to thirty miles in different parts, but in the north of the island was sixty miles deep, and included the district of the Wanny. If the reader has not already caught the relative proportions of each, I will further illustrate them by a peach, which resembles the configuration of the island. The fruit will be the maritime provinces, the stone the late Kandian dominions. When the country was dismembered, therefore, a considerable slice was severed from its northern, southern, eastern and western confines, and incorporated with the several British provinces of the same name; but the upper and mountainous country, with an area of about* 3000 *square miles, that is about one-eighth of the area of the whole island, is still called the Central Province. According to Casie Chitty, ancient Singhala had an area of* 14,144 *square miles, and the maritime provinces under the Dutch and British, an area of* 10,520 *square miles.*

CHAP. I.

Laws of the Singhalese—Founded on custom and unwritten—Usury—Mode of taking oaths—Modes of ordeal and detection of thieves—Crimes and their Punishments—Courts of Judicature, the Gamsabae, Rattasabae, the Supreme Court of Appeal, the Sakê ballanda or Court of Inquisition—Property and its divisions—Rights of inheritance—Insolvency and its result.

UNDER the Kandian dynasty, the national laws,[1] or rather customs, by which most questions were determined, were liable to be infringed at the pleasure and caprice of the King, and were not, as has been

[1] It is remarked by Mr. Knighton, "that we have a certain and distinct intimation in the history of the reign of Daapuloo III. (A.D. 797) of the compilation of a code of laws, which were transmitted to posterity with the greatest care." But he continues, "although this is the only case in which the composition of a code of laws seems to be explicitly referred to, yet the frequent commendation of the various sovereigns in the native histories for their just administration of the laws on the one hand, and the frequent condemnation of those who administered them unjustly on the other, leave no manner of doubt but that they were kept constantly in view, and generally promulgated." From this view, plausible as it may appear, I must venture to dissent, in the absence of more conclusive reasoning and evidence, because it is clear that it was equally opposed to the genius of the king and the priesthood—the two fountains of law—to determine by a specific and definitive code, customs, which took their tone as much from the pressure of circumstances and the contingencies of the moment, as from any prescriptive rights.

supposed by some writers, the laws of Menu or Manu, as possessed by the Hindoos and Burmese. They might possibly have had fragments of those laws, but they were little known and seldom or never followed. "There are no laws," says Knox, "but the will of the king, and whatsoever proceeds out of his mouth is an immutable law; nevertheless, they have certain usages and customs that do prevail and are observed as laws; and pleading them in their courts, and before their governors, will go a great way." Causes in dispute were decided according to ancient custom, and the common principles of equity acknowledged by all mankind, but in practice, whenever a case was in any degree complicated, or the right doubtful, it was generally decided in favour of the party who bribed highest, and in vulgar language gave the most valuable boolat sooraloo. The literal meaning of this phrase implies a mouthful of betel. Both parties usually bribed a judge, but he who lost his cause was entitled to have his boolat sooraloo returned.

No man could marry a woman who had run away from her husband, before the husband had married another woman.

Usury was not permitted under the native dynasty, and even in the last reign, where the most unbridled licentiousness found favour, a complaint was no sooner made to the King, that his relations were lending money at 40 per cent. than he arrested the evil. The Moors, who are still the principal money-lenders in the interior, were allowed to receive an annual interest of 20 per cent. When the Singhalese lent money, it was on condition that it should be returned with 50 per cent. of increase, without reference to time, the interest being the same for twelve months as for twelve years. Paddy and salt, the two great necessaries of life, were occasionally lent on nearly similar terms. The creditor, however, was entitled to seize any property of his debtor's, and could sell his wife and children if he failed to repay at the end of a year.

In ambiguous cases, both parties had to take an oath in the temple[1]

[1] Knox gives a remarkable instance of the accidents arising from this uncertain mode of arriving at the truth, which took place during his captivity. "A slave was accused by a merchant of having robbed his house, whereupon, to clear himself, the slave desired he might be allowed to swear at the temple. On their arrival there, the merchant swore positively as to the identity of the robber, and the slave swore as positively to his innocence! As neither party had any witnesses, God was besought to shew a judgment upon him that was forsworn. The accuser and accused then departed home, waiting to see upon whom the judgment would fall; in the meantime, the slave privately set the merchant's house on fire, and it was burnt down to the ground. It now appeared clear by this supposed divine judgment that the merchant had perjured himself: the slave demanded satisfaction for the false accusation; the merchant, though puzzled and bewildered, refused; he was allowed, therefore, to take his own satisfaction, as opportunity offered, and his master bade him seize upon the merchant's person, or something belonging to him, and bring them to his house, and there detain them. Shortly after the slave seeing a relative of the merchant's passing by, attempted to seize him. He, however, sooner than be taken, drew his knife, and stabbing the slave

before the images of their gods. This oath was accompanied, according to Valentyn, with the most imposing solemnities, the vengeance of heaven being invoked on the head of the perjurer. In this case, the party to whom any misfortune first occurred, as the death of a wife, child, or cattle, was supposed to be under the displeasure of the gods, was pronounced the perjurer, and suffered accordingly. The form of ministration in boiling oil and burning cowdung (the other mode of ordeal) was such as might appal even those who were supported by the consciousness of innocence. Before the oath was taken a permission from the magistrate had to be obtained. Both parties after washing their heads and bodies, were shut up together for the night, and rigidly watched. Each of them had a cloth bound round his right hand, which was sealed, in order that the sensibility of the organ to the action of the fire might not be deadened by sorcery or other means. On the morning of the ordeal, the parties, after arraying themselves in their best attire, and with the written license of the magistrate fastened to their wrists, repaired to a place under the Bogaha tree, where the boiling oil and burning cowdung were placed for the occasion. There both the plaintiff and defendant in the presence of the spectators called God to witness their innocence. The cloths with which their hands were enveloped, were now unloosened, and two of the fingers of each were dipped three times successively into the burning cowdung and boiling oil. After this part of the ceremony had been performed, the hands were bound with the same cloths as before, and the parties watched till the following day. The bandages were then removed, and the ends of the fingers examined in order to see if the skin had peeled off. If that was the case, the guilt of the person was thought to be established, and he was accordingly condemned to pay a heavy fine to the emperor. We are not informed as to the expedient employed to determine the question in dispute, when the fingers of both parties had been alike flayed and blistered by the boiling oil. This, of course, would usually happen, but the priests probably had some secret means of protecting the individual whom they wished to favour, and thus of preserving at the same time the high authority of the ordeal in the estimation of the multitude. The more intelligent of the natives, when formerly questioned as to their opinion of the real efficacy of this test, have disclaimed a belief that truth could in most cases be discovered through the intervention of the gods, and have confessed that the result was accidental, and not to be relied on. On more common occasions, when desirous of confirming any assertion by an oath, they swore by the eyes of their mother or their children, or by their own eyes, but little dependence could be placed on such modes of adjura-

on the shoulder, made his escape. But in the end the merchant was compelled to bribe the judges to protect himself from loss, and had to sit down contented with the loss of his goods and house, though the slave was a person of infamous character, and had before committed numerous thefts."

tion, as a love of truth is not one of the most prominent features in the Singhalese character.

When a robbery was committed, the Singhalese believed they could detect the thief by the following mode of sorcery. They muttered some magical words over a cocoa-nut, which was held in the hand by the stalk, and placed at the gate or opening where the robber made his escape. After the cocoa-nut had been thus enchanted, it was said to follow the track of the thief till it reached his person, or arrived at his house. By this means numerous impositions were practised upon the simple, and various false accusations urged, where any ill will was felt, or any pique was to be gratified. Robbery was far from uncommon among the Singhalese. On detection, the culprit was obliged to restore the stolen property or its value; was fined in a certain sum, which was divided between the judge and the plaintiff; was sometimes imprisoned, and was often besides punished with a flogging, either with the hand, the rattan, or the Adigaar's whip.

The crime of adultery was punished in a very summary manner. The injured husband did not institute a suit at law to recover damages; if he caught the adulterer in his house he might beat him soundly, or even cut off his hair and ears, or have him flogged in public, and his wife flogged in the royal storehouse, the place of punishment for women; after which, by his own statement, he might divorce her, and send her home in disgrace to her family.

Those who violated the laws were liable to be punished by fine or imprisonment. If the fine were not immediately paid, the individual was deprived of his sword, knife, cap, and doublet, and kept in confinement. If the payment were still deferred, he was condemned to carry a heavy stone upon his back till it was discharged. Besides these, other expedients were employed to enforce the payment of a debt, one of the most efficacious of which was the creditor threatening to destroy himself by poison, and load the soul of the debtor with the guilt of his death. By such means also they would threaten to revenge themselves on any with whom they had disputes, and would jump down some steep place, or make away with themselves for the same purpose. None of the great officers of the Government had power to inflict any capital punishment without the King's permission, or to pass any sentence of death without his previous approbation.

The punishment of death was usually carried into effect by hanging or impaling, the bodies being subsequently exposed or hung in chains. Men of rank were decapitated with a sword, while they sat on the ground; losing the head being, as with us, considered the most honourable mode of receiving capital punishment. Elephants were frequently made executioners. For this purpose they had a sharp iron with a socket with three edges, which they put on the tusks, as the point of the tusks of those kept for the king's service were generally cut to increase their size. These the elephant ran through the body, and then tore it in pieces, throwing it limb from limb. The

crimes punishable with death appear to have been the molestation, persecution, or slaying of parents, teachers, priests, or any other persons; offences against the king; breaking down bo-trees; defacing dágobas; plunder of property belonging to Buddha, the gods, or the king; plunder of villages or highway robbery. Females sentenced to death were enclosed in a sack and thrown into a tank and drowned. For slighter offences, secondary punishments were inflicted, according to the nature of the offence; either by the cutting off the hands, feet, ears, or nose; by fine, imprisonment, or fetters, accompanied by flogging with a rattan, or the Adigaar's whip. In some cases red flowers and the bones of oxen were suspended about the body of the culprit, whose hands being tied behind his back, he was flogged until the skin came off upon the rattan, and was then conducted through the principal streets, preceded by the drum of punishment, which was beaten as he went along, and he was made to proclaim the crime of which he had been guilty. Sometimes criminals were sent to the villages where fevers were prevalent, there to risk their lives.

Murder was a crime of very rare occurrence: it was in most cases punished with death, but where there were any extenuating circumstances, the Dissave, for the sake of his own profit, preferred the imposition of a heavy fine on the criminal. When a murder was committed in a house or village, and the murderer could not be detected, the inhabitants were fined as in the instance of a suicide, the amount varying according to circumstances. But if the jungle were the scene of a murder of this kind, no fine was levied; no one at a distance being considered in the least responsible for the prevention of acts of violence in a desert place.

The lowest court of judicature was the Gamsabae,[1] the village council, which was composed of the head of every family resident within its limits, however low his rank or small his property, and decided causes without expense; from this tribunal there was an appeal to the district council, or Ratta-sabae, which consisted of intelligent delegates from each village in the Pattoo, or subdivision of a district, or, as in some cases, inferior magistrates. Village councils, though affording an example of free institutions incompatible, it might be conceived, with the despotism of the supreme government, were indispensable in a country where landed property was so minutely divided, and consanguinity so involved as in Ceylon, where the equal division of property amongst the children and plurality of hus-

[1] The deposed King greatly approved of these courts; but they were discouraged by the chiefs, whose emoluments were reduced by them. When a case was brought before a chief's court, both plaintiff and defendant were obliged to give a boolat sooraloo, in other words a fee or bribe. Sree Wickrama lost his popularity with the principal chiefs in consequence of his having made some severe examples, with the view of restraining their abuse of power, more especially their oppressive manner of administering justice.

bands amongst the women, independent of other causes, offered sufficient reasons for intricacy in the settlement of inheritance. Where dissatisfied with the decision of these courts, the parties might apply to the Koraal, and from the Koraal to the Mohottala, and from him to the Dissave: if still dissatisfied, they might apply to the Adigaar, or even to the King, or if unable from pecuniary reasons to persevere with the suit, they would endeavour to hoard up a sufficient sum, with the intention of bringing it before new officers, who would not hesitate, if well bribed, to reverse the sentence of their predecessors. All officers, from the King to a Vidahn, exercised more or less judicial powers, and each officer of rank, as an Adigaar, Dissave, Ratté Mahatmeya, held an independent court, in which, with the exception of appeal, he acted without check or control, and always in the two-fold attributes of judge of law and fact.

The High Court of Judicature was composed of the two Adigaars, the four Maha Disapatis or Dissaves, the Maha Mohottala, and such persons of rank as were constantly in attendance on the King. The above-mentioned grandees assembled in the Hall of Justice, and tried the suits submitted for their investigation. If any cause came before them which they were incompetent to determine, they proceeded to the Magul Maduwa, a hall elegantly fitted up near to the King's palace, and there entered into the trial of such causes, the King himself being present, and seated on the throne.

The only other high court composed of individuals was the Sakè-ballanda, which consisted of the principal men of a district, as the Lekam, Koraal, Vidahn, and had duties to perform analogous to those of a coroner in England. When a dead body was discovered, no one could touch it till it had been examined by the Sakè-ballanda, not even if the body were hanging, though by cutting it down suspended animation might possibly be restored. It was the business of these officers to endeavour to ascertain the cause of death and all the circumstances connected with it. In a case of suicide occurring in a village, the suicide having been of sound mind, or subject to temporary fits only of insanity, the Sakè-ballanda inflicted a fine on the inhabitants of fifty riddies, which was divisible among these officers and the Dissave, ten to the former, five to a Lekam if present, and the remainder to the Dissave, nor could the corpse be either burnt or buried until the fine was paid—a prohibition that insured its payment—for a much heavier fine was inflicted on those who allowed a corpse to decompose unburied or unburnt. If the suicide were a confirmed idiot or lunatic, no fine was imposed. In the first case, the inhabitants were punished for want of attention to an individual who required it, and whose life might have been preserved, had such attention been paid; while in the latter they were excused, because it was not inferred that they had spare time to watch individuals who required incessant vigilance.

Property was divided into two distinct kinds in Ceylon, variously

denominated addrawyawat or incorporeal, and drawyawat, corporeal or substantial. The first of these comprehended all rights of inheritance, titles, privileges, immunities, rank, reputation, caste, &c. The last a quadripartite division of substantial property, comprising things moveable, things immoveable, things animate, things inanimate. These, if lawfully obtained by descent, purchase, labour, or as free gifts, were the sole property of the possessor, of which no other man, however great or high, could deprive him.

The laws relating to the property of those who died intestate, seem to have been just and equitable. In the case of the married man, his goods descended to his nearest relative in preference to his wife, while property received from an adopted father or mother, descended to their heirs-at-law. In the case of the childless father, however, who had adopted an infant and reared it as his own, the widow received half his goods, while the adopted son or daughter might legally claim the other. Heir-looms, such as weapons of war, gold trinkets, frontlets, or honorary gifts, descended not to the widow, on her husband's dying intestate, but to the rightful heir of his ancestral property. The right of inheritance possessed by the eldest son was unknown in Ceylon, and on the death of the father the landed property descended, unless otherwise disposed of, in the more equitable manner of a division amongst all. Where the right of primogeniture was allowed, the individual was obliged to support the mother and children. On entering the priesthood, a son forfeited all claim to his rights of inheritance, as he could not legally beget children to whom it might afterwards descend, but in the event of his not entering on that profession till his father's death, the land previously acquired remained his own.

We have shewn elsewhere the disabilities under which a violation of caste subjected the woman, and in the disposition of property, they were no less severe and oppressed. "If," says the stern edict of intolerance, "a daughter degrades herself by becoming the wife of a man of any tribe or caste inferior to her own, she thereby forfeits all right to inherit property of any kind from her parents or other relations; and if her degradation happened subsequently to the demise of her parents, she then forfeits the landed property she may have inherited from her ancestors, which will forthwith pass from her to her legitimate children, or in default of those, to her brothers and sisters."

Insolvency among the Singhalese was very cruelly dealt with; slavery was its consequence. The creditor applied to the Dissave or Raté-mahatmeya, and having proved his claims just, and the debtor having acknowledged his inability to meet them, leave was granted to the former to make the debtor and his family his slaves, and to retain them and their offspring in slavery till payment of the debt were made. The debtor could not be sold, but if he died, leaving his children in slavery, they and their children might be sold. No

interest was allowed to accumulate for the original debt, the labour of the slaves being considered an equivalent. In respect to slavery, there was no privileged caste; it was a punishment to which all insolvent debtors were liable. It was not usual for the Goewansé to become the slaves of people of low caste, when in danger of this degradation, some chief generally paid the debt, and made the debtors his slaves.

CHAPTER II.

Slavery in Ceylon—Its origin—Forbidden by the national religion—How probably introduced and legalised—In what part of the Island predominating—Slight mention of its existence in any of the Native Chronicles—Castes to which slaves belonged—Their treatment in general merciful and humane—Measures taken for the regulation of Slavery on the advent of the British—Re-introduction of the system by the Marquis of Wellesley—Measures of Governor North—Offer of manumission by the Dutch and native proprietors of the offspring of all Slaves born on and after the birth-day of the Prince Regent in 1816—Number of Slaves in 1817 and 1838 respectively—Ordinances for the registration of Slaves—Non-observance of them on the part of the native proprietors—Gradual manumission of Slaves—Finally accomplished in 1845.

THE origin of slavery in Ceylon may be traced to a source common to all Eastern countries, yet one but little in unison with the baneful and nefarious system pursued in the Western hemisphere.

The slaves were of four kinds:

1. Slaves by birth.
2. Those sold into slavery in infancy by their inhuman parents.
3. Those sentenced to slavery by the King; women who by gross misconduct had lost caste; captives taken in war; and those brought by slave dealers and sold as slaves.
4. Those who had of their own accord bartered their liberty for a fixed price.

The first class, that is, slaves by birth, included all the offspring of female slaves, whether their fathers were bond or free, and *vice versâ*, the offspring of free women were equally entitled to freedom, so that the civil condition of the mother commonly determined that of the progeny. The distinctions which they observed with respect to the freedom of the free-born in their connexion with the enslaved were subtle and remarkable. Hence, if a freeman enamoured of a female slave belonging to another man, spent an undue time with her, the owner could claim his services during that period, however long it might be, while the latter might depart whenever he pleased, subject to the relinquishment of all the property acquired during the progress of the amour.

In the second case, the wife in Ceylon had a voice in the disposal of her children, who were released from the authority of both parents on reaching the age of discretion.

The third class arose from the severity of the Singhalese laws in reference to women enjoying the illicit intercourse of the lower castes of the opposite sex. In such cases, the relations of the frail one were at full liberty to put her to death, or to hand her over as a female slave to the King for the remainder of her life. At certain periods

the number of slaves was increased by the stringent operation of the laws, or by the pressure of periodical returns of scarcity. Thus, all debts were doubled in the course of two years, and the man who had no means of paying them passed into slavery with his wife and children. Thieves who could not make a seven-fold restitution became slaves. Old people, also, who had contracted debts which they were unable to pay, bartered their children for the amount, or pawned them as a security for payment. Slaves were in general deemed to belong to the Wallu, one of the low castes, but this was subdivided into three or more denominations, Covias, Nalluas and Pallas.

In the management of slaves, the restrictions of caste could not be neglected by the owner. Thus, though in certain cases he was free to inflict any punishment short of mutilation or death, he could not compel the woman to receive the addresses of a man of an inferior caste, whether bond or free. Knox further informs us, that slave owners permitted their slaves to hold land and cattle, both of which were frequently so improved by the industry of the latter, that except in dignity they were scarcely inferior to their masters. Though they were not permitted to hold slaves themselves, yet their masters never attempted to deprive them of the fruits of their labours, but encouraged the diligent as persons in whom they could confide. Hence, when they bought, or otherwise procured a new slave, their first care was to provide him with a wife, with a view to his settlement and attaching him to the spot.

Slaves born of hondrew parents, retained the honour of their degree. The silence of the native chronicles in respect of those in a state of servitude, may also be urged as indicative of the mildness of their ordinary treatment. Under other circumstances, the round of civil commotion and turbulence would have been varied by servile insurrections, which could not have failed, on account of the pusillanimity of the contending parties, to have wrought a change in their respective positions, and thus have attracted the notice of the historiographer.

By the mild precepts of the Buddhist religion, the trafficking in human beings, and even the retention of a fellow-creature in bondage, were discountenanced, if not forbidden. We must look, then, to a different quarter of the island than that possessed by the native Singhalese, in order to discover the chief seat and origin of the system; for though the existence of degraded castes among the latter people might at first sight appear to warrant us in concluding that slavery was there demonstrated under another name, yet the separate and distinct mode of life from the people among whom they dwelt, practised by these people, and their freedom to depart whenever and whithersoever they pleased, are at variance with ally such opinion. At the time of the Malabar invasions, the number of slaves received great accessions; for whichever of the two nations chanced to come off ultimately victorious in the successive struggles, there is reason to

infer, that the issue generally left the enslaved in the condition in which they had been previously found. A regular slave traffic doubtless, moreover, existed between the Malabars on the northern division of the island and the same people on the continent—a circumstance which helps to account for the concentration of the slave population, to so remarkable an extent, in the northern province.

The mode of treatment appears somewhat to have varied in the Kandian and northern provinces. In the latter, the Covia, Nallua, and Pallas were employed in cultivating the land, tending the cattle, and collecting produce from the trees. The Covias alone were used as domestic slaves. When the cultivators were employed by their own masters, either in their fields or at their feasts, the persons actually employed alone were fed; in some instances the cultivators were allowed a share of the produce of the land, particularly when they cultivated tobacco, or any plant requiring continual attention and daily labour in the watering and preserving; and when slaves served for their own individual interest, either as cultivators of paddy or high lands with cocoa-nut trees, the proprietors of the ground, not being their masters, usually granted them a share of the crop or the trees grown. Many of the slaves were very opulent, and generally speaking they had land, either by purchase, acquisition, or gift from their masters. As they were not continually in their proprietors' employ, they acquired sufficient when they served others to provide their families with support on the days they attended their masters' call. For the rearing their children, they received by established custom five fanams and a piece of cloth, six cubits in length, at each time of the woman's confinement. In other respects the parents supported their children independent of their masters.

In the Kandian provinces, there is some reason to infer that some of the subordinate castes were originally slaves, who in the revolutions of the country were left to provide for their own support, and were recognised on the footing of servile castes, deriving their subsistence from the land. Personal slavery, however, had become nearly extinct in the maritime provinces in 1820. Viewed generally, slavery in Ceylon may be said to have been the mildest possible condition of slavery, and the Kandian slaves in particular were valued, not in consideration of the labour executed by them, but in great measure as the appendages of rank, and for the performance of certain services, which, being considered a badge of slavery, could not be obtained for hire. In many cases great numbers of slaves became owners of property, and subsisted by their own industry, totally unnoticed by the nominal owner. It is also to be observed, that the menial services rendered by slaves were in most instances the only available and adducible proof of title before a court of law; for though documentary titles did exist in the country in cases of transfers or testamentary bequests of slaves, there was no public register or other authentic record, whereby the title of proprietorship was

defined. Slaves in the Kandian provinces were all personal property; and not attached to the soil, but liable to perform any service the owner might think proper to require of them. Some were retained for domestic purposes, others located on land and employed as nilakarayas, or otherwise, at the pleasure of the proprietor.

The most important services rendered by slaves were the laying out the corpse on the death of a member of the family, and executing every thing necessary at the funeral; whatever might be the amount of incidental emoluments, none but slaves would take the same; a free ratta person, of whatever degree, would neither do such service at a funeral, nor accept of the perquisites allotted on such an occasion, because such perquisites were made from ancient times appropriate to slaves only; no people even of low caste, except gahaleyas, would accept such an office, and if the latter were hired to perform the offices of sepulture, the family of the deceased would have been dishonoured. On the death of a person of a chief's family who possessed no slaves, a relation who had slaves sent them to remove the corpse; among ratta people who possessed no slaves, the relatives themselves buried their dead, but a person of a chief's family could not do such a thing. The conveyance of firewood to the walanwe, &c. could be imposed on none but slaves; no free person of any degree could be so employed.

Frequently they were advanced to offices on the estate, but these arrangements were not considered permanent, the manner of employing slaves being entirely at the option of the owner, and he might abandon them, according to Mr. Sawer, to starvation, even while in a state of destitution. They were competent to acquire and possess landed and immovable property independent of their masters, and dispose of it by will or otherwise; but on a slave's dying intestate, his owner became his heir-at-law, and inherited all his lands and effects. They were in every respect held equally competent with a freeman to give evidence in a court of law, and were not unfrequently called upon to be witnesses to transactions where their owners were concerned. By the laws and customs of the country, a master had the power of punishing his slaves by torture with the red-hot iron, in any way short of maiming or death. The punishments usually inflicted were flogging, confinement in stocks or irons, cutting off their hair, and, when very refractory, selling them. Cruelty to a slave, however, was scarcely known, and they were treated more as adopted dependants of the family than menials. Indeed, there was no object for ill-using them. The owners were the principal landed proprietors of the country, who confined their agricultural pursuits merely to the supply of grain for the use of their families and retainers; there was thus no inducement for overworking, or otherwise ill-treating them. Slaves were seldom sold or families separated, but when given as a marriage portion, or on the demise of the proprietor, when, in common with the rest of the deceased's property,

they were distributed among his heirs. In all cases, however, every consideration was paid to the feelings of slaves thus disposed of. The established value of slaves was, for a male, without reference to age, 50 ridies, or £1. 13*s*. 4*d*.; for a female, 100 ridies, or £3. 6*s*. 8*d*.

The first interference with slavery in Ceylon took place, according to the Bengal political consultations, on the capitulation of Trincomalee to General Stuart, when the word "property," which was secured to the inhabitants, was interpreted by him *not* to extend to slaves, and by analogy to English law and practice, it certainly did not. The Government of Fort St. George, however, thought otherwise, and the slaves who could be found were restored to their proprietors. In adverting to this transaction, in a letter to the Marquis Wellesley, having reference to a proclamation which he proposed issuing for the regulation of domestic slavery in Ceylon, Governor North observes, "It is far from my wish to fix bounds to the authority of a full and independent government, but perhaps a decision so directly repugnant to that system of jurisprudence—the Roman law —on which the public law of Europe is founded, may be considered as an extraordinary act of power; for by that law it is expressly declared that persons once declared free by competent authority, cannot even on false pretences be returned to slavery by any authority whatsoever. The decision, however, having once been made, it is far from my wish to have the grounds of it examined, more especially as in the subsequent capitulations of Jaffnapatam and Colombo, there appears to have been a verbal understanding that 'property' should include slaves. The persons who may remonstrate against it can for the most part obtain their liberty on account of the insufficiency of the proofs of their slavery if they wish it, and those who are lawfully held in slavery may, by a very confined exertion of public or individual charity, easily be delivered from it. I do not think, however, that we are precluded from insisting on the observance of those laws which the Dutch themselves have enacted, nor from modifying them in any manner which would not destroy or materially injure their property. The slaves indeed are individually of little value, as I have reason to know from many valuations by exports, which have been made before me for the purpose of settling their price in cases where the civil law orders either redemption or transfer. While children, they are an absolute burthen to their proprietors, who would wish to part with them, were they not sometimes the object of capricious fondness, as well as of wanton tyranny. The small sum I propose to offer for their maintenance till they are able to provide for themselves, is the same that is allowed by the committee charged with the administration of charitable funds for orphans and destitute children."

The scandalous manner in which the unhappy persons, whom it is the principal object of the proposed regulation to protect, are treated

in general by their masters and mistresses of every nation, caste, and religion within these settlements, renders it a positive duty of Government to delay as little as possible the adoption of strong measures for their relief. He suggested, therefore, among other things, that slaves should be admitted to give testimony on oath before tribunals. His regulation also provided for an efficient registry. Its principal provisions, however, were borrowed from the statutes of Batavia, and from the Khoran, [whose commentators have endeavoured to soften the rigours of slavery, where they have established its lawfulness;] as the principal class of the slave proprietors were of the Mahomedan religion. The loose manner in which claims to the possession of slaves were put forward is thus alluded to: "In disputed cases, not more than six owners out of a hundred produced slave bonds properly authenticated, or such as a Dutch tribunal would have received. In many cases no papers at all were existing; in others, simple testamentary devices, proving the opinion of the defunct as to his power over the slaves bequeathed, have been insisted on, not as a collateral but positive proof of the slavery of the person claimed under it; and in the district of Batecalo, the assertion that a child was sold by his parents in a famine was urged before me as the right on which the greater part of the slaves in that province, as well as their posterity, had for some time past been held." Some suspicions, moreover, existed that a traffic in slaves was carried on between the northern province and the Malabar coast, a recollection of which probably induced Mr. Jeremie twenty years later to conclude that it was still in existence. Benevolent as was the design of Governor North, there is no evidence that any advantage accrued to the slave population from his regulations. The number of slaves in the colony previous to 1806 cannot be ascertained from official documents, though they are believed to have been a numerous body. In August 1806, General Maitland, with the view of ascertaining who were *bonâ fide* slaves, and to prevent the increase of their number by foreign importations, passed a regulation by which all slaves, not duly registered within four months from that period, were declared free. In May 1808, seventeen months after, it having been found that the regulation had not been generally complied with, the term for registration was extended for a period of six months longer. This regulation was, like the preceding, neglected, but the penalty of forfeiture consequent thereon was never exacted.

In 1816, a plan was suggested by the Chief Justice, Sir Alexander Johnston, to the Dutch and native proprietors of domestic slaves in the Singhalese districts of the maritime provinces, by which all children born of slaves on and after the birth-day of the Prince Regent, the 12th of August, 1816, should be unconditionally emancipated. Having met with the warm concurrence of General Sir R. Brownrigg, the governor, the proprietors of slaves assembled, and offered an address to the throne declarative of their disposition to meet

the philanthropic views of their fellow-subjects in Great Britain on this subject, which was confirmed by the Prince Regent, and carried into effect. At this period the position of domestic slaves was much to be preferred to that of hired servants or free labourers, whose wages seldom exceeded sixpence for twelve hours' labour.

A further set of regulations for securing to certain children emancipated by the proprietors the full benefit of such proprietor's intentions, and for establishing an efficient registry of all slaves, and abolishing the joint tenure of property in the same, was issued by Sir Robert Brownrigg, August 1818. The period allowed for making the registry was within three months from the date of this regulation, *viz.* to the 5th of Nov. 1818. The penalty for non-registration was the forfeiture of slave or slaves and their children, who in that case were to be declared absolutely free.

In a dispatch from Lord Bathurst, June 1817, in which his Lordship recommended the foregoing registration, he says, "The more rigidly its provisions are enforced, the more will it meet my cordial concurrence."

The number of slaves in Jaffnapatam and Trincomalee at this period was estimated as follows:—Domestics, 2000; Covia, Nallua, and Palla, 20,000. Total, 22,000.

From the promulgation of the foregoing regulation to the 10th of May, 1820, a period of nearly three years, we have no report of the progress of the measures contemplated by it, but the express promise of the slave proprietors, ratified by a Government ordinance, was totally disregarded, and no penalty was inflicted.

In May 1821, however, after having elicited the opinions of the several members of his council, Sir E. Barnes informed Lord Bathurst of the passage of a regulation for the gradual emancipation of all female children of the Covia, Nallua, and Palla castes, by the purchase of their masters' interest in such female slave child at the period of their birth. The date of the regulation was the 17th of April, 1821, and its enactments were to have force from the 24th of April, 1821, the time of his Majesty's (George III.) birth-day. The price to be paid was the sum of three rix-dollars, if the mother was of the Covia caste, and two rix-dollars if she was of the Nallua or Palla caste. The number of grown-up females of these castes was reckoned at that period to be 9000. Annual number of births of female children estimated at 2500.

In a report from Lieut.-Colonel Colebrooke, one of her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry upon the Administration of the Government of Ceylon, dated 24th December, 1831, it is mentioned that the number of slaves in the Jaffna district was 15,350 in 1824. The number of domestic slaves in the maritime provinces did not exceed 1000, and they were chiefly the property of the Dutch inhabitants, who in 1816 agreed to enfranchise the children born of them after that date. The number of children thus registered was, in 1816, 96.

The number of female children who in 1829 had been purchased by the Government, under the regulation of 1821, was 2211; and the number of slaves who had purchased their freedom under the regulation of 1818, either by labour on public works, or otherwise, was 504.

By the provisions of this law the value of the slaves was determined by arbitrators, and it was objected to the regulation of 1821, that the Government should have fixed the sum to be paid for each female child with reference to caste, and at so low a rate as three rix-dollars (4*s*. 6*d*.) for the highest, which the owner was bound to accept. It would have been more just, that as in the case of adult slaves purchasing their freedom, arbitrators should have been appointed to determine the rate. Latterly, the Malabar slaves had not come forward in any numbers to redeem their freedom by purchase, but many children had been enfranchised under the regulation. These laws were objected to by the Malabar proprietors, who complained of the compulsory manumission of their slaves, but as the gradual extinction of slavery in Ceylon promised to be accomplished with so little sacrifice, the regulations of 1818 and 1821, with some modifications, should have been maintained, and their operation extended to the Kandian provinces, where personal slavery to a limited extent also prevailed. From the foregoing, it would appear that the Kandian provinces were excepted from the regulations of 1818 and 1821, though not therein mentioned. From 1831 to 37, we have no information on the subject of slavery in Ceylon, when we find it thus referred to in an extract from a dispatch of Lord Glenelg's to Governor Mackenzie, Oct. 1837: "I regret to think that the evil of slavery still exists in the island, though it be only to a comparatively small extent. The number of slaves is stated to be 27,397, who chiefly reside in the Malabar districts."

It was during the foregoing period that Sir R. W. Horton, Bart. was governor, whose opinion, "That slavery having become little more than a nominal relation, there might be good policy in permitting it to expire silently," was adopted by Lord Glenelg, and a regulation passed, at the instance of Mr. Justice Jeremie, for the triennial verification of the registers, and the registration of the Kandian slaves in 1837, was in consequence allowed to sleep.

At the same time, in an address delivered to the Kandian chiefs in January 1832, the Governor intimated his desire to see a gradual abolition of slavery in their country, as being an object the people of Great Britain had greatly at heart, and suggested a means of obviating the difficulties that had hitherto interposed to a solution of the question, by proposing a system of registration, which by declaring who were and were not slaves, should remove the obstacles by which free persons of low caste were under present circumstances prevented from the performance of menial services for slave proprietors, under the apprehension of being condemned to slavery.

After a due consideration of the Governor's proposal, the Kandian

chiefs met as requested, and the result of their conference was, as might have been expected, adverse to the recommendation of the Government. The motives of their opposition were founded on no express wish to maintain slavery as a system, but rested simply on the ill-grounded fear that they would be unable to command the attendance of emancipated slaves for the performance of duties that had hitherto solely pertained to those in slavery, such as the laying out dead bodies, &c. Hence they entreated the Government to postpone for the period of sixty years a measure so fatal to their hereditary dignity, at the expiration of which they prayed for a compensation equivalent to the value of each slave manumitted.

It has been alleged with some reason, that if the regulation of General Maitland's in 1806 had been strictly enforced, slavery would have ceased long before in Ceylon, and the same observation will apply to the regulations of 1818 and 1821; but the fact was, these provisions had been allowed to become inoperative from the highest motives of policy; for it must be obvious that a stringent enforcement of regulations, which the native proprietors believed to be framed for the express purpose of effecting a quasi compulsory manumission, would have been seized upon with the greatest avidity by the fomentors of rebellion, and have goaded to fury a class of men who had already experienced a sensible loss of influence among their dependants.

The soundness of the reasoning which induced a postponement of the abolition of slavery in the Kandian provinces, until the irritation produced by the abolition of compulsory labour (Government slavery) had worn off, was justified by the result. One of the witnesses, an Adigaar, stated at the trial of some of the leading conspirators in the rebellion of 1834, that he had heard the prisoners express themselves as follows in public: "The Government had attempted to extinguish slavery in the Isle of France, but that the inhabitants had resisted it with success, and that if unanimity existed in Ceylon, the same could be done there. It was impossible to endure these things. If there were to be no slaves, no religion, no respect, how could it be endured? They must look out therefore for something to destroy the Government."

In August 1838, Governor Mackenzie intimated the progress made towards a gradual abolition by means of manumission, and the no less direct engine of the registries. It now, however, became important to press the matter to a conclusion, as the influx of European capitalists and the introduction of coffee and sugar planting threatened to produce a speedy effect on the value of labour, and thus to cause the resumption of slaves, and increase the demands for compensation.

In November 1838, Lord Glenelg thus reverts to the subject, in a despatch to Governor Mackenzie. "I am induced to believe that slavery might be speedily extinguished in Ceylon with little risk and difficulty. It is, indeed, alleged to be merely nominal—a circumstance which must greatly facilitate its extinction. In the event of

compensation being given to the present owners, the pecuniary value of slaves merely in name would be comparatively trifling. Nor is there much weight in the objection to the abolition of slavery drawn from the alleged employment of slaves in the performance of certain offices which free persons cannot be induced to undertake. I apprehend that this is an objection which will continue to be urged so long as slavery exists, but will be found to have been destitute of any valid foundation on its extinction. I am therefore anxious that measures should be immediately taken for effecting the entire abolition at the earliest practicable period, and though unwilling to impose on you specific instructions, an adherence to which might in your judgment be injurious to public interests, yet I have thought it right to convey to you my deliberate opinion, that slavery may be safely terminated more rapidly than by the existing process of gradual manumission. You are directed to this end to transmit as soon as possible, a full and detailed report on the actual state of slavery in every part of the island, comprising an account of the number of slaves now remaining in the island, and of their owners, a statement of the nature of the occupations of the slaves, and any other particulars relative to the subject which may be material to a just and complete consideration of it. Without exciting the expectation that compensation will be granted, I have further to desire that you will send me an estimate of the sum required, which I am informed could easily be borne by the Colonial revenue."

The result of the census of slaves thus made, exclusive of the Seven Korles, was as follows;

	Males.	Females.
Western Provinces	373	332
Southern do.	431	342
Eastern do.	12	11
Northern do.	12,605	11,940
Central do.	687	694
	14,108	13,289=27,397

According to information published by the Anti-Slavery Society, this census would appear to have fallen short of the real number by 10,000.

The subject of the abolition of "all vestiges of slavery," was again pressed on the attention of the local by the Home Government in 1841, and a report of the question, embracing a particular inquiry as to the practicability and prudence of enforcing the penalties for non-registration, was called for without delay. In reply, Sir Colin Campbell, while professing his inability to furnish a report at that time, stated that slavery had become nearly extinct in the Kandian provinces under the operation of the ordinance, and proposed a renewed registration ordinance for the maritime provinces.

In the following year, Lord Stanley censured the Governor for his delay in forwarding the required information as to the state of slavery

in the colony, and for over-riding the express wish of three successive Secretaries of State, by forwarding a new act for the registration of slaves, which in certain cases involved a forfeiture of rights to freedom which had accrued in the interval, when information had been required with a view to ascertaining the policy of an immediate abolition. He directed, moreover, that a suspension of the ordinance should take place until authentic information had been furnished. In the March of the following year, Sir Colin Campbell notified the extinction of slavery in the northern and maritime provinces, without the slightest dissatisfaction or remonstrance on the part of any person whatever, owing to the unwillingness of the slave owners, who were of a parsimonious character, to pay the tax of 3*s*. per head for registration. At the period when Lord Glenelg's dispatch in November, 1838, was received, some excitement prevailed in the northern province on the subject of slavery. Slaves had long been of little value, and they had in consequence been generally neglected by their masters; but some unguarded expressions on the part of Mr. Justice Jeremie had given rise to an expectation of an emancipation act being passed, and compensation granted to the owners. Slave owners began, therefore, to recall to their service their slaves, who had generally been left to seek their own subsistence, and to pay attention to the registrations, which had been neglected. Had the Government at that period interfered in any way, this opinion might have been confirmed, and the abolition of slavery deferred, or rendered unnecessarily difficult and expensive. In consequence, however, of the studied abstinence of the local Government from all interference, the rumour soon died away, and slaves were again generally neglected. Hence a revision of the registers resulted in the discovery, that the Regulation of 1818, which required, under penalty of complete emancipation of the slave, renewed registration upon every change of property, and on every child attaining the age of fourteen years, had been generally neglected. An ordinance for a revised slave registry led to the results before detailed. Perhaps the tone of public opinion had also some weight with the leading people of the country, who had of late years sought intercourse with the resident Europeans and missionaries, whose opinions of them in reference to this matter they were unwilling to offend for such an object, and their example would appear to have been contagious. The ordinance previously sent home by Sir Colin Campbell was, in consequence of these representations, confirmed, and under its influence a sensible decrease in the number of Kandian slaves was soon apparent.

Towards the close of 1845 the final extinction of slavery in Ceylon was carried into effect by order from Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, in consequence of the failure on the part of the Kandian proprietors to comply with the ordinance for the registration of slaves, and nothing in the shape of compensation has ever been received by the proprietor.

CHAPTER III.

Castes—Four great divisions—The Ekshastria or Raja wansé, Brachmina wansé, Wiessia wansé, Kshoodra wansé—Subdivisions.

THOUGH distinctions of caste cannot be said to have been preserved among the Singhalese[1] with the same tenacity as by the Hindoos, which is ascribable in great measure to the disenthralling influence exercised by its various European conquerors, yet it has had as great, and still has a controlling agency over the minds of the people.

Among both peoples the same four principal castes are recognised, differing little but in name and arrangement. The Singhalese denominate them thus: Ekshastria or Raja wansé, royal caste; Brachmina wansé, or Brahmin caste; Wiessia wansé; Kshoodra wansé, or mean caste.

As there are no subdivisions of the two first castes, a desire of usefulness rather than an arbitrary desire of external pomp and barbaric rule having predominated in their first establishment, however prolific in mental and political despotism the two exclusive castes may have subsequently become, we shall pass on to enumerate those of the two remaining castes.

1. WIESSIA WANSÉ.—1. Goewansé or Handuruwo (Wellalé of the maritime provinces,) cultivators. 2. Nillemakareyea, shepherds.
2. KSHOODRA WANSÉ.—1. Karawè, fishermen. 2. Chandos, or Duravos, toddy drawers. 3. Achari, iron smiths. 4. Hannawli, tailors. 5. Badda hela baddè, potters. 6. Ambattea people, barbers. 7. Rada baddè, washermen. 8. Hälee, Chalias, or cinnamon peelers, called also Maha baddè. 9. Hakooroo, jaggery makers. 10. Hunubaddè, chunam or lime burners. 11. Pannayo, grass cutters. 12. Villedurai. 13. Dodda Veddahs. 14. Paduas, Paduas, iron smelters, executioners. 15. Barrawa baddè or Maha baddè, tom-tom beaters. 16. Handee. 17. Pallaroo. 18. Olee. 19. Radayo. 20. Palee. 21. Kinnera baddè.

OUT CASTES.—Gattaroo. Rhodias.

EXTRA CASTES.—The Singhalese Christians, attached to the Goewansè. The Marakkala, or Moormen, attached to the Karawè.

[1] Caste, although at variance with the tenets of Gautama Buddha, was always maintained by the policy of Singhalese kings and the pride of the higher classes. In our enumeration of castes, we have chiefly adopted the arrangement of Dr. Davy; and though we have added some of the subdivisions, yet it is probable that some of the grades are still omitted, whose names are confined to certain parts of the country, and are hardly known out of the districts in which they live. The relative rank of the lower grades of the Kshoodra wansé was never precisely determined, differing often in different provinces.

The Singhalese consider their ancient royal race, called Sákya, Ikshwaku, Okaaka and Suraya-wansé, to be of the highest caste; but as none even of the chiefs were of the Brahmin caste, they are at no trouble to decide on the relative precedence of the royal "race of the sun" with the sacerdotal race of Brahmins, but acknowledge both to be superior to any family now existing in Ceylon.

The Goewansè, or Wellalé, is by far the largest of the Singhalese castes. Agriculture, which was their original employment, has long ceased to be their sole occupation, both priests and statesmen having been particularly selected from it, until all the hereditary rank, and a great part of the landed property of the country, passed into their hands. The costume of this caste, which may almost be considered national, is equally simple and becoming. The dress of the men consists of a handkerchief about the head, folded like a turban, leaving the top of the head exposed, and a topetty, or long cloth of two breadths, about the loins, and extending as far down as the ankle. The material of the women's dress is very similar, but they wear no covering on the head, and a long cloth of a single breadth, called hala, wrapped round their loins, and cast over their left shoulder. On state occasions, and when in full dress, the men clothe the body with a short jacket, except when they are about to enter a temple, when they invariably leave the shoulders bare, believing that any who should contravene this duty would subject themselves to the infliction of boils and cutaneous diseases in another world. Those who have the privilege lay aside the handkerchief for a cap, and bedeck themselves with gold chains and girdles. The women, when full dressed, also use a jacket, with a kind of ruff hanging from the neck over the shoulders, and decorate themselves with rings, silver or crystal bangles and ear-rings. Under the Kandian dynasty the use of golden ornaments was confined to the sovereign, unless, as a peculiar mark of royal favour, he bestowed presents on persons of this caste, who were, under such circumstances only, entitled to wear them. The number so privileged was necessarily limited. The rank and wealth of private individuals are exhibited not so much by the fashion of their apparel, as by its rich quality and large quantity. A man of rank and wealth will appear in the finest embroidered muslin, set off by a succession of topetties, often six or eight in number, with his shoulders as unnaturally widened in appearance by a jacket stuffed and padded to correspond with the bulk of the hips. The Goewansè could not intermarry with the Kshoodra wansè without being degraded. He might marry a woman of the Nillemakareyea caste, but a man of that caste was not permitted to ally himself to a woman of the Goewansè, although it has been frequently done, and tacitly connived at. This prohibition of caste extended to the board as well as the bed, and regulated all forms of social intercourse.

The duties that this people owed to the king were of a fixed and definite kind, consisting principally of military, or rather militia service, and they were summoned to appear in arms on any invasion

of the kingdom, each man taking the field with his own musket (the Government providing ammunition), and continuing there till the enemy had retired, or leave was given him to return home. They were liable to be called on to labour at certain public works, such as the construction of roads, levelling of hills, and excavation of tanks, and according to the extent of their land tenures they might be annually employed in such services from fifteen to thirty days. The presence of all, or of certain classes of them, was required on the four great festivals held annually in the capital, and on all public occasions of importance, such as the election of a king, a royal marriage or burial. What taxes they had to pay has not been as yet accurately determined, although the strictest inquiries have been made. They are reported, however, to have been one-twentieth of the rice produced as an annual quit rent to the king as lord of the soil, and six challies, or a halfpenny each, for their high ground. The Veddahs belong to this caste.

The Nillemakareyea, or Pattea people, are generally considered by the natives as rather an inferior division of the Goewansè than a distinct caste. They are not very numerous, the island being little devoted to pasturage, number no families of rank among them, and are capable of holding none but low situations under Government. Besides their original occupation, that of shepherds, their employment extends to the cultivation of the soil. Their taxes were paid under the Kandian dynasty in rice, milk, ghee, or clarified butter, tire, or milk coagulated by the addition of a small quantity of sour milk.

The different divisions of the Kshoodra wansé appear to have been organized by the Government for its own use and that of the privileged castes. Under the old Government, each caste had certain duties to pay, certain services to perform, and was under the command of officers, who were responsible for any neglect or omission.

The first of the low caste is the Karawè (men of salt water), or fishermen. Karawè, a compound word, signifies evil doers, because the occupation of the caste is the destruction of animals, which the Buddhist religion forbids. The grades of this subdivision were Dunuwaayeh, archers; Williya, catchers of birds in snares; Wadekayo, executioners; Ugulwadi, trap makers for animals; Kayman wadi, catchers of crocodiles; Pakai wadi, bird catchers; Meehududaye wadi, fishers with nets in the sea only; Kaywulo, anglers, and those who fish with hooks and lines only; Matwikunanno, fishmongers; Pass mehe Karayo, five performers of service; Danduwaduwo, carpenters; Wiyamao, weavers; Sommaru, sandal makers. Excluded from the sea, in the interior, the services they had to perform were similar to those required from the Marakkala or Moors, who, though of no caste, rank with this, which they greatly exceed in number and importance. The Moors are all Mahometans, and have ever enjoyed the free exercise of their religion. The period of their arrival in Ceylon has not been precisely determined.

They are a stout, active, shrewd, enterprising race, the Jews of Ceylon; and, as the Geowansé monopolize the honours, so do these people much of the native trade of the country. From the possession of a money capital, they are naturally money lenders, and though usurers, the cultivation of the country could not have been maintained even in its present degenerate state, but for the advances they have made to the husbandmen. In dress, appearance, and manners, they differ little from the Singhalese. The whole department, including the Karawè, is called Madegé. It may be divided into classes, those who have land and are fixed, and those without lands, who are called Soolan baddé, or an unsettled collection of men. The chief wealth of both consists in cattle. In return for the lands they held, and the protection extended them by the King, those of the first class were obliged to appear with their bullocks when required to carry the King's rice and paddy to the royal store. In addition they had to pay a small proportion of the salt they gathered, of salt fish, and some other articles. The Soolan Moors were employed as carriers only in times of emergency, their chief employment having been to trade for the King with money furnished from the treasury, or to act as his brokers.

The next caste, the Madinno, Duravos,[1] Chandos, or toddy drawers, were employed in collecting the sweet juice, or toddy, flowing from the decapitated flower-stalk of the cocoa nut, and two other palms, for the purpose of fermentation. The use of fermented liquors being contrary to the Buddhist religion, this calling is confined to very few families in the interior.

The Achari, though generally placed third, is by some classed in the first rank of the low caste. It is composed of Sittaru, painters; Ranhallo, silversmiths, blacksmiths, brassfounders; Liyana waduwo, turners; Galwaduwo, lapidaries, sculptors, &c.; Hommaru, persons who remove the dead bodies of animals and dress their skins; Ee waduwo, arrow makers; who are called by the general term Achari, as masters or teachers of the arts which they profess. For the lands they held, they used to pay a land-tax in money, and annually supply the King with certain manufactured articles: thus, the silversmiths had to furnish silver chunam-boxes, and gilt and silver rings; and the blacksmiths had to provide betel knives, bill-hooks, and instruments for rasping cocoa-nuts. They were all obliged to work for the King when required, without remuneration of any kind, the carpenters and sculptors excepted, who

[1] The word Duravos is not Singhalese, and denotes "come from afar." There are ten grades in this subdivision, viz.—Pati Karayo, cowherds; Porawa Karayo, timber fellers; Hari Duravo, proper duravos; Magul Duravo, riders of the royal elephants; Aynadi, servants to the four preceding for carrying their talipats, pingoes, &c.; Kuttadi, dancers; Balibattu, persons who offer rice to the images of the nine planets, and who alone may eat of that rice; Nallambu, toddy drawers; Hiwattayo, washermen of this caste. To these may be added, Rata Karayo, carriage makers; Solil Karayo, particular service.

were allowed provisions during their employment, on the ground that their materials being wood and stone, and, in consequence, articles of little or no value, they could not compensate themselves like the rest, by pilfering a portion, a system winked at, and even legalized when practised in moderation, as the headmen were conscious that these classes could not otherwise subsist.

The Hannawli, or tailors, are few in number. It was their duty formerly to make the gorgeous and barbarous dresses of the King and his court, in return for which lands were allowed them.

The Baddahela baddé, or potters, are pretty numerous. For their lands they had to pay a small tax in money, and to furnish the kitchen of the King and his nobles with earthenware. Owing to the prevalence and prejudice of caste, the consumption of earthenware was great to an excess among the Singhalese; as they considered themselves disgraced and polluted, if they drank out of vessels that had touched the lips of their inferiors, hence all the earthenware vessels used at a feast at which people of different castes had been entertained were destroyed.

The Ambattea, or barbers. On account of the small number of this caste, the term badda is not attached to it. They had a tax in money to pay for their land, and were liable to serve as baggage porters or coolies. They are little employed in their own avocation, each Singhalese being his own barber; one family, indeed, for land which it held, had a sacred duty to perform, no less than the shaving of Buddha at the great temple in Kandy, as a mark of respect. The duties of this office were executed in turns by the different members of the family. The mode of performing the operation was as follows:—The barber stood in the ante-chamber, separated from the image by a curtain, while a priest within held a looking-glass to the face of the figure; the barber made appropriate motions with his razor, and thus, without seeing or coming into contact with the idol, went through the ceremony.

The Radabaddé, or caste of washermen,[1] is rather numerous. They had to pay for their land one-twentieth of its produce in raw rice; for were it scalded, it would be considered as dressed, and could not be used by the royal household, or even the Goewansè. Their peculiar service was to furnish white cloths to spread on the ground, line rooms and cover chairs wherever the King or his chiefs were expected. Those families that washed for the court had lands free for that service. They were not required to wash for any of the superior castes without payment, and on no account would they degrade themselves by washing for those beneath them. The dress of all the preceding castes is the same as that of the Goewansè. In the dress of the females of this caste there is a little alteration, instead of using the

[1] During Mr. North's administration, this caste quarrelled with the preceding, the result of which was, that the washermen remained unshaven, and the barbers in unwashed clothes, till Mr. North, disgusted with their appearance, mediated a reconciliation.

single hala as a petticoat and scarf, they were obliged to substitute two short cloths, one to be wrapped round the loins, and the other to be thrown over the shoulder.

The Halee, or Chalias,[1] called also Pesa Karayan, *i. e.* makers of cloth strainers to filter water. This caste is small in the interior, and of no importance. By trade the Chalias are weavers. For their lands they had to pay a pecuniary tax, and were liable to be employed in the King's kitchen in bringing firewood, cleaning chatties, and carrying provisions. The service imposed on the Chalias of the Seven Korles, about 500 families, was to furnish the King's stores annually with a certain quantity of salt fish. The men of this caste were not allowed to wear caps, or cloths reaching much below the knees, and the dress of the women was similar to that of the potters. While the women were forbidden, the men might marry into the caste immediately below them. The Chalias of the maritime provinces having been employed as cinnamon peelers, have received encouragement from the different European Governments, which has led to so great an increase in their number, as to justify the name of Mahabaddé, which they have acquired, and many of them have become wealthy and ambitious, and till lately were subject to a special jurisdiction. Some trace the origin of the Chalias to the race of the Paisecara weavers, who were introduced into Ceylon from the continent of India 600 years ago.

The Hakooroo, or jaggery makers, are a numerous caste. Their employment is to prepare jaggery, a coarse kind of sugar, from the

[1] On more than one occasion the Chalias evinced an ardent desire to emancipate themselves from the severe exactions of their despotic rulers. In 1723 they refused to comply with the orders of the Dutch Government, to proceed to the woods to prepare cinnamon as usual, assigning the degraded state of the caste and the number of civil disabilities they laboured under as a reason for their non-compliance. They complained that the task they were ordered to perform was beyond their power to execute, in consequence of the scarcity of cinnamon trees, and that the quantity of the bark they were called upon annually to prepare would require the incessant labour of from twelve to thirteen months, by which means they were obliged to live in the woods "like wild beasts, without being able to visit their families, or to contribute to the support of their wives and children." In consequence of the oppression to which they were exposed, the Chalias, at this time, requested permission to leave the maritime provinces, and to put themselves under the protection of the King of Kandy, or to emigrate from the island. In 1735 a large body of the Chalias left the maritime provinces, and established themselves in the Kandian country, in two villages of the Seven Korles. A commissioner was appointed by the Dutch to hear their complaints, but they refused to give him an audience. Their reply to communications from the Colonial Government was couched in very strong language; they stated that they would not return to the maritime provinces, and submit to the slavery to which they had been exposed, "even though the Governor should destroy their property, burn their wives and children, and present them with the ashes." The number of Chalias who emigrated to the Kandian country was estimated at upwards of 1000. They obtained, however, some privileges from the Dutch, but these were abolished by Mr. North, who gave them additional pay as a compensation, and assumed the title of their captain for the purpose of abolishing the special jurisdiction they enjoyed.

juice of different palms, but principally from the *Ketoolga*, which contains the largest proportion of saccharine matter. For their lands they had to furnish a certain quantity of jaggery annually to the King and chiefs. Many families did service as coolies and palanquin bearers. It was from this caste that the Goewansè selected cooks, there being no impropriety in eating of dishes dressed by them.

The Hurma, or Hunubaddé, chunam or lime burners, are few in number. Their occupation is to burn lime and make charcoal. Of each of these they had to bring a fixed quantity to the King's store, as well as to pay a land-tax in money.

The Pannayo, or grass cutters, are numerous. The services they had to render in return for their tenure of land under the King, were the care of the King's cattle, horses, and elephants, to furnish the royal stores with vegetables once a fortnight, and provide mats when required. They derive their name from pan, a species of high grass, which they cut.

The Velledurai are few in number, and live chiefly in the barren districts of Neurakalawa. They are supposed to be weavers, and descendants of the Chalias.

The Dodda-Veddahs, or hunters, make up a small caste, inhabiting some of the wildest parts of the mountainous regions. For the land which they held, they were required to furnish the King with game.

The Paduas form a numerous caste, who paid a pecuniary tax for their lands, besides having to perform a variety of menial services, such as building walls, thatching the roofs of houses, carrying palanquins and other loads, bringing wood and ornaments for arches, bearing jingalls, &c. in processions. There is another description of Paduas, called Yamanoo, who are iron smelters, and for their lands had annually to furnish to the King's store and to the district headmen a certain quantity of iron. There is besides a degraded portion of Paduas, named Gahalagambadayo, who are prohibited from eating and marrying with the rest, and had the lowest and vilest services to perform: thus, they had to furnish executioners and scavengers, to keep the streets clean, and remove dead bodies. Even of this degraded race, one grade is classed[1] lower than another, and is held in contempt for eating beef. The Paduas in general were not permitted to wear a cloth that reached below the knees, and their women were not entitled to wear one over their shoulders, or to conceal the upper part of their bodies. The Hinawahs were washermen to the Gahalayas, or scavengers.

The Barrawabaddé, Mahabaddé, or tom-tom beaters, are rather

[1] A Kandian of the Seven Korles having discovered that an intimacy subsisted between his daughter and a person of somewhat inferior rank, put her to death, and placed her body on a sort of temporary stage, such as is used for making offerings to devils. According to an ancient superstition, he believed this horrid act rendered pure and unimpeachable the honour of his family, which had been sullied by the misconduct of one of its members. When apprehended by the British authorities, the infatuated man avowed the deed, and suffered as a murderer.

numerous. They are weavers by trade, and had to pay a tax in money for their lands, supply the royal stores monthly with vegetables, provide wooden gutters of the Ketoolga, and in some districts, furnish a certain quantity of cloth of their own making. Particular families have lands for beating the tom-tom, dancing, and piping, &c. at the great festivals, and others had portions of church lands for performing at temples.

The Handee, a small caste, were required to furnish the royal stores with baskets and winnows. By some they are thought to be beggars by caste.

The Pallaroo are an insignificant caste, of which little is known.

The Olee are also small, and had no particular service to perform, but to carry in the procession at one of the great annual festivals the monstrous effigies of the demons called Assooriahs, which they are said by some to have manufactured.

The Radayo is another very small caste, with no very specific service, principally skinners, living in woods.

The Palee are the washermen of the low castes, inferior to the Radabaddé. The Kinnera baddé is a very small caste that had to furnish the royal stores with ropes and mats. Their dress is similar to that of the other very low castes, with the exception that they are not allowed to confine their hair with a handkerchief.

Pilu, persons born deaf and dumb. Yaka Daru, devil worshippers. Des ayrawo, strangers travelling for amusement. Hinganno, paupers. Koru, persons born lame. Kannu, persons born blind. Horu, thieves. Wallu, slaves.

Besides these there are the low castes of Gauraykawallu, village watchmen; Pidaynidanno, offering makers to devils; Kontayo, those who carried the framé upon which the King's palanquin was placed when he travelled; Henawalayo, fine mat makers; Kappuwo, temple watchmen; Koostarogiyo, lepers, and those who worship devils by dancing.

Of the Out-castes of society, who are shunned by the very lowest castes, and whose touch is pollution, there are two descriptions, the Gattaroo and the Rhodias. The Gattaroo were such as were cast out of society by the King for infamous conduct, and at his pleasure might be restored. The terrible sentence was: "Let the offender be exempted *from paying taxes* and performing services, and be considered a Gattaroo."

The Rhodias, or Gasmundo, as they are called by those who forbear insulting them, the term meaning, tree, and a kind of rope made by them, and which, when used for catching elephants, is fastened to a tree, are the descendants of those who were punished by being made out-castes for continuing to indulge in eating beef[1] after its use

[1] Another myth generally believed by the natives is, that this race were originally the hunters and purveyors of game for the royal table, and that having failed to procure game on a certain occasion, they substituted the flesh of a child,

was prohibited, and of those who have since been degraded for high treason. Though considered the vilest of the vile, they were not entirely destitute of lands, nor, though unprotected, was the Government liberal enough to exempt them entirely from taxation. For the little land they held they were required to furnish hides and ropes and whips made of hides for snaring elephants, as any even of the lowest caste would have been degraded by cutting up a dead bullock. When made, however, all classes would use these ropes, and if not strictly watched, would not be ashamed to steal what they were too proud to buy. To pay their tribute, they brought it to one side of the Mahavellé-ganga, the King's gaoler waiting on the opposite side, with his people, to see it deposited. Analogous, too, to the castes, each village had a petty headman, called Hoolawalia, generally a charcoal burner, appointed by the same gaoler, who was the only individual whose duty it was to communicate with them at a respectful distance. It will be easily conceived, that if their ancestors, with the certainty of utter disgrace staring them in the face, could not check their carnivorous propensities, that the present race, stimulated by want, and under no restraint in regard to diet, would not restrain theirs; indeed they eat almost every thing that comes in their way, even the bodies of dead animals, if not putrid, and dead bullocks they consider their peculiar property. Besides those already mentioned, there are many other circumstances that mark the extreme disgrace and degraded state of these people. They were not allowed to live in houses of the common construction, but only in the merest sheds completely open on one side. In carrying a pingo—an elastic stick in general use in Ceylon for carrying burthens, and poised on the shoulder—they were permitted to load it at one end only, and they were not only shunned by all, but were required to shun all others. When a Rhodia saw a Goewansè, he had to salute him with uplifted hands and move out of the way, or, if the path was narrow, not affording room for both to pass at a distance, he had to go back. It is not true, however, as some have stated, that on such an occasion he had to prostrate himself for the Goewansè to walk over his body; indeed, such a humiliation would be inconsistent with the notion of impurity attached to their touch, and which is still so firmly impressed upon the Singhalese, that they have been known to refuse to seize certain Rhodias suspected by the police Vidahns of a murder, saying, "they could not pollute themselves by apprehending them, but they would willingly shoot them at a distance." The dispositions of the Rhodias naturally correspond with their wretched lot, and, unless in their dealings with each other, they seem to be destitute of all moral principle; a few of their number have been converted to Christianity in the district of Mátalé. Whether they possess any religious notions in common with the Singhalese it is not easy to ascertain; but two Rhodias hung for murder at Kandy in 1834, repeated some Pali hymns immediately before their execu-

tion, proving that they had cherished the faith of their persecutors, though abandoned by its teachers. Prohibited from approaching temples,[1] there is a solitary instance on record of a priest going and preaching to them, for which having incurred his sovereign's displeasure, this Fenelon of Buddha replied, "Religion should be common to all." Wretched as is the condition of the Rhodias, they are a fine, robust race, and their women particularly handsome. On account of the beauty of the latter, and the art of fortune-telling, which they profess, they are less avoided than the men, who, from their usefulness in many respects, are nevertheless much less oppressed than was intended by the cruel lawgiver who established their position beyond the pale of society. This punishment, after having endured for 2000 years, and designed to be perpetual in the posterity of the original victims, is now happily at an end, as well as the dynasty which established and perpetuated such atrocious cruelty. When rambling about the country, practising their idle art, to attract attention they balance a brass plate on a finger, and holding it on high, twirl it round with surprising dexterity. The resemblance of these people to the gipsies of Europe is very striking.[2]

The ideas of the Singhalese respecting the origin of castes, are very similar to those of the Hindoos, and they suppose them to be contemporary with the formation of society. Their account of the peculiarities of caste in Ceylon, and particularly of the absence of the Brahminical caste, is less romantic, and is the most probable that

[1] Treason and sacrilege, if not the original crimes for which they were condemned, are certainly those which in later times have continued or increased the number of these outcasts. About the middle of the last century, the sacrilegious act of one was made the plea for degrading a whole family of rank to the situation and community of Rhodias. This punishment, considered worse than death, was only adjudged to those of the highest rank, who it might be supposed would feel the full extent of a punishment intended to be interminable to the race of those condemned.

[2] Like them they were rather a terror to the husbandmen; thus, when the crops of a village had been reaped and cleaned on the threshing-floors of the field, the Rhodias generally received a small portion of paddy as a gift from each of the cultivators; the alms thus given with the semblance of charity was intended by the donor as an insurance against aggression on his property, or injury to his family, from the practice of hunaim (witchcraft) by the outcasts, and the most liberal of the villagers was likely to have fewest sudden deaths among his cattle which fed in the forests where the Rhodia cupaya (hamlet) was stationed. On one occasion, a Rhodia, irritated at the small quantity of paddy bestowed on him by a proprietor, took up the stinted allowance, and advancing to the threshing-floor, deliberately sprinkled the handful over the large grain heap of the niggard, whose property thus became useless. A complaint having been made to a British authority, the cultivator was told in what manner he might obtain redress, but any form of legal proceedings seemed to him derogatory to his dignity when a Rhodia was his adversary. Finding that his offer to shoot the outcast was rejected, and being moreover informed that by such an act he would forfeit his own life, the cultivator retired resigned to his loss, marvelling greatly at the value a foreign nation ignorantly placed on the life of a Rhodia.

can possibly be given. They maintain that their island was colonised from the eastward about 2363 years ago; that the first settlers, with the exception of their leader of royal descent, were of the Goewansè, and that the great addition of population the island received in the reign of the fifteenth king was also from the eastward, from a country where the Brahmins were not tolerated, and composed of eighteen different subordinate castes of the Kshoodra-wansè. As before observed, the Singhalese have experienced less of the effects of castes than the Hindoos, a very large proportion of the whole Singhalese population being on an equality, and at liberty to pursue any liberal occupation.

There were two systems of castes, one established earlier than the other,[1] by Wijeya, who arrived in the island from the kingdom of Laaladesayé, of whose king Sinhala he was the son, in the 56th year of the era of the last Buddha, seven days after the latter had become Niwanè, or a state of happiness, although by the death of the soul, according to the Buddhist creed, the body becomes again mortal. after it has attained a state of purity. According to the Nitiyah, a book said to have been written in the Singhalese language by Wijeya Raja himself, whose capital was Tamana Newara. Bud. 543, he found Ceylon inhabited by devils only, which he destroyed with the army of giants that accompanied him, and then made the country a fit residence for human beings. During his reign of thirty-eight years he established castes for the performance of personal service in his palace and the punishment of criminals.

CHAPTER IV.

Character of the Singhalese—Manners and Customs—Dress—Appearance, &c.

In entering upon a description of the Singhalese after a period has elapsed of more than two hundred years, during which a great part of their country has been under European domination, and all of it in some manner amenable to its influence, the reader, unless he may have been previously impressed with the immobility of the Oriental character, will naturally look for but a slight variation from European manners and ideas. Yet it were impossible to fall into a graver error. With the exception of a few of

1 The arrangement of castes has been considered one of the strong features in the religion of Buddha resembling that of Brahma, and a proof of their common origin. Such a notion is erroneous, as caste is entirely forbidden by Gautama.

the higher class, who have stood forth prominently, and eagerly adopted the ideas and customs which seem to pertain to a similar class in every country, and serve to disconnect them from the class below, to which alone we can look for a genuine development of the national character, the Singhalese in general may be said to exhibit, with very slight qualifications, the same characteristics as were assigned to them by Knox in the seventeenth century, at what may be comparatively considered a brilliant period of their history.

It is a phenomenon well deserving the close attention of the philosopher, that while Nature, in her various agencies and operations, is ever at work in this part of the globe, now ruthlessly suffering the remorseless jungle to steal over the memorials of the past, now by electric power convulsing the most lofty mountains, at one time summoning up ocean to encroach on the domains of earth, at another compassing some kindred desolation; in one place parching up the blood by the intensity of tropical heat, and within sight of the same spot enabling the European to enjoy the salubrious temperature of his own clime, man should alone remain unchanged, and to all appearance unchangeable.

In Asia generally (and Ceylon is no exception) there has been a barrier of mediocrity, by which mind and manners seem to have been arrested at a particular point of civilization.

The intelligent reader will not fail, however, to perceive, that every allowance has been made, in this sketch of Singhalese manners, for the modifications that could not fail to ensue, to some extent, on the change of rulers. A nation has never been known to undergo a simultaneous change in its customs, institutions, organisation, habits of thought, modes of expression. Its institutions may be subverted by a new ruler, not so its inborn sympathies. Modifications, where they take place serially, will eventually be attended with a more satisfactory result than a rapid and violent alteration, beneath whose surface ever lie the seeds of reaction, which have only to be attracted by the gleaming sun of national prejudice to again spring up and embarrass the progress of civilization.

Great variety of opinion has been entertained by persons conversant with the Singhalese, as to their degree of civilization and moral character; some have reported favourably, others unfavourably.[1] They

[1] The opinion of Knox is always worth quoting, for the sound sense which pervades it: "Their (*i. e.* the Singhalese) disposition is crafty and treacherous; their protestations are not to be trusted; for so smooth and apparently frank is their address, that a stranger may easily be deceived, and they are so habituated to falsehood that detection in it is considered to bring neither shame nor disgrace. Their minds cherish neither malice nor long-continued anger; blood is seldom or never shed in their quarrels, as they refrain from striking each other. They are parsimonious to an extreme, and will frequently abstain from taking proper support in order to gratify their desires in this respect, so that spendthrifts are rare. They may be pronounced ingenious; for except iron work, they manufacture for themselves all they require, and build their own houses." The disposition of the

would seem, however, to be generally considered nearly, if not quite, on a par with the Hindoos; they cannot justly be admitted into a comparison with any European nation, though in courtesy and polish of manners they are little inferior to the most refined people of the present day. In intellectual acquirements, and proficiency in the arts and sciences, they were till lately not advanced beyond the darkest period of the middle ages. On the whole, their character is low, tame, and undecided, with few strong lights or shades in it, with few prominent virtues or vices, and may be considered as a compound of weak moral feelings, of strong natural affections, and of moderate passions. Those, however, who should infer from what I have said, that the upper classes of natives, either in the highlands or maritime provinces, were either ignorant or altogether illiterate, would find themselves grossly deceived. The rising generation, many of whom are being educated under English auspices, may possibly combine the manly and chivalrous refinement of the European with the courtly grace and ease of their forefathers; but the present race, though coming little into contact with Europeans, have astonished the latter by the profound knowledge which they seem to possess of mankind, and their remarkable tact. In fact, such is their consummate artifice, that, as we have already seen, they contrived to outwit all our diplomatists, and long averted the evil day of European supremacy with a dexterity scarcely inferior to that of a Comnenus.

Mr. Bertolacci has perhaps taken the most correct, though it may appear the most uncharitable view of the native character. "They are in general," says he, "very reserved in their address, and mild in their manners; but whether that reserve may not be the restraint imposed by suspicion, and that mildness in some degree the consequence of a want of feeling, are questions difficult to be determined." The division into castes has evidently given a hue of its own to the native character. Thus, crimes of the deepest dye have occasionally been perpetrated among the lower castes, while the conduct of the higher castes is in general decorous and correct. Servants taken from the latter are in general much more honest than those taken from the former. The Singhalese cannot very easily be roused to resentment and violence, yet if he be impelled by passion or avidity to action, he cannot be diverted from his purpose by the consideration or presence of those objects, which in others, by acting on the ima-

inhabitants of the highlands and of the maritime provinces is widely different. An under current of ill-nature, moroseness and treachery will strike the observant stranger, as pervading the outwardly fair and complaisant behaviour of the former, which is imperceptible in the latter. "Of all vices, the Kandians are least addicted to theft, which they profess to abhor; and even the virtues they do not practise, such as chastity, temperance, and truth in words and actions, they admire in others, attributing to weakness of character their own failings in these particulars. They place implicit confidence in the word of an European, in consequence of their fidelity to their engagements, and look with respect on those carrying out by their actions their profession of Christianity."

gination, would agitate the mind, shake it from its intent, and arrest the hand of the murderer when prepared to strike the blow.

The absence of feeling, to which I have already alluded, secures to them great advantages in all their transactions with Europeans, and it cannot be denied that they exhibit a masterly address in working upon the feelings of others,[1] while they can keep themselves entirely free from emotion. They also know to perfection the art of insinuating themselves into the good opinion and favour of their superiors. Among the Modeliars this art was accounted a necessary part of their education; they were courteous and guarded in their speech, and so ready to coincide in the wishes and arguments of a superior, that they actually acquired by that means a very strong and decided influence on his mind. They were seldom known to decline in a direct manner even undertakings that were beyond their reach, but rather trusted to time and reflection to convince another of the impossibility of accomplishing what he desired. Both the civil and military servants of Government have insensibly yielded to the influ-

1 The following incident, though unimportant, will shew the arts practised by the natives, high and low, to work on the feelings of Europeans; to effect which, there is good reason to believe, they are by no means under the necessity of using the same exertions upon their present superiors, as upon their more phlegmatic and less irascible Dutch masters. An English gentleman, holding a high public situation in the colony, had been conducted in his palanquin to an evening party, and, after remaining there for some time, the bearers became anxious to return home. It was, however, not late, and their master had no wish to retire from the pleasant society he was in. The first step they took to effect their purpose was to bring the palanquin in front of the door, full in his view, and then retire. He saw it, and thought it only a mark of their attention, but being connected with the recollection that he was to return home, it made him reflect that the time of departure was drawing nigh. Shortly after, some of the bearers went to seat themselves, apparently in a negligent manner, by the side of the palanquin. This began to produce a kind of uneasiness in the mind of the master, who observed it, and caused a doubt to arise whether he should remain much longer. Now, the bearers watched the motions of every person in the party, and his in particular; whenever he moved from his chair, or passed from one part of the room to another, the bearers would start up as if they thought he was coming out, and then appearing to have discovered their mistake, would again sit down. This manœuvre put their master in a state of perfect uneasiness; he could no longer speak or attend to the conversation of the circle, the doubt whether he should go or stay had made him quite uncomfortable, and he took no pleasure in the society which had before appeared to him so agreeable. But the bearers, observing that even this had not the desired effect of bringing him away, lighted up the lamps of the palanquin, and one of them, taking up a hand lantern, began to pace in front of it, so that his master could not help observing it, and this actually threw him into a state of greater anxiety; yet he felt too reluctant to quit his friends to be entirely moved away. But at last all the bearers stood up and arranged themselves each at his post by the sides of the palanquin, while the one with the lantern, pacing up and down, gave a full view of the whole apparatus. Who could resist it? It acted like an electric shot. The master in an instant found himself in his palanquin without being aware how he got in it. The bearers took it up, gave a loud shout, and ran away with it in triumph.

ence of this fascination, and Governors of the most distinguished talents have been lured by its glare. Van der Graff, for instance, was most grossly deceived in this manner by his first Modeliar, who was carrying on a false correspondence between that Governor and Pilámé Talawé, then first Adigaar, in whose name also he was fabricating letters addressed to the Governor. During this correspondence on matters of great weight, which were naturally never brought to a conclusion, many presents were interchanged on both sides. Those from the Governor were of course the more costly. When the expectations of Van der Graff of a favourable treaty were raised to the highest pitch, the Modeliar happened to die, and to the great surprise and mortification of the Governor, the whole of his correspondence with the Kandian minister was found in the Modeliar's desk, and the presents in his chest.

Like all highlanders, the Kandians are exceedingly attached to their wilds; but though they have the desire, they perhaps want the courage and confidence in themselves which is essential for the defence of their country. Though slender, they are in general good looking men, hardy, capable of long abstinence and great fatigue, and much superior in energy to the natives of the coast, for whom they entertain a sovereign contempt, which is duly returned. The independence they have till lately enjoyed has certainly had the effect of elevating their general bearing over that of the fawning Hindoo. The lowlanders, on the contrary, have traded and mixed with their continental neighbours, and have lost in consequence the minute but distinct peculiarities of their forefathers.

Like the people of India, the Singhalese differ from Europeans less in features, than in the more trifling circumstances of colour, size and form. The colour of their skin varies from olive to black. That of their hair and eyes varies also, but not so often as that of the skin; black hair and eyes are most common; hazel eyes are less uncommon than brown hair, grey eyes and red hair are still more unusual, and light flaxen hair, and a light blue or red eye are seldom or never seen. Though inferior in size to Europeans, they usually exceed that of the natives of the maritime provinces, no less than the Hindoo of the Malabar or Coromandel coast. Their average height may perhaps be calculated at about five feet four inches. The use of their limbs is proportioned in a manner correlative to their form of mould; thus they are rather remarkable for agility and flexibility, than for strength of limb, and capable of long continued rather than great exertion. "They are clean made," says Davy, "with neat muscle and small bone. For Asiatics, they are stout, have well developed chests and broad shoulders, particularly the inhabitants of the mountainous districts, who, like highlanders in general, have rather short, but strong and very muscular thighs and legs. Their hands and feet are generally very small, and appear disproportionate to an European. The form of their head is generally good; perhaps

longer than the European, a peculiarity of the Asiatic according to some writers. Their features are generally neat, and frequently handsome, and their countenances intelligent and animated." Nature has given them a liberal supply of hair, which they universally allow to grow on their face, as well as head, to a considerable length, conceiving that the beard does not deform, but improve the face, and in many instances it certainly has the effect of investing the countenance with an air of dignity that would be wanting under other circumstances. The Singhalese women, though inferior in grace and symmetry to the women of the Malabar coast, are nevertheless well made and well looking, and often handsome.

The other sex, who profess to be great adepts in criticising their charms, and who have books on the subject, and rules with which to guide the judgment, consider a perfect belle should unite in herself the following qualifications. "Her hair should be voluminous like the tail of the peacock; long, reaching to the knees, and terminating in graceful curls; her eyebrows should resemble the rainbow; her eyes the blue sapphire and the petals of the blue manilla flower. Her nose should be like the bill of the hawk; her lips should be bright and red like coral on the young leaf of the iron tree. Her teeth should be small, regular and closely set, and like jessamine buds. Her neck should be large and round, resembling the berrigodea. Her chest should be capacious; her breasts firm and conical like the yellow cocoa-nut, and her waist small, almost small enough to be clasped by the hand. Her hips should be wide; her limbs tapering; the soles of her feet without any hollow; and the surface of her body in general soft, delicate, smooth and rounded, without the asperities of projecting bones and sinews."

Lieutenant de Butts, though considering the Singhalese collectively, inferior in beauty to the natives of Hindostan, admits that there are some striking exceptions to this opinion. He himself gives one, which I shall take the liberty to transcribe. "In the province of Kurunaigalla there was, and probably still is, a dusky beauty, whom I do not remember ever to have seen equalled in the clime of the East. Her classically low forehead, shaded by luxuriant masses of jet black hair, her Grecian nose and short upper lip, were each perfect, and as a whole incomparable. If her stature were somewhat above the height which the great masters of sculpture have assigned as the limit of feminine proportions, it seemed so justly to harmonise with her general tournure, that the most fastidious critic could not wish it to be less. Yet she possessed nothing of that commanding air to which height is usually considered a necessary accompaniment. She appeared rather formed for love than for command; and in her large and liquid eye the disciple of Lavater might discern the languor and apathy that pervaded the soul within."

Though a courteous, the Singhalese are not a gallant people; gallantry and the refined sentiment of love do not belong to a tropical

climate, and are almost peculiarly characteristic of European manners. The tender passion, if tender it may be called, is therefore more gross and unrestrained.

A very amusing illustration of this insensibility to the bashfulness which is characteristic of the sex in Europe, is given by Colonel Campbell. Chancing to seek shelter from a storm in the house of a family of high caste, he was admitted into an apartment where he found several ladies assembled, who, to his great surprise, were by no means so shy as he had supposed. The only exception was a very pretty girl of sixteen, but she was eventually reassured, and finally became inquisitive. Before he left, he requested one of the young men of the family to call on him for some powder and shot, that he might destroy the wild animals which preyed upon their crops. They did so, and after obtaining the object of their visit, requested to know if he would like to have their young sister to live with him. "What," said he, "the pretty girl who was so much afraid of me." "The same," was the reply; "she wants to come and serve you, and take care of you." In answer to his question, whether it was the custom for persons of high caste to offer young ladies to serve gentlemen, he was told, "Yes, when there is a desire to compliment and please." The Colonel now saw that he was in a dilemma, and had recourse to one of his Singhalese servants, who suggested a subterfuge by which he dexterously contrived to escape being wrecked on the Scylla of scandal and the Charybdis of discourtesy.

In certain cases, when intimate friends or great men were visiting at their houses, the master of the house would send his wife or daughters to pass the night with the stranger in his room; and more recently, the civil servants in their rounds have had polite offers to the same effect. So far from being considered a disgrace, they rejoice that they have been able to accommodate their friends in so delicate a matter.

Both sexes of all ranks, except the lowest, have their hair long, divided smooth from the middle of the forehead, and turned up into a knot, called a "cundy;" that of the men on the back of the head, and fastened, in the maritime provinces, with a large square comb of tortoiseshell, and a small semicircular one underneath, while the women allow theirs to rest on the neck as far down as the shoulders. They have often expressed their surprise at seeing European ladies with their hair curled, as it was a fashion they could not account for, inasmuch as they consider a tendency to curl in the hair a blemish. The distinction of ranks amongst both men and women was designated by the length of their cloth above or below the knee; in women, a further distinction was covering the bosom or leaving the figure entirely exposed from the waist upwards.

Old bachelors and old maids are rarely to be seen among the Singhalese; almost every man marries, and marries young, and the wife, not of his own, but of his father's choice. The preliminaries of

the union are entirely settled by the parents. When a young man has reached the age of eighteen or twenty, he is considered marriageable, and it is the duty of his father to provide him with a proper wife. The father having selected a family of his own caste and rank, pays the master of it a visit, and if the information he receive respecting the lady's dower be satisfactory, he formally proposes his son. At this stage a refusal is very rare, and when it does occur, an action for defamation generally ensues. Soon after the father of the lady returns the visit to learn the circumstances of the young man, the establishment he is to have, and his prospects in life, but he is equally regardless of the feelings of his daughter. If both parties are so far satisfied, the father of the young man makes another visit to his friend, to see the lady, and inquire respecting her qualifications, age and disposition. He is contented if she is younger than his son, in good health, free from ulcers and corporal blemishes, possessed of a pretty good disposition, and acquainted with the ordinary duties of a housewife, as station and parentage are regarded rather than beauty.

On his return home, he desires his son to go clandestinely and see her: if the young man enters the house it is under a feigned name; and if he sees his intended, he must not address her. The day of the marriage being fixed, and the hour determined by an astrologer, the bridegroom and his family, their relations and friends, proceed to the house of the bride, accompanied by people carrying provisions, and by four men in particular, bearing a large pingo, laden not only with all sorts of provisions and sweetmeats, but likewise with a piece of white cloth, a linen waistcoat striped with blue and red, and jewels and ornaments, varying in number and richness according to the means of the individual. If the man were poor he merely borrowed them for the occasion. The party set out in time to arrive towards evening; they find a maduwa, a temporary building, prepared for their reception, a feast in readiness, and the friends of the lady assembled to meet them. In the middle of the maduwa, which is covered with mats, the men of both parties seat themselves round a large pile of rice, placed on fresh plantain leaves, and garnished with curries of different kinds: the ladies do the same, collected within the house. Both parties help themselves with their hands, and eat from the common pile, the bride and bridegroom eating out of one dish, intimating the equality of their rank. This mode of eating, peculiar to the marriage feast, is esteemed a proof of good fellowship; and should any one hesitate to partake, he would be considered an enemy and be driven away. After the repast, the bridegroom enters the house, meets the bride attended by her friends; they exchange balls made of rice and cocoa-nut milk, and he presents her with the piece of white cloth, and with the jewels and ornaments he has brought. All this having been transacted in silence, she retires, and he returns to the maduwa, or, according to Knox, slept at once with

his betrothed to improve their acquaintance. The night is passed by the company in telling stories and in conversation; the next morning, the bride, led by the bridegroom, and accompanied by all their friends, is conducted to his father's house, where the ceremony of marriage is concluded with another feast similar to the preceding. On this occasion, the bride precedes the bridegroom, on account of a tradition that a husband once went too far in advance of his wife, and she was carried off without his being aware of it. The woman's dower generally consists of household goods and cattle, but rarely of land.

The ceremonies observed on the marriage of chiefs (at least in Kandy) are in some respects different from those just described. The first preliminary consists in comparing the horoscopes[1] of the parties, it being essential to the union that the two agree, in order to the selection of a propitious day. After having made certain presents to the bride, the bridegroom conducts her home, and entertains her friends; the first fortnight they live together is a period of trial, at the end of which the marriage is either annulled or confirmed. If the latter, the pair stand on a plank of jack wood, the husband pours water on his wife's head, and having exchanged rings, and tied their little fingers together, they are firmly united for life. Among people of the lowest rank little attention is paid to the marriage ceremony, and no formality is observed, excepting that of asking leave of the parents to part with their daughter.[2]

In the case of elderly people the marriage rite was very simple; "for," says Knox, "being no longer virgins, they care little what man comes to sleep with them, provided he be of equal rank, having nothing more to lose. The marriage tie in general has but little

[1] Forbes mentions a case where the unpropitiousness of the stars could not prevent a couple from coming together. The bridegroom's horoscope would not suit that of the bride; he produced that of his younger brother, an infant; it corresponded; the child, carried in the arms of an attendant, personified the bridegroom in the procession, and the young woman was brought home to the ill-starred youth, who dared not attend the ceremony. The marriage was pronounced legal; the evasion being only considered a pious fraud, or a suitable concession to the will of the planets.

[2] In Singhalese marriages there is no community of property between the husband and wife. There were two descriptions of marriage, marriages in Deega, and marriages in Beena, the former having reference to cases where the bride was taken to her husband's house, the latter where the husband was supposed to be admitted to the residence of the bride. The privileges of the husband, and his authority over his wife were materially influenced by these circumstances; inasmuch as in the latter case the unfortunate swain might be lawfully expelled from the house of his bride on exciting the jealousy or displeasure of her parents; whence has arisen the old Kandian proverb, that a Beena husband should not remove any property to his wife's house, except a torch and a walking stick, as with these he may at any time depart and find his way; whereas in the former no divorce could take place without his consent; but she lost her right of paternal inheritance, and acquired new rights from the patrimony of her husband.

force or validity, and in the event of any disagreement or dislike, they separate without disgrace, and leave each other at pleasure. The dowry of cattle, slaves and money received with the wife must then be returned, and she can immediately affiance herself to another, being considered none the worse for the circulation she has passed through. Both men and women have frequently to marry four or five times before they can settle down contented. If they have children when they part, the man takes the males, and the woman the females." Breaches of the marriage contract were equally condemned by the laws of Buddhism, whether committed by the husband or wife. In the latter case, the husband was obliged formally to divorce his wife and disinherit her children, if he wished her and them to be excluded from all share of his property on his death; even though it might be clear that he was not the father of the offspring. His own will, however, was in every case sufficient to dissolve the marriage contract, but in that case he forfeited all claims to his wife's property, which remained intact. In case of a divorce, he was obliged to support his pregnant wife till the time of her delivery, and the child till old enough to be separated from its mother. Marriages between relations in nearer degrees of affinity than that of cousins, were deemed penal, and punished by law.

Though the Singhalese are not an amatory people in the European sense of the word, they can yield as completely as the latter to the passion which is its substitute. Colonel Campbell makes mention of a water fight between two competitors for a dark-eyed maid; one of the lovers, the challenger, being highly exasperated by jealousy. They both stood up to their knees in a lake, opposite each other, and with their hands constantly dashed the water in a curious and expert manner into each other's faces for several hours. Whichever of the two warriors stops first, if it be only for a moment, dashing water at his adversary, is considered to be vanquished, and is never known again to aspire to the hand of the lady who has been the cause of the anti-febrile combat.

Though concubinage and polygamy are contrary to their religion, both are indulged in by the Singhalese, particularly the latter, and the most remarkable feature of the case is, that the order of nature is reversed, a plurality of husbands being much more common than that of wives. One woman has frequently two husbands, and they have been known to have as many as seven. This remarkable custom is not confined to any caste or rank, and is as common among the high as the low, the rich as the poor. The joint husbands are always brothers, live in perfect harmony in most cases, and the children acknowledge both as fathers, styling the elder "great papa," and the younger "little papa." The apology of the poor is that they cannot afford each to have a particular wife, and that of the rich and high-born, that such an union is politic, as it unites families,

concentrates property and influence, and conduces to the interest of the children, who having two fathers, will be better taken care of, and will still have a father, though they may lose one.

Chastity is not one of the virtues of the Singhalese; thus, among the lower castes, where the houses consisted but of one room, the young men were eager to break through paternal restraints, and went to sleep in neighbours' houses; "for so," remarks the plain-spoken Knox, "they come to meet with bedfellows; nor doth it displease the parents that young men of equal station become acquainted with their daughters, as the latter, by this means, can command them to assist in any work they may require; and so far from looking at it as a disgrace, they boast among their friends that they have the young men thus at their command." Youth were in this manner early schooled in dissipation, but public prostitution was forbidden. Under the Kandian dynasty, those who followed that profession were often whipped, and had their ears and hair cut off, but illicit intercourse in private was universal, and "as," continues Knox, "for the matter of being with child, which many of them do not desire, they can very exquisitely prevent the same. Though," says he, "I think they be all w—s, yet they abhor the name of 'vesou,' which signifies it, nor do they in their anger reproach one another with it, except in cases where the woman has had connexion with a man of inferior rank, and the woman considers herself as much obliged to the man for his company, as he does to her for hers."

As may be supposed, the women display great skill in the conduct of these intrigues, and in concealing them from their husband's knowledge; and though from his own experience he cannot well be ignorant of them, yet he is not at the trouble of proving himself a cuckold, unless he has unmistakable proofs of infidelity. If a man, however, caught another in bed with his wife, he was formerly authorised by the law to kill them both, whomsoever they might be. This privilege of "lynching" was nevertheless frequently frustrated by the audacity of his unfaithful spouse, who, perceiving no other means of escape, would take a pan of hot ashes, and opening the door, throw them directly into the eyes of her infuriated husband in the act of rushing in, and thus effect her escape with her "cavalier serviente." In cases where the woman was prevented from carrying on her intrigues at home, she has been known to make assignations in the woods, from whence she had to bring firewood, while the husband remained at home to take care of the children. In the evening, as soon as it is dusk, the "cavalier serviente" would come and wait behind the house for the object of his love, apprising her of his presence perhaps by breaking a stick, or putting some betel over the wall in a place previously agreed upon, and when she perceived it, she would at once have an excuse ready for her infatuated husband. Such was their devotion to the "cavalier serviente," that when the husband, suspecting what was transpiring in his absence, suddenly surrounded

the house, and the danger of detection was imminent, she would help him to escape by making a hole through the thatch, while she remained behind to suffer all the blame. At times when they were prevented from enjoying the company of these friends, they would sulk and quarrel with their husbands, and go home to their friends, who rather furthered than hindered their pursuit of pleasure. The husband is quite unconcerned as to whether his wife is a maid or not at his marriage, and among the lower classes, for a small reward, the mother will bring her maiden daughter to any person of the same caste, but any intercourse of this sort between a woman of high and a man of low caste seldom or never takes place, being held in universal abhorrence.

After what has been said, it may be supposed licentiousness is universal, and were their society constituted like ours, such undoubtedly would be the result, but their isolation from each other in the country districts is a sufficient preventive of habitual indulgence. At Kandy there is of course a wider field for irregularity, and like most other capitals, it is rather distinguished for the polish than the correctness of its manners.

"As fathers and mothers, as sons and daughters, the Singhalese," says Davy, "appear in a very amiable light. Their families are generally small, one woman rarely bearing more than four or five children, which does not at all agree with the assertion that has been made, that the women of Ceylon are remarkably prolific. The care of the children is almost equally divided between the parents, and an infant is more frequently seen in the arms of its father than its mother. Mothers almost universally suckle their children, and for the long period of four or five years, either in part or entirely. The only exception to this custom, when health permits, is in the instance of some fine ladies, who are occasionally more obedient to the voice of vanity than of nature, and to preserve a little while a finer form of bosom relinquish this maternal duty. Children, though well attended to, are at first very backward in learning to speak and walk; it is considered a forward infant who at two years can stand alone and articulate ama, apa, but having once fairly commenced, their progress is rapid."

In their infancy children have familiar and distinctive names, and from their receiving them when they are able to eat rice, they are called "batnamen," the rice name. For this occasion the mother of the infant receives a measure of fine paddy, which she beats into rice with her own hands, and cooks herself. A cloth is then spread, on which is laid the tender leaf of a plantain, to receive the rice prepared by the mother or her representative. The ceremony of conferring them is greatly regarded, and must fall on some day in the fifth, ninth, or eleventh month after the child's birth. At a fortunate day that has been calculated by the astrologer, the relatives and friends of the family assemble, and at a fortunate hour, the grandfather, or should both grandfathers be dead, the father, takes a little rice in his fingers,

puts it into the child's mouth, and at the same time gives it its name. An entertainment is made for the occasion, at which the men sit down together, and before the women; and each is served with the best the house affords on a piece of plantain leaf. The name given varies according to the rank of the family, and excepting in low castes is composed of a general name applicable to all of that rank, and of a trivial name to distinguish the individual. Thus, all boys of respectable caste and family are either called "rale" or "appo," and are distinguished each by some trifling addition, as "loochoo," great, "punchy," little, "kalu," black, &c. and in the case of girls the same rule is followed; they are called "etanna," lady, and have besides some distinctive name, suggestive either of beauty or value. When grown up, persons take their name either from the place of their residence, or from the offices they may fill, the Singhalese being without family names. They are, however, a people ambitious of titles and names, and their language is strained to the utmost to enable them to gratify themselves in this respect.

Family attachments are described by Dr. Davy as remarkably strong and sincere among the Singhalese: there is little to divert or weaken them, and they are strengthened equally by their mode of life and their religion. "A family," says he, "is the focus in which all the tender affections of a native are concentrated. Parents are generally treated with the greatest respect and regard, and children with extraordinary affection. During the rebellion of 1817, very many instances occurred of fathers voluntarily delivering themselves up after their families had been taken."

Midwives are almost unknown among the Singhalese, the neighbours being always ready to assist at the birth of a child. As soon as it is born, the father, or some friend, applies to an astrologer, to learn whether its nativity is under the influence of a good or evil planet. If under an evil one, they frequently used to destroy[1] it, either by starvation, or drown it by immersing its head in water, or by burying it alive; or else they would give it to a person of their own rank, who would bring it up under the impression that it would prove anything but a misfortune to themselves, though it might to its own parent. When asked why they treated their offspring in this heartless manner, the real parent would reply, in a deprecatory tone, "Why should I bring up a devil in my house?" believing that a child thus born in an evil hour would be a plague to his

[1] I regret to have to differ from so eminent an authority as Dr. Davy in any one thing; but, after a scrupulous examination of every authority on the subject, I have come to the conclusion that, whatever answer the Singhalese might return to an English gentleman, known to have a semi-official character, in regard of an act which they soon learnt to be a felony, and punishable as such, yet that they were far from holding the crime in general abhorrence, that it was committed in other than the wildest parts of the country, from other causes than necessity, and by others than parents on the brink of starvation, who found that they must either sacrifice a part of the family, or die altogether.

parents by disobedience. A first-born was never thus treated, but, on the contrary, caressed with great affection; and it was only when the family became numerous, and appeared likely to outstrip the means of subsistence, that this pretext for its death was resorted to.

Under the Kandian dynasty child-murder was hardly considered a crime, and is not known to have been visited by any punishment on the part of the law. As soon, however, as the British rule became felt, and it became known that the party guilty of this offence would receive a punishment no less ignominious than for the murder of a person of maturer years, infanticide naturally ceased, especially in the face of the new means of subsistence, and increased plenty thereby opened to the whole people.

As to the neglect of sick relations, by turning them out of their houses, and even throwing them into the jungle to perish, less will require to be said; because, if the direct contrary cannot be proved, it may be inferred, from the absence of motive for such an indignity. This error has arisen, perhaps, from the circumstance that a person dangerously ill, is frequently placed in an adjoining temporary building, that, should he die, the house may escape pollution. Generally they are attentive to their sick, especially their parents and children, and are not wanting in any kind offices towards them.

The Singhalese in general are afraid of death, and in the hour of sickness chiefly invoke the compassion of devils, whose malignity they greatly apprehend. No person will come near a house where a corpse is lying, lest they should be defiled; but none but the lowest and most degraded of the people can rightly be charged with neglect of the dead: on the contrary, their duties commence as soon as the fatal event has taken place. As Buddha came from the east, they lie, during life, with their heads in that direction; and as they think it improper that the living and the dead should lie in the same way, their first duty is to turn the head of the corpse to the westward. Then they decently compose the limbs, tie the great toes together, place the expanded hands on the chest, wash the body, dress it in its best clothes, and deck it with the best ornaments worn during life. The higher classes prefer to burn their dead, to prevent putrefaction; but the poorer, in general, bury them. In most cases, a priest is sent for, who spends a whole night in praying and singing for the safety of the soul of the departed, for which he is handsomely rewarded, the yellow-robed fraternity generally taking care to remind the relatives that the deceased would fare well or ill, in proportion to their largesses to himself. In mourning for the dead, the women present loose their hair, and let it hang down, and with their two hands together behind their heads, make a hideous noise, crying and moaning as loud as they can, alternately praising and extolling the virtues of the deceased, and lamenting their own woeful and bereaved condition. This continues for three

or four days. "The women, however," remarks Knox, "are of a very strong, courageous spirit, taking nothing very much to heart, mourning more for fashion than affection, never overwhelmed either with grief or love; and when their husbands die, their great care is to find a substitute as quickly as possible." Before burning the bodies of people of quality, they formerly placed them in the hollow of a tree, scooped out for the purpose, and having embowelled and embalmed it, filled all the interstices of this natural coffin with pepper. If the deceased were a maha nilamé, or person of the highest rank, he was laid on a sort of bedstead, which was fastened on poles, or on an open palanquin, and carried on men's shoulders, preceded by the mourning tom-tom, and followed by the male relations, accompanied by a priest, to the pyre, which was generally raised in the most conspicuous place. It consisted of a layer of cocoa-nut shells, another of cocoa-nut husks, and an upper layer of wood, about three feet high, the whole being secured by stakes at the sides, and with strong posts at the corners; the funeral fire is kindled by the nearest relation of the deceased, and the priest recites prayers for the happiness of the deceased in a future state of existence. Over all they have a kind of canopy built, covered at the top, and hung about with painted cloth, and bunches of cocoa-nuts and green boughs. After all is burnt to ashes, they sweep them together into a heap, and hedge the place round to prevent wild beasts breaking in. At the expiration of seven days, they come back with priests, and cover the ashes with a pile of stones a few feet high, or else remove them in an earthen pot, and deposit them in some wiharè, or in the family burying ground. The priests conclude the ceremony with a moral discourse, inculcating resignation, good actions, the shunning of evil, and a strict observance of the duties of religion. In many cases the mourning, except the dress of dark blue, may be said to cease with the termination of the ceremonies. Generally men alone attend funerals; but in the district of Dombera, the corpse, according to Dr. Davy, is carried by females, and all the last sad offices of humanity performed by them. An ordinary nobleman was entitled to a lesser share of respect.

The Singhalese, as a nation, are superstitious to the last degree, viewing the most trifling accident as an omen portentous of good or evil. Thus, if a man, in entering on the business of the day, should chance to meet with any ill omen, or even to sneeze, he will stop under the impression that some misfortune will happen if he proceed. "There is a little creature," says Knox, "like a lizard, which they consider vaticinal. If it cries while they are proceeding on any work, they will stop, in the belief that they are subject to the malevolence of some bad planet. In first going out in the morning, they anxiously observe the first person they meet; and if it happens to be a white man or a fat woman, they hold it fortunate; but to see any decrepid or deformed people, the reverse." As a proof of their

prudery in the most trivial things, Knox relates that, if persons of a low caste happened to be conversing when the housewife was about to put the rice into the pot, she requested them to be silent till she had put it in; for if they talk during that process, they think it would not swell. At the period of their confinement, women are accounted very unclean, and the house which they inhabit is considered polluted, and none will approach it till due purification has taken place.

Under the Kandian dynasty, a woman was not allowed to sit on a seat in the presence of a man, not even ladies of rank; and women were liable to the penalty of losing their tongues in charging any person to perform a thing in the king's name, a privilege which was conceded to men of rank without restraint. If, however, the Court of Kandy indulged an idiosyncracy fatal to the rights of women in some respects, it compensated for it in others; thus women were exempted from paying the land-tax on their hereditary property, and from custom duties for the produce or manufactures carried by them to the sea-ports; and the chivalry of the old régime extended so far as to exempt from taxation anything carried on female cattle.

The Singhalese are not much addicted to sport and pastime; but the new year is their carnival, and time for rejoicing, and one of their diversions at that time is to bowl cocoa-nuts against each other. None will at this season work, unless the astrologers announce the omens favourable to work; and then the man takes up his axe, bill, and hoe, and the woman her broom, pestle, and fan, to clean her corn.

There was one national game connected with the superstitious worship of the goddess Patiné, now in great measure fallen into disuse, as much from its extreme lasciviousness as from any other cause, it was called "Patiné Deiyo," and its celebration was considered to free the country from grief and disease. On account of its gross rites it was never held near any town, nor in the presence of women, but in some isolated spot. The game itself was as follows:—The two parties had crooked sticks, like elbows, one hooked into the other, and pulled with ropes until the one broke the other, some siding with one stick, and some with the other. Upon the breaking of the stick, the winner demonstrated his joy by the commencement of the most disgusting orgies, dancing and singing, and in turn exhausting his vocabulary for the most filthy expressions, and his body for the most lascivious postures; and he was considered to have entered most into the spirit of the thing who was most shameless and lewd.

This filthy solemnity was much in vogue, and attended by the Singhalese monarchs until the reign of Raja Singha, who forbade it under a heavy penalty. So much, however, was it to the taste of the people, that Knox tells us the people of Gampola attempted its revival, for which they were amerced in a penalty. As the mode of

its enforcement is calculated to afford an insight into the imbecility of the subordinate workings of a despotic government, I will subjoin it. The nobleman sent to collect the fine, feeling assured the people would not come to pay it, was compelled to resort to stratagem. Pitching his tents, therefore, by a pond, he gave orders to all the people to assemble, and assist him in catching fish for the king's use. Hoping to have a remnant for themselves, they flocked with their nets, &c., when the nobleman, pulling off his cap, and falling down upon the ground three times, charged them in the king's name not to stir from thence until they had deposited with him the sum of money they had been condemned to pay for the revival of the forbidden game. Seeing no other alternative than compliance, they were forced to obey, and the money (unless appropriated by the noble aforesaid), was carried into the exchequer.

The Singhalese, like the people of the Peninsula, are famous for feats of activity and legerdemain. At the great festival in the new moon of June or July, full scope is afforded for the professors of both arts, of which we will give a specimen or two. A man will set a pole, seven or eight feet long, upon his breast, when a boy will climb to the top, and lean with his stomach upon the end of it, the man dancing with the pole on his breast, and the boy taking a careless hold. Again, a man will take four arrows, with blades about a foot long, tied one across another, and laid upon the end of a pole, which rests upon the man's breast: on a sudden he squats on the ground, and the four arrows all fall on the four sides of him, and stick in the ground.

Two cross-bows stand, bent one opposite to the other, charged with arrows, drawn up to the heads; they are placed just so high as to fly over a man's back when he lies flat upon the ground. A man will dance between them, and show tricks; and when all is ready, he touches a string fastened to both sides of their triggers, on which they instantly go off, and he falls flat down between them, and the arrows fly over his back; whereas, if they hit him, they would undoubtedly fly through his body. A woman will take two naked swords, one under each arm, and hold another in her mouth; then running, she turns clean over, never touching the ground till she lights on her feet again, having, meanwhile, held all her swords fast.

The Singhalese have, if any, very confused notions of a dramatic representation; dancing, and a monotonous vocal response to their musical instruments, with posture and gesture making, being the chief constituents. Masked figures of the most hideous appearance, including representations of the devil, princes and princesses hunting, bears and stags, men encased in a figure, made to resemble the fleshy parts of the human body, filling up the motley scene.

At their seasons of leisure they meet at the ambulams (rest-houses), and sit chewing betel, surveying one another intently

with their eyes, and discussing the proceedings of government, or other topics of interest connected with agriculture, &c.; and the arrival of a foreigner affords them the much desired opportunity of satisfying their curiosity as to foreign manners and customs. This harmless mode of passing their time is their chief delight. Drunkenness is by no means a common vice, and the use of tobacco is even considered irregular, though it is eaten by both men and women, being rarely inhaled in pipes.

The chewing of betel[1] is their chief enjoyment, and is even more inveterate than a pipe to a Dutchman. On going to bed they first fill their mouths with it, and keep it there until they wake, and then spit it out, and take more, their mouths being only without it when they are eating their meals. Both men and women would sooner abstain from food or clothes than deprive themselves of this stimulant, and where Europeans have been tempted to use it, abstinence was equally difficult. But the principal grounds of Singhalese partiality for it arise from its wholesomeness, the perfume it gives, and the discoloration of the teeth, white teeth being by many considered as only fit for dogs. The only occupation of women of the higher classes would appear to consist in sitting, and chewing betel; and the pleasures of conviviality are as much enjoyed over the discussion of this stimulant as over wine among us. The mode in which betel is taken is generally as follows:—A small box, which they carry with them, is filled with wet lime, a portion of which is spread thin upon the leaf, and some slices of the areca nut being wrapped up in the leaf, the whole is placed in the mouth, when they rub the compound on their teeth to make them black; but sometimes they will take the three ingredients separately. The way in which they make lime when travelling is curious. Searching for the small shells, to be found on the banks of the fresh water rivers, or the coral from the coral beds of the coast, they mix them with charcoal and fire, and wrap them up in a wisp of rice straw, which they bind together in a round bundle, and tie with green withs to prevent its falling in pieces, and holding it by a with about four feet long, they swing it round over their heads, and by this motion blow the coals which are set on fire. When tired of swinging it in one hand, they will take it in the other, and by swinging it for half an hour, it will have become excellent lime (being still kept together by the green withs), and when wetted, is put into their boxes for use. On ordinary occasions lime made of white stone is used.

The Singhalese of the interior are rarely found collected in large

1 Betel is a variously compounded masticatory; it most commonly consists of betel-leaf, areca-nut, quenched lime, tobacco, and catechu. Each chief has a servant whose duty it is to supply his master with this article. In the preparation two instruments are used, the girri, for cutting the areca-nut, and the wanggedi and moolgah, a kind of mortar and pestle, for mincing and intimately mixing the ingredients. The boxes of the higher ranks in which the materials are kept are generally of silver, and very handsomely wrought.

villages. For ages the natives have preferred, like all agricultural people, living in small hamlets, consisting of a few houses, or in detached habitations, separated from each other only by the extent of land belonging to each individual.

The houses of the Singhalese are, in general, small, low, thatched cottages, built with sticks daubed with clay, the walls of which are made very smooth with white clay; for under the Kandian dynasty they were not permitted to build houses more than one story high, nor allowed the use of either tiles or lime. They are generally built in sheltered spots, defended from the wind, to which they have a great aversion, and are as near their paddy fields as possible, to protect the crop on which they most rely for subsistence. Carpenters or house builders are only employed by the upper classes, each person in general building his own dwelling, in the erection of which no nails are used: but every part is tied with rattans and other strings, which may be procured in abundance in the woods, and timber may be had for cutting. Each dwelling is a little establishment of itself, and each little hamlet, as far as its wants are concerned, is independent of the world without. A family have about them, and in their neighbourhood, almost everything they require;—rice from their own fields, milk from their cows and buffaloes, and fruit and oil from the trees that surround and shade their dwellings. The blacksmith of the village, the weaver, potter, &c. furnish them in barter with those articles they do not themselves produce. From the Moor pedlars they procure, by barter, the few comforts or luxuries they indulge in, and which the country does not afford, as salt, salt fish, tobacco, and English manufactures. From the warmth of the country, many do not even take the trouble to clay their walls, but use the boughs and leaves of trees. The poorer classes have seldom more than one room. The interior is no less simple, and from the absence of chimneys, the fires are made in one corner, so that the roof is blackened by the smoke.

The houses of the nobility are more commodious, and are tiled, and in the interior consist of two buildings, fronting each other, and joined together on each side by a wall, which forms a square court-yard in the centre, bordered by a verandah, with which the side rooms communicate by narrow doors. Most of their rooms are dark, or only furnished with windows scarcely large enough to admit the human head. Round the walls are banks of clay for seats, which are often daubed over with soft cow-dung, to keep them smooth and clean. In the vicinity, but in smaller houses, reside the servants, with their wives and children. The furniture of their houses is scanty and mean: a few earthen pots hang up in slings made of canes, in the middle of their houses, which act as a substitute for shelves. One or two brass basins to eat in, a couch, a stool or two without backs (for under their kings, none but the prince himself might sit upon a stool with a back), a few dishes of porcelain—the higher

classes display a small quantity of plate and other articles of luxury —some baskets to hold the corn used in daily consumption; mats spread on the ground for bedding; an apparatus for procuring oil by the compression of two or three different kinds of seeds in a rattan bag, which answers the double purpose of a receptacle of the material, and a filter for the oil—the pressure is made on the bag by the action of a perpendicular lever;—a few ebony pestles, about four feet long, to beat rice out of the husk, and a wooden mortar, called wang-gadea, to crush it in and make it white, a flat stone upon which to grind their pepper and turmeric, and another, called Koracan, which is very similar to the old Celtic querne, and held in the hand for a like purpose; a heromané, or cocoa-nut scraper, consisting of a circular iron rasp, fixed into a wooden stand—it is used for the purpose of reducing the ripe cocoa-nut to a mixed state, as the ingredient of curry, into the composition of which it always enters. In addition are axes, bills, hoes, adzes, chisels, and other tools. Tables they do not require, as they sit on mats, and eat on the ground: strangers are allowed a stool, and their victuals are placed near them on another. When the chiefs receive Europeans on state occasions, they generally prepare large bungalows, which are fitted up in a short time with the greatest neatness and elegance. Already, however, several articles of European furniture have found their way into their permanent residences; and under the next generation we may reasonably expect a wholesale conformity to European habits and mode of life. Many of the chiefs have latterly had houses built after the European manner, and have introduced European luxuries into their internal arrangements. In the maritime provinces the customs of Europe have long prevailed.

The ordinary diet of the people is very meagre, consisting of rice seasoned with salt, the chief condiment of the East, and a few vegetables, flavoured with lemon juice and pepper, from which they will make at any time a hearty meal. Beef is forbidden, being an abomination. Flesh is scarce, and fish not always plentiful; and when it is, they prefer selling it to Europeans to keeping it for themselves. It is considered anything but a reproach to be sparing in diet, but rather a credit to live on hard fare and suffer hunger.

The hondrew class are rather more luxurious, eating from five or six sorts of food, one or two of which consist of meat or fish, and the remainder of vegetable dishes. Their chief food, however, is rice—the other dishes being used principally for a relish. Their mode of cooking is cleanly and skilful, all things considered, and when a person has become habituated by custom to their kind of fare, it is savoury and good. The liquid in common use is water only, and if they drink arrack it is before they eat, that it may have an effect upon the appetite. In drinking they do not let the vessel touch the mouth, but holding it at a distance, pour it in. Their rice they eat out of dishes of china or brass basins, or those failing, on leaves. Their currics, or other

sorts of food which they eat with their rice, are kept in the pans they are dressed in, and their wives serve them with them when called upon, for it is their duty to wait upon their husbands while they eat, meanwhile preserving a strict silence, and when the latter have finished take their turn, and leave the children to finish what is left. Among poor people of low caste this distinction is not observed, and father, mother, and children eat together; occasionally even in families of the highest rank the master and mistress of the house associate at meals, but it is considered uxorious and indecorous. It is however on the increase. They are particular in washing their hands and mouths both before and after their meals, but it is considered as an affront for others to pour the water on their hands, for that is done to those who are held unworthy of handling the water-pot, but when they wash with one hand they pour it themselves on the other. They are cleanly in their persons, which they constantly wash.

During the season when lemons are abundant, they gather them and squeeze the juice into an earthen pot, which they set over the fire, and boil till it acquires the consistency and colour of tar, and then lay it by as a preserve. A small quantity suffices for sauce, They have a great variety of sweetmeats; one is like a fritter made of rice flour and jaggery. This, when made up into small lumps and laid upon a leaf, is pressed with the thumbs, and fried in cocoa-nut oil or butter. Another sort of sweetmeat, is made of parched rice, jaggery, pepper, cardamon and a little cinnamon; this when rolled up in balls becomes hard, and is tied up in bags and carried by travellers to appease the calls of hunger. A third is made in much the same manner, but they are flat and lozenge-shaped, and are used for the recovery of fainting people. A fourth consists of rice flour and the meat of the cocoa-nut and jaggery, and being formed into small lumps, are put into a leaf, and laid on a cloth over a pot of boiling water, the steam of which heats and soddens it; their taste resembles white bread, almonds and sugar. Pitu is made of Korakan flour, with a little water sprinkled over it in a large pot; it is then stirred and rolled with the hands, when it crumbles into corns like gunpowder; they then take a pot of boiling water with a cloth tied over it, and on this cloth they place as much of this flour as can be covered by another pot, when the steam coming through the cloth boils it like a pudding.

One of the women's duties is to beat the rice out of the husk, which is done with an ebony pestle, the rice being laid on the ground and then beaten, one blow with one hand and another with the other, the feet keeping up the corn into a heap; a wooden mortar is then used to whiten it. It is their business to keep the house neat, to prepare the meals, to milk and to spin. The hewing of wood and drawing of water belongs also to the women in poor families. The wood they carry on their heads, and the water in an earthen pot on their hips. They have also to cut herbs, &c. which

is done with a bill laid upon the ground with the edge upwards, the woman placing herself on a handle to hold it fast, and laying on the edge sufficient for her purpose. The common entertainment of visitors is bullat, which is eaten raw with lime, betel, areca-nut and tobacco, and when the stranger is rested, the master of the house will interrogate him as to his business; for if this ceremony is delayed, the guest will take exceptions at it, considering that he is not welcome.

Indeed, they seldom visit each other except it be to beg or borrow something. Even near relatives manifest no affection to each other in their visits, but sit with the gravity of strangers. If their stay exceeds one night, they proffer their services to the master of the house for any work he may have in hand. When one friend visits another, he never goes empty-handed, but carries provisions and sweetmeats as presents, when the host feasts him in return, according to his ability, but there is little hospitality among them except at weddings. In meeting one another, their mode of salutation or respect is to hold forth their two hands, the palms upwards, and move their bodies; but the superior holds forth but one hand, and in the case of one greatly his inferior only nods his head: the women salute by holding up both their hands edgeways to their foreheads. The general compliment is "Ay," or How do you do? and the answer "Hundoi," or Well. The dress of the houdrews is as follows: their doublets are of white or blue calico, and about their middle they wear a white cloth and a blue one over it, a blue or red sash girt about their loins, and a knife with a carved handle, wrought or inlaid with silver, sticks in their bosom, and a carved short hanger, inlaid with brass and silver by their sides, the scabbard being covered with engraved silver; a painted cane, and a boy in attendance bareheaded, with his hair hanging down behind, carrying in his hand a small bag instead of a pocket, which contains betel-leaves and areca-nuts, that they are always chewing, with lime in an engraved silver box like a watch. It is their custom to wear their hair long, but when they have work to do they tie it up behind in a knot. Formerly they bored their ears and hung weights in them to increase their growth like the Malabars, but Raja Singha having discountenanced this fashion, it became obsolete. Brass, copper and silver rings are worn on the fingers of some, and the leading nobility wear gold. The women far surpass the men in the taste with which they dress, and indeed the men seem to approve of this superiority, reserving their own dignity for a display of servants bearing arms before and behind them. In their houses the women dress in a manner befitting the duties they have to perform, but it is when they appear abroad that they affect display. They then wear a short frock, with sleeves of fine white calico, wrought with blue and red thread in flowers and branches; on their arms silver bracelets, and silver rings on their fingers and toes; about their necks necklaces of beads or silver, curiously wrought and engraven, and gilded with gold,

which hung down as low as their breasts; in their ears hung ornaments of silver set with stone, neatly engraven and gilded. The ear is bored when they are young, and cocoa-nut leaves rolled up and put into the holes to stretch them, by which means they become so wide that they form a prominent feature in the face, which they greatly disfigure.

Their hair is oiled with cocoa-nut oil to make it smooth, and they comb it all behind. It seldom reaches lower than the waist; but as it is considered an ornament to have a great bunch of hair, they have a lock of other hair fastened in a silver plate, and tied up with their own in a knot hanging half way down their backs. Their hands are bare, but they carry a scarf of striped silk, and throw it carelessly over their head and shoulders. About the waist they have one or two silver girdles, consisting of wire and silver plate, hanging down on each side, and crossing one another behind.

In walking they chew betel. Shoes and stockings were not allowed under the Kandian dynasty, that being a royal privilege; but this disability now no longer obtains. In paying visits or going abroad, it is the custom with all classes to borrow clothes or jewels, and is considered no disgrace nor matter for concealment. The poverty of a great part of the people is such, that they have not a full supply of ordinary clothing, which, to say the least, is mean enough.

As regards their sleeping apartments, they are by no means particular, for the men sleep together at one end of the room and the women at the other. The bedstead is laced with canes or rattans, but has neither testers nor curtains—those superfluities having been forbidden under the kings. In general there is but one bedstead in a poor family, which the master sits or sleeps on; to the bedstead belongs two mats and a straw pillow. The women and children lie on the ground by the fireside on mats, placing a block or some such thing under their mats for a pillow. For bedding they use the clothes they wear by day. The children are impatient if there is not a fire burning all night near their feet, which increases the labour of the women, who have to fetch it all upon their heads, it being considered a disgrace for the men to meddle with the duties belonging to the women. The younger children, who run about naked all day, creep in under their mother's clothes, and if they feel themselves cold in the night, run and blow the fire with their mouth, and sit and warm themselves. So little sleep do they require that they rise very often in the night to eat betel and take tobacco, and then lay down again and sing themselves to sleep. On first going to bed they will often ejaculate "God keep me;" but they are generally enjoined to sing songs on that occasion.

The Singhalese rise at dawn of day, and retire to rest about nine or ten o'clock at night.

Their principal meal is at noon; it consists chiefly of rice and curry, which is commonly composed of red pepper, salt, lime juice,

and the dried skin of the ghorka.[1] The higher ranks make use of a variety of curries, and eat animal food, as eggs, fowls and different kinds of game. Besides in the middle of the day, some eat early in the morning, and almost all have a meal at night. Many other articles of food are used besides, particularly milk, of which in its coagulated state the Singhalese are fond. Cheese they do not themselves make, nor butter, except in a clarified state, when it is called ghee, and is an addition to their curries.

In concluding our notice of Singhalese manners, we shall omit an important particular if we fail to speak in the terms it deserves of the mutual respect which, in spite of the rigidity of caste, binds man to man. Neither the hondrew is arrogant, nor the poor man servile; the one is affable and condescending, and the other modest and unpresuming. The intercourse of different ranks is encouraged by their religion, and strengthened by the circumstance, that, on one side, there is nothing the great are so ambitious of as popularity, and nothing the people are so desirous of as favour.

To revert, as briefly as possible, to the state of civilization enjoyed by the Singhalese in various ages. We have already described it as arrested in a state of prematurity, whether from an inherent weakness, or the violence of internal commotion. The ruins of former magnificent edifices, and the tanks that still remain, attest the conception and operation of no feeble agent or designer; and yet we are assured in regard to the former, that the Singhalese were as incompetent to construct such edifices three centuries ago as they are at the present day. Can an art, we might naturally ask, so soon become extinct, when its model still remains? and did architectural skill pass from the hands of the Singhalese in the same mysterious manner as an important branch of mediæval masonry from ourselves? If so, will not reason and analogy point out a solution to a problem so strange, in the circumstance that foreign aid was probably invoked in both instances. We have already seen that recourse was had to Siam for religious instructors; is there any ground for supposing that a proffer of assistance from the same quarter for the embodiment of the symbols of religion in the imperishable monuments of art would be spurned?

Viewed in another light, we shall perceive that Singhalese civilization was of too isolated a character ever to arrive at a state even approaching to perfection. We need scarcely ask ourselves what agency has been in operation in Europe to raise it to its present standard—what but the stimulus of national emulation could have goaded or lashed us up to our present proud position! But that stimulus was wanting in Ceylon. Its closest connection with the Peninsula

[1] The following is a receipt of a Singhalese curry stuff of the better sort: A piece of green ginger, two cloves of garlic, a few coriander and cummin seeds, six small onions, one dry chilly or capsicum, six or eight corns of pepper, a small piece of turmeric, half a dessert-spoon of butter, half a cocoa-nut, half a lime.

was either as a momentary conqueror or a captured province; they did not act and react upon each other as the nations of Western Europe.

In the chief attribute of civilization—moral power—it was, moreover, always deficient; in physical power—another important element—it was equally wanting. An extensive commerce, vast manufactures, and an immense motive power in machinery, may not in themselves be the criterion of a perfect civilization; but when allied to physical power, a comparatively high degree of refinement, and a high standard of morality, they give to the nation possessing them a decided pre-eminence over others. It is of no use to say, that in a tropical climate the same wants are not felt as in a more temperate one. We may discard a superfluity of dress under the influence of a vertical sun; not so the ordinary requirements of a progressive civilization. Mr. Knighton has laboured with the partiality of an advocate in preferring an exception of this sort. Ceylon possesses a valid claim to having arrived at the first stage of civilization, by the constitution of a society; the courtly polish of its inhabitants, and the relics of art, prove its advance a considerable way on the second; but it was arrested at a point, beyond which the countries of South America had considerably advanced on the invasion of the Spaniards, although their very existence was unknown to the inhabitants of the three continents, although they were subject to the same influence of climate, and to all appearance had an equally tame and unenterprising moral character. The principal claim of Ceylon, as of India, to our notice, in connection with civilization, will lie in the evidence they afford of the starting point and concatenation of that heavenly light, first from China, then westward to themselves, and from them to Egypt, from whence the Lesser Asia, and finally Europe, were illumined.

CHAPTER V.

Manufactures—Gold—Silver—Iron—Pottery—Weaving—Jewellery—Cabinet work, &c.

WITH the simplest possible tools, the Singhalese work in gold and silver with great taste and dexterity, and execute articles of jewellery with a skill that would find admirers rather than imitators in Europe. The most accomplished artificer uses the following apparatus and tools:—a low earthen pot full of chaff or sawdust, on which he makes a charcoal fire; a small bamboo blow-pipe, about six inches long, with which he excites the fire; a short earthen tube or nozle, the extremity of which is placed at the bottom of the fire, and through

which the artificer directs the blast of the blow-pipe; two or three small crucibles made of the fine clay of ant-hills; a pair of tongs; an anvil; two or three small hammers; a file; and to sum up the list, a few small bars of iron and brass, about two inches long, differently pointed, for different kinds of work. With these appliances a small but intense fire can be kindled in a few minutes, strong enough to melt silver and gold. Such a simple portable forge is worthy of the attention of the mineralogical experimentalist, and is capable of being made useful in all cases where a small fire is required, larger than can be produced by the common blow-pipe, and a forge is not within reach. The success of this portable forge depends, however, in no small degree on the bed of the fire being composed of a combustible material, and a very bad conductor of heat. The natives excel in the setting more than in the cutting of the precious stones, especially the Kandians, who are unaccustomed to that operation, jewels having been worn at the court of Kandy uncut, or at least only rounded and polished. Jewellery of a certain kind is made in Ceylon, at least in the maritime provinces, but though showy and attractive, it generally turns out to be deceptive; broken blue, green, yellow, and purple finger glasses being often transformed into sapphires, emeralds, amethysts, and topazes; veneered tortoise-shell into solid tortoise-shell snuff-boxes, and Birmingham gilt chains into Ceylon gold chains, &c. to be sold to the unwary. Good jewellery is, however, to be procured by those who are not to be imposed upon.

Ores of iron and manganese are the only ones the natives have as yet turned to account. Their process of smelting, like most of their other processes in the arts, is chiefly remarkable for its extreme simplicity, a pair of double bellows, formed of bullock's hides, with wooden pipes, blowing into a clay furnace, about the size of an ordinary boiler, being all that is required. Davy thus describes it:—"Each furnace at its mouth is about one foot four inches by eight inches in diameter, about three feet deep, and terminated in the form of a funnel over a shallow pit, inclining outwards. They are made in a bed of clay, about three feet high, and of equal width, against which a light wall about ten feet high is raised, to protect the bellows and operators, who are situated immediately behind. Each bellows consists of a circular rim of wood, about six inches in diameter, and scarcely two high, fixed on a clay floor, and covered with moist cow hide, in the centre of which was a hole to admit air and to receive a cross stick, to which a cord is attached that is fastened above to an elastic stick. Each pair of bellows is worked by a boy, who rests his back against a rope for the purpose of support, and steps alternately from the orifice of one bellows to that of the other, at each step forcing a blast of air into the furnace, through a tube of bamboo. The furnaces are charged with a mixture of iron ore, broken into small pieces, and charcoal. The fires are

kept up as strong as possible, till the ore is reduced, and the fused metal collected in a cake in the ash pit. Here the labour of the smelter terminated: he sells the crude metal without subjecting it to any further operation, leaving it to the blacksmith to purify, by the repeated operation of heating it in a charcoal fire, and bringing it by hammering into a malleable state, fit for working." The quality of the iron thus rudely produced is necessarily excellent, as the most promising ores only are selected, and charcoal is the fuel always used.

In the district of Mátalé, the natives prepare steel, by inclosing a small piece of iron, surrounded by wedges of the wood of a particular shrub in a cylinder of clay, which is then placed in a furnace for a sufficient length of time: the case, when removed from the fire, appears vitrified, is about a foot in length, and an inch and a half in diameter, but the bit of steel is scarcely larger than a man's finger. "The Singhalese blacksmith," observes the writer I have quoted above, "is far from unskilful in the exercise of his art: he is on a par, perhaps, with the common country blacksmith in any part of Europe, and his smithery is almost as well provided with tools. He never employs, however, or is even acquainted with, the vice. He uses an instrument for drilling holes in iron and brass called tarapane, that answers the purpose extremely well, and is really ingenious. It is about two feet and a half high: the cord attached to the cross stick is made of slips of hide twisted. The round weight, to give momentum, is generally of compact gneiss, neatly cut. Any kind of borer can be fixed to the extremity of the wooden rod. The instrument is worked on the principle of torsion. No blacksmiths, perhaps, have a greater variety of bellows than the Singhalese. Occasionally they use the one already described; occasionally one resembling a common English bellows; and sometimes as a substitute, a couple of bags, made of bullock's hides, each furnished with a bamboo nozle, and a long slit as a mouth, with wooden lips that are opened and drawn up, and shut and pressed down alternately by the hands of a person sitting between the pair, who keeps up a constant blast by the alternate action of the two."

The smiths employ a singular compound as a hone for sharpening knives and cutting instruments. It is formed of the resin of the kapitia, and of corundum. The corundum, in a state of impalpable powder, is mixed with the resin, rendered liquid by heat, and well mixed. It is then poured into a wooden mould, and its surface levelled and smoothed while hot; for when cool it immediately indurates. The natives esteem it highly, and much prefer it to the hones imported. The Singhalese have also a simple but effectual method of keeping iron tools from rust, which they effect by covering them with a thin coating of melted bees-wax, and either deposit them in the earth, or leave them in the open air, in the full assurance of their running no danger of spoiling. Though the workmanship of the

Singhalese is coarse, they have sometimes contrived to manufacture locks, and even gun-locks and gun-barrels, which from the purity of the metal are in general not liable to burst.

The pottery of the Singhalese, though equally coarse and unglazed, is often of elegant form, and of antique appearance. "In the manufacture," says Davy, "besides a wooden mallet and a smooth stone to oppose to it, they use only a wooden wheel, which is worked by the hands of an assistant, and revolves on a neatly formed pivot of stone, that moves in a cavity of a cylindrical stone, fixed in the ground, and sunk to the depth of two-thirds of its whole length. The cavity is well smeared with oil. The head of the pivot is firmly attached by the glutinous matter of the jack-fruit to a cavity in the middle of the under surface of the wheel. These two stones, called by the Singhalese koodogalle, are the most valuable parts of the apparatus; they last in continued use about forty years, and constitute the present which is usually given by a potter to his son on his marriage."

The art of weaving is quite in an elementary state in Ceylon, and is not likely to improve, now that every native can be furnished at his own door with cloth at one half the price at which he can manufacture it himself. Their loom is of the most primitive construction, worked by the manufacturer in a sitting posture, with his legs in a pit dug for the purpose of receiving them. No muslins are made in the country, being procured either from Masulipatam or England; and if any cloth is still woven, it is the coarse and strong cotton cloth worn by the common people. At the same time, it is manifest from the skill with which the Singhalese have imitated various articles of European manufacture, that if they were in possession of an adequate capital, and efficient machinery, they would, from their lightness of finger, low rate of wages, and their adaptation to sedentary pursuits, become dangerous competitors of the English manufacturer. Of late years, by the help of those appliances, of which they are destitute, we have undersold them in their own market.

The Singhalese excel in the manufacture of cabinet furniture. The master cabinet-makers are generally Portuguese, but the workmen are Singhalese, and are capable of making durable and beautiful furniture of every description, from the camp-stool to the splendid calamander side-board, at a reasonable price. The native tools are of the most simple construction, and the Singhalese complain greatly of English tools as being very badly adapted to the hardness of ebony and satin-wood. In lieu of sand or glass paper for polishing wood, the native cabinet-makers employ the under surface of a leaf called Wellé-kola. The Singhalese lacquer their bows and arrows, walking-sticks, wooden bowls, and all sorts of boxes, which they make to perfection by a very simple turning lathe with the kapitya lac, leaving the surface as smooth and brilliant as the best French polish could effect, but of a more durable nature.

CHAPTER VI.

Languages used by the Singhalese—Peculiarities and Characters of each—Mental advancement among the Natives—Literature—Works, Religious, Historical, Poetical and Geographical; and Treatises on the various branches of Art and Science—State of Native Science—Eras—Astrology—Medicine, Surgery, Physiology, Pathology, Nosology, &c.—Curriculum of Study required for a Physician—Music—Architecture, Sculpture and Statuary.

THE language of Ceylon is distinct and unique, though like most of the Indian languages, it is supposed to be a derivative from the Sanscrit. By connoisseurs it is much admired for the harmony of its words and the Grecian-like significance of its compounds; its variety and force of signification is great, and though intricate, it is sufficiently methodical. Such is its variety of expression, and so numerous are its synonymes, that it may almost be said to contain three distinct vocabularies—one used in addressing majesty, another in addressing the ministers of religion, and a third for familiar intercourse. Nor is this all; as the Singhalese have high castes and low castes, so they have a high dialect and a low dialect. The first is chiefly adopted in their annals and Buddhistical writings, the last in familiar conversation. There are few books written in the low Singhalese, yet such is its importance that the translations of the Scriptures and Common Prayer, and indeed all translations used in the schools of the Missionaries and Government are made into it, and all Government proclamations and native correspondence is carried on in it. "With the former," says Davy, "the inhabitants of the maritime provinces are almost entirely unacquainted, and in consequence it is not unusual for a stranger conversing with a Kandian priest or chief, to hear a common interpreter apologize for inability to fulfil his office, under the plea that the language is too high for him." Pali, a learned and dead language, also resembling, and supposed to be a derivative from Sanscrit, is the language in which the sacred books are written, and is therefore peculiar to religion in Ceylon, as well as in Ava and Siam.

The Pali is the popular language of Maghadá,[1] the native country of Buddha. A grammar, being a translation of a celebrated work called Bālāwatara, and a vocabulary, being a translation of the Abhid-

[1] From the name of the district, came also that of the language in which it was at first promulgated. Now, however, that language is more frequently styled Pali or Bali, the origin of which designation is obscure. For this language the sacred books of Buddhism claim the highest honour, and assert its extreme antiquity: "There is a language, the root of all languages; men and Brahmins who never before heard or uttered a human sound, spoke it at the commencement of the creation. The Buddhas themselves spoke it—it is Magadhi."

hanappadīpika have recently been published. The Pali is derived immediately from the Sanscrit by casting out aspirated and rough consonants, as "Dharma," in Sanscrit, "Righteous," becomes "Damma," in Pāli, and "Dama," in Elu, the language of poetry.

Two distinct written characters have been employed in Ceylon, one of these has been disused for centuries, and its alphabet has become unknown: this is called the Nágara, and is remarkable for the square or angular form of its letters. The Singhalese character now in vogue is on the contrary remarkable for its circularity. The Nágara for many ages has only existed in the numerous stone inscriptions that are scattered over Ceylon, and still remain untranslated; but, according to Forbes, it would seem that it is nearly identical with the character used in various inscriptions on the continent, and may possibly be deciphered by any Pali scholar. The same writer surmises that this form of letters was brought from Patalipura into Ceylon by Mihindoo, B.C. 307, and does not suppose that it was ever adopted by any but the priesthood.

The language employed in Singhalese books is not identical with that usually spoken, nor is it generally understood; it is properly called Elu, or more commonly High Singhalese, and according to the author of the Singhalese Dictionary,[1] was the language of Lanka (Ceylon) prior to the Singhalese conquest, the common Singhalese being supposed to have been introduced by the Singha conquerors. Elu does not bear so near an affinity to Sanscrit, as the colloquial language, of which, nine out of every ten words are derived from Sanscrit or Pali. The greater intricacy is not more striking than the greater regularity of the Singhalese language as compared with the dialects of Europe.

The Ceylon Portuguese differs from its European prototype, chiefly by the adoption of a number of native Singhalese and Tamul words. It is extensively used throughout the country, not only among the descendants of the Portuguese themselves, but among the Singhalese in the maritime provinces, and the Dutch, and is the

[1] The author of the Singhalese Dictionary is of opinion, that previous to the political struggle between the Malabars and Singhalese for the sovereignty of the country, there existed many copious dictionaries of the language; but that the former, on becoming triumphant, among other indignities, aimed at the extirpation of the Buddhist religion from the country, and the total annihilation of Singhalese literature. To effect these objects, the Tamul kings had the native books collected in the city of Kandy, where, being piled up to the height of a mountain, they were consumed by fire: thus the dictionaries, with many other valuable elementary works, perished, and the language was left existing only in the conversation of the people, and in the volumes secreted in the temples, &c. In after ages, the priesthood exerted themselves to replace their sacred books, either by original compositions, or importations from Buddhist countries; but the spirit of authorship had been so quenched by the persecutions of their conquerors, that the production of scientific works was never attempted, and the arrangement of their language into a complete dictionary has been left to foreigners.

general household language. There are no books in it, but the "Book of Common Prayer," and some parts of the Bible, into which it has been translated by the Missionaries.

The importance of a grammatical knowledge of their mother tongue is duly appreciated by the natives in the interior, and is in fact almost the only branch of instruction on which any real care and diligence are bestowed. Every Upasampada priest should be grammatically acquainted with it, and possess a smattering of Pali: its literature containing a considerable number of volumes in prose and verse, which form the only authentic depository of Buddhism. A few of them are also conversant with Sanscrit.

Reading and writing are already far from uncommon acquirements, and are almost as general as in England among the male part of the population, to whom they are chiefly confined: they do not as yet form a general part of female education, and in consequence the very few women who can read and write, have taught themselves after their marriage. Now that instruction and elementary books are being brought to every man's door, it may reasonably be expected that this deficiency of the sex will be shortly removed, and that a more complete acquaintance, on the part of the male population, with the various forms of speech, will give birth to new ideas and more extended views.[1]

The native language in the maritime provinces has been necessarily much corrupted, as much in consequence of their isolation from the Kandian provinces, where it has been preserved in comparative purity, as from the jargon of Tamul, Portuguese, &c. they have picked up in their intercourse with foreigners. Their books are all manuscript, but the materials of their writings are durable, and last much longer than ours, especially in Ceylon, where our paper is so apt to be destroyed by insects, and our ink to fade. Their books are pretty numerous, and though more costly than our printed works, are much cheaper than manuscripts were in Europe before the invention of printing.

The subjects of their writings are various. Their treatises on religion are in prose; on other subjects mostly in verse. In both, the style and expressions are oriental and exaggerated, no less than they are pompous and obscure. "They are extremely fond," says Davy, "of intricacies of style, and the more artificial, the more it is admired. Thus a poem, whose peculiar merit may be that it admits of a great variety of readings from the left to the right, up and down,

1 The Singhalese use an endless, and to Europeans, a disgusting variety in their modes of address, having about fourteen different terms to express the singular pronoun *you*, which must be varied not only according to the rank of the person addressed, whether real or imaginary, but likewise according to the character of the speaker, and such is their scrupulous adherence to etiquette in this particular, that the least deviation is considered an insult, and frequently occasions quarrels and even law-suits.

and in many other ways, each way making sense, is considered an extraordinary effort of genius. Those too who are learned, are very fond of variety of languages, as well as perplexity of style, and will intersperse their composition with Pali and Sanscrit quotations, or will choose to illustrate their performances with scraps from those tongues." Tamul is used in the northern province by the Malabar population, as well as by the Moormen. No further notice need be taken of it in this place, further than that it is the same as the Singhalese in idiom and construction, and like it derived in great measure from the Sanscrit.

Almost every Singhalese is a poet, if the use of verse to express his ideas or requirements, can be dignified with that appellation. Love, with us the impelling cause of song, yields in their case to self-interest, what wonder then that they should strive to make up by adulatory expressions, for an impulse they have never felt or deserve to feel. All their poetry is sung or recited, and they have seven tunes by which they are modulated.[1]

The sciences can scarcely be said to exist among the Singhalese. Of mathematics and geometry, they are as yet entirely ignorant; and even of arithmetic, their knowledge is very limited and unprecise. They have no figures to represent numbers, and according to their own method, are obliged to use letters. This mode, from its inconvenience, fell into disuse, and in its place they adopted the Malabar or Tamul figures, which are on the decimal principle, and simple to express the cardinal numbers, and simple also to express 10, 20, 30, &c. up to 100; and farther, to express 100 and 1000: the intermediate numbers are expressed by combinations of the simple characters, and all sums beyond 1000 are written at length. They have also borrowed tables of multiplication and subtraction from the Malabars, but in the little arithmetical operations they have occasion to make, they use these tables much less than their fingers, which, for purposes of calculation, they manage very dexterously.

The geographical information of the Singhalese, it is evident, was very limited and obscure, at least until the arrival of the Arabs, if not down to a later date; and it is not at all improbable that if they had been asked to sketch an outline of the globe, they would have been as apt as their co-religionists, the Chinese, to magnify beyond

[1] The eras made use of in Singhalese works, are the Kaliyuga, which commenced 1631 years before the death of Gautama Buddha, or B.C. 2174. The era of the death of Gautama Buddha, B.C. 543, is generally used in Pali, and also in Singhalese historical works. The period of his becoming a Buddha, B.C. 588, is occasionally employed as an era, but not in historical works. The era of the establishment of religion, is B.C. 237; and marks the time when Mihindoo renovated the Buddhist religion, and brought many relics of Gautama to Ceylon. The era of Saka, although seldom used in books, is generally employed in all deeds and grants of land, as well as every other secular document. It is the same as that of King Sálivahana, so well known on the continent of India, and whose era, as fixed by the Singhalese, corresponds to A.D. 78.

all proportion their own little world, consisting of the countries situate within the great mountain range, from whence issue the Indus, Brahmapootra, and the Ganges. The most ancient topographical works are the Kadaimpota, the Lanka Wistrie, and Rawena-Katawa.

The notion the Singhalese entertain of the heavenly bodies, is one associated with awe. Though they are but little acquainted with astronomy, yet astrology is the medium through which the most ordinary, as well as the most important events of their lives are determined. Each of their seven days is placed under the guidance of a planet, and each of the sixty hours into which their day is divided, under that of a star. They have an astrological as well as a lunar month, divided into twenty-seven days, corresponding with the number of their astrological stars or constellations, and like them called nekat, and each of these days or each nekata is divided and subdivided in a very complicated manner. No eastern people are more influenced by this deceptive art than the Singhalese;[1] their belief in it is implicit, and the more so from the mystery in which it is involved; they think it is fated that the stars should influence the affairs of mankind, and that their operations are the result of certain relative positions. "Their practice," says Davy, "is conformable to their faith, and a strong proof of their complete conviction. Their actions are in consequence, regulated by the movements of the stars. It is as common almost for a native to inquire the nekata of the time, as to ask the hour of the day. The first object of parents on the birth of a child,

1 Forbes mentions a ludicrous instance of this credulity:—"An old man had, unluckily for himself, inspired his neighbours with a belief that he had the power of bringing rain by performing certain ceremonies, and his fame was spread over the whole district. From this, and his knowledge of the appearance of the sky, and the various signs of rain, he had long imposed upon the people, and reaped considerable profit; until at last, their eagerness of belief, outrunning his powers of imposition, not only destroyed his occupation, but nearly cost him his life. It was urged by some, and acquiesced in by all, that, as there was no doubt of his ability to call down rain when necessary, it ought not to be left to his caprice when this talent should be exercised; and that, when required by a whole village, he should be obliged to furnish rain in sufficient quantities; that if he did so, he was to be liberally rewarded, but if he were contumacious, that he should be tormented by thorns and beaten into compliance. Having suffered severe punishments on several occasions, he at last made up his mind to be no longer a responsible agent for the weather, and loudly and constantly denied having any authority in the matter. This, though deemed to be a false excuse, proved a sufficient protection to him during several seasons in which there was no deficiency of moisture, but at length the people, losing all patience from a long-continued drought, which was destroying their crops, dragged the recusant astrologer to various villages, in which he suffered severely for his supposed neglect. Even the chief of the district had determined on having rain by force if fair means proved insufficient, and had sent some of his followers to bring the conjuror to the village where water was most required. Here he met Major Forbes, and threw himself upon his protection, stating that he was in terror of his life, and gravely proceeded to prove by many oaths that it was no fault of his that rain was not forthcoming.

is to have his nativity cast, and his horoscope made out, which is of more importance to the Kandian through life than any certified extract from a parish register is to an European. Not the hour of celebrating a marriage can be fixed, nor indeed a match be made in high life, without the aid of an astrologer, who in more than one instance has prevented the union of those whose circumstances were most suitable, but were unfortunately born under hostile stars." The astrologer is not only an important actor at the great national festivals, but in private life the calls on him to determine fortunate hours are innumerable, and a man would be thought extremely rash to commence sowing a field or to undertake a journey in ignorance of the nekata of his time. By means of tables of the positions of the sun and moon, introduced from the continent of India, Kandian astrologers are able to compute the period of eclipses with tolerable accuracy. Some of the priests study astronomy for amusement, but it is considered a departure from the pure practices of their faith; and the natives who make astronomy a profession, and whose business it is to write the almanacs, calculate eclipses, and regulate the dates for religious festivals, &c. belong to the lower castes, and generally adhere to the Kapu form of worship, and there is no essential or practical connection whatever between Buddhism and the astronomy of the countries where that faith is acknowledged. There are, perhaps, sufficient data to prove that this science was extensively cultivated in Ceylon long before the introduction of Buddhism; but whether the system is an indigenous one, founded on principles borrowed from that of other countries, or whether the Chaldean system was not introduced at a very early period by the Arabians from the Persian Gulf, or the shores of the Red Sea, or whether the Singhalese have adopted with certain modifications the astronomy of the Hindoos, are subjects for inquiry.

Their knowledge of medicine, and of its collateral branches, is a system of their own, founded on the most fanciful theories, and no less perplexed than erroneous. The precepts of Buddha have been interpreted by the learned expounders of his religious code as attaching a degree of stigma to medical pursuits, hence it could never be a popular study among Buddhists, and has restricted medical practitioners to the same castes as the astronomers and astrologers. As they have an abhorrence of dead bodies, by the mere contact with which they hold themselves polluted, they are totally ignorant of anatomy, and are no better informed as to the actual components of the body, or even of its functions, than they are of geometry. Their acquaintance with chemistry is merely elementary; for, with the exception of making infusions, decoctions and extracts, the only chemical agency they make use of is distillation, which is less often applied to procure distilled waters for medical purposes than to obtain an intoxicating liquor (arrack), which the natives drink in secret, though prohibited

by their religion. The still they use is earthenware, and is of the most simple character, consisting of an alembic and capital luted together; a refrigeratory and receiver of one piece, and the latter connected with the capital by a bamboo. With this rude instrument, an ardent spirit is distilled with the greatest facility from toddy, the fermented juice of the cocoa-nut tree. Their knowledge of pharmacy is equally limited. The articles of their materia-medica consist principally of simples in the shape of powders, infusions and extracts; of a few fixed oils obtained by expression or boiling; and of a very few metallic preparations, as mercury, incorporated with some fat or viscid substance; arsenic, in the state of white oxide; and copper, gold and silver in the form of powders.

Surgery is described by Dr. Davy, as in an extremely rude state. "Their surgical operations," says he, "are chiefly those of cauterising and cupping, and opening boils, even blood-letting is seldom practised by them; and during the forty years previous to 1815, the only great operation performed in Kandy, was the amputation of a leg, which was accomplished in the ancient manner, by means of a knife heated to dull redness. Their physiology is of the most fanciful kind. By means of their four common elements, earth, air, fire, and water; by means of their seven elements or proximate principles of the animal body, *viz.* skin, blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow and the spermatic fluid, and lastly, by means of their three humours, phlegm, bile, and wind, they conceive that they can account for every function of the animal economy, and for all the actions of the system, whether regular or deranged, whether in health or sickness.

Their pathology is of the same notional kind, and is entirely founded on the wild hypotheses of the preceding principia. They have imagined 572 different combinations of circumstances or causes of disease, and the same number of diseases corresponding to them; of these, 140 they suppose arise from errors of the three humours, and the rest from faults of the humours and elements, and excrementitious parts conjointly. Their nosology, embracing these 572 diseases, is founded on their pathology. In it, diseases are not considered as combinations of symptoms; on the contrary, almost each symptom or modification of a symptom is considered a distinct disease, and thus, with the help of imaginary causes, their catalogue of disorders is prolonged." Dr. Davy considers, however, that their practice is rather theoretical than empirical, and directed to obviate causes rather than palliate symptoms, or to attempt a cure on the ground of experience alone. "The general indications," says he, "in their practice are first to ripen or maturate the disease, and secondly to remove it. As they leave a great deal to nature, their ignorance and false principles are not very mischievous, and they probably do on the whole, though little good, yet more good than harm."

The curriculum of instruction, and the accomplishments expected

in a physician, illustrate most clearly the state of the art. Thus, in addition to what has been already mentioned, a scientific physician among them should be an astrologer, that he may divine the agency of the stars in creating a disease, what are the best times for using medicines, and what the most fitting occasions for culling simples. He should be a physiognomist, that he may arrive at a notion of the case for which he is summoned to prescribe, no less from the countenance of the messenger than from the patient himself. He should be an adept in interpreting dreams, that he may peer into the future relative to his patient's fate, and take notice of any suggestions the gods may be pleased to offer through this obscure channel. To this may be added the faculty of inferring from the first appearance of the disease whether it be the result of a temporary cause deranging the humours, or the consequence of some crime committed in a former state of existence. Every part of their system of medicine is deformed by such or greater absurdities; and little or no information is to be gained from it other than of a negative kind, such as the tendency of the human mind to fall into the most extraordinary errors and delusions, when it follows fancy as a guide, unattended by reason, and yields implicit belief without judgment.

The Singhalese possess neither a bevy of great writers, nor any works to which the impress of genius is attached. The chilling influence of caste has had a fatal influence in arresting the march of science, the flow of ideas, and the progress of art. In vain do we look for a literature that shall guide us in our inquiries respecting the primeval state of an interesting people. We find nothing but dark and mysterious annals, too frequently replete with exaggeration and priestly bigotry.

With the exception of the Singhalese writers, of whom mention has been already made, there are none who can be said to have outstepped the well-beaten path of mediocrity to a degree which should warrant the enumeration of them in this place. Besides works on the life and doctrines of Buddha,[1] such as the Banapota, the Pitakuttaya, including the Wineye, Abhidharma, and Suttra pitaka, and their commentaries, called the Atthakatha, there is the Pansiya-panas-jâtaka-pota, or book of the five hundred and fifty births of Buddha, the Thupawansé, or history of dágobas, the Dathadatu wansé, or history of the relic.

The Singhalese have many books, both in verse and prose, on

[1] The adoption of the Sanscrit and Pali, two classical languages, by the priests, for their sacred writings, has been supposed by some to have arisen from their desire to screen their knowledge from the vulgar, just as the Egyptian priests used the hieroglyphical and enchorial characters; others, however, maintain that there is no spirit of exclusiveness in their religion, and that by these languages they were understood by the Brahmins and Hindoos of India, and by the Buddhists of Ava and Siam. The sacred books would seem to have been originally written in Singhalese.

moral subjects, such as the origin of caste, grammar, poetry, history, medicine, astrology, geography of the island, and various branches of literature common to other Eastern nations; but the Buddhist books are always treated with the greatest reverence; and instead of being called by the word "pota" or "postaka," a word signifying a "book" in general, the bana books are called "pot-wahansé," the honorific termination "wahansé," "to be revered," being added in the same manner as it is usually added to the name of Buddha.

The principal historical works are the Mahawanse and its commentaries, called Tika, the Raja Ratnacari, the Rajawali, the Poojaawali, the Neekaaysangraha or Saisanaawataara, Wilbaagedera Mudiyanse's Account of his Embassy to Siam, Saddhamma, Lankara, &c.

The Mahawanse, the principal native historical record in Ceylon, is written in Pali verse. "The prosody of Pali grammar prescribes," says Mr. Turnour, "not only the observance of certain rules, which regulate syllabic quantity, but admits of an extensive licence of permutation and elision of letters for the sake of euphony. As the inflexions of the nouns and verbs are almost exclusively in the ultimate syllable, and as all the words in each verse or sentence are connected, as if they composed one interminable word, it will readily be imagined what a variety of constructions each sentence may admit of, even in cases where the manuscript is free from clerical errors; but from the circumstance of the process of transcription having been almost exclusively left to mere copyists, who had themselves no knowledge of the language, all Pali manuscripts are peculiarly liable to many kinds of inaccuracies, many of which have been inadvertently adopted by subsequent authors of Singhalese works, by which the sense of the original has been materially altered. To overcome these difficulties, the authors of any works of note in Pali verse, published a commentary along with them, containing the literal sense, as well as explanations of abstruse passages." The study of the Pali language having been confined among the Singhalese almost entirely to the priesthood, and prosecuted solely for the purpose of qualifying them for ordination, their attention has been principally directed to their voluminous religious works on Buddhism. Natives have rarely been found who had critically read through and compared their several historical works; and none of the chief or any one of the priests of either of the two establishments, which regulate the national religion, had seen the commentary already mentioned, which was found in the Mulgirigalla wiharé. It had heretofore been the received opinion of the best informed priests and other natives that the Mahawanse was a national state record of recently past events, compiled at short intervals, by royal authority, up to the reign in which each addition may have been made; and that it had been preserved in the archives of the kingdom. The above-mentioned commentary not only afforded valuable assistance in elucidating the early portion of

the Mahawanse, but it has likewise refuted that tradition by proving that Mahanaama Terronanse, the writer of that commentary, was also the author of the Mahawanse, from the commencement of the work to the end of the reign of Mahasen, that is, from B.C. 543 to A.D. 301. It was compiled from the annals in the vernacular language then extant, and was composed at Anuradhapoora, under the auspices of his nephew, Daasen Kelliya, and the minister Deegha Sandana, between A.D. 459 and 477. It is still doubtful whether Maha Naama was not also the author of the subsequent portion to his own time. As the commentary, however, extends only to A.D. 301, and the subsequent portion of the work is usually called the Sooloowanse, it may be, perhaps, inferred that he only wrote the history to A.D. 30. We have already shewn, in another place, how the links of the chain were completed down to A.D. 1267. It is not yet ascertained by whom the portion of the history from that period to the reign of Praackrama Bahoo of Kurunaigalla was written; but from that reign to A.D. 1758, the Sooloowanse was compiled by Tibbottoowewe Terronanse, by the command of Kirtisree, partly from the works brought during his reign by the Siamese priests (which had been procured by their predecessors during their former religious missions to this island), and partly from the native histories which had escaped the general destruction of literary records in the reign of Raja Singha I. It contains, in the whole, one hundred chapters, containing 9,175 verses.

The first words of every native book are an offering of adoration to Buddha. Thus in the Mahawanse the first verse is "Adoration to him who is the deified, the sanctified, the omniscient, supreme Buddha." In another book the inscription runs thus: "To him whose voice resembles that of Bráma; to him who is the rock of benignities; to him who is the vanquisher of Rága; to Buddha, the teacher of the three worlds, I make my obeisance. To the vessel of Dharma, with the expanded sail of wisdom, fitted out to carry believers through the ocean of transmigratory existence to the happy shores of Nirwané, I make my obeisance. To the fertile field of the fraternity of priests, in which myriads of human beings are allowed to sow the seeds of meritorious actions, with sincere hopes of reaping the happiness of Móksha, I make my obeisance."

The Singhalese, as we have before stated, are fond of poetry, but their partiality for it has not, as we have already shewn, evoked any eminent professor of it. The most voluminous writer of poems in Singhalese is Gasco Adigaar, a Portuguese, who was taken captive when a boy by the Kandians, and afterwards rose to the highest native situation under Raja Singha II. Forbes mentions that his poems are in nowise exempt from the defects incident to native compositions, being in general confused in arrangement, intricate in construction, and obscure in meaning; greater stress being laid on the sound and position of letters, than in the elucidating the subject,

or exciting the imagination of the reader. Gasco was a great favourite of the king, but while still in the bloom of youth the undisguised passion of the queen cost him his life; the last act of which is said to have been the composition of some verses, which remain as a proof that the judgment of the king was warranted by the guilt of the favourite.

The art of music is quite in its infancy among the Singhalese. The whole number of their tunes is said not to exceed seven, of which the one called the "horse trot," from its resemblance to the sound of the trotting of a horse, is most admired. Their most common instruments are the berrigodea, a kind of long drum, made of jackwood and covered with deerskin. It is beat with the hands. The doula, similarly fabricated, is beat at one end with a stick and at the other with the hand. The tam-a-tam is beat with two sticks, the extremities of which are bent to form circles, and kept in a state of tension. It emits an exceedingly loud noise, and is therefore used for scaring elephants and other wild beasts, in processions, and in the service of temples, &c. The udakea is beat with the fingers. It is the favourite instrument, and is usually beat during the recital of a poem; and is the general associate of the song. At night it is often to be heard in the houses of the upper classes, many of whom spend hours together listening to it, and love to be lulled to sleep by its dulcet and somniferous hum. The tallea, made of brass, is beat with a stick. The horanawa, or Kandian pipe, is extremely shrill, and its notes are not unlike the Highland bag-pipe. Its mouthpiece is of talipot leaf, its middle piece of wood, and the other parts are of brass. The fusiform piece of wood attached, is to separate the bits of leaf forming the mouthpiece and enlarge the orifice.

The venah, or venavah, has two strings of different kinds, one made of a species of flax, and the other of horse-hair, which is the material also of the string of the bow, which, with bells attached to it, is used as a fiddlestick. The hollow part of the instrument is half a cocoa-nut shell, polished, covered with the dried skin of a lizard, and perforated below. It is rarely used except by some lame or blind minstrel, who wanders about the country from house to house, amusing the villagers and gaining a maintenance by this simple instrument. It is not noisy any more than the udakea. The Singhalese affect to disregard European music, professing their inability to understand it.

The Singhalese cannot be said to have any distinctive style of architecture. In no country is there a much greater variety to be seen, and nowhere are the different gradations in the progress of the art more clearly perceptible. Rock temples, which are very numerous in the interior, and may be considered not the least wondrous in this wonder producing isle, may, with the exception of their curious embellishments, be considered rather the work of nature than of art. Buildings in the Hindoo style, on which, next to the

rock temple, the least ingenuity and labour have been bestowed, are to be found in ruins in several places. The dewalés, or temples of the gods, occasionally approach to the Grecian style of architecture, and the wiharés and dagobas are borrowed from the seats of a cognate religion, Burmah and Siam. Every circumstance now corroborates the inference which a stranger, judging from the relics of antiquity strewn around, cannot fail to draw of the declension, I should rather say extinction, of architectural knowledge. All modern public buildings, without an exception, are comparatively small, and utterly devoid of taste and ingenuity. Knox thus speaks of their temples in his day: "Many of them are of rare and exquisite work, built of hewn stone, and engraven with images and figures, but by whom and when I could never learn, the inhabitants themselves being ignorant; but it is certain they were built by far superior artificers to the Singhalese of this day; for many buildings having been defaced by the Portuguese in their invasions, none among the natives have had skill enough to repair them." "In some old ruins," observes Davy, "the arch is to be seen without the principle of the arch, formed of stones laid horizontally, and projecting one beyond the other on each side till they meet above, and in some comparatively modern buildings the arch may be found regularly constructed with a key-stone."

Statuary among the Singhalese is almost entirely confined to representations of Buddha, or the gods. Figures of the former in all sizes are to be seen in most temples, some enormous ones of masonry from twenty to thirty feet long, others, of the size of life, of clay, wood, or marble, and the more diminutive of metal. Artists are restricted in these divine embodiments to three postures, the standing, sitting, and recumbent, and to the priestly attire, which completes the monotony of their representations; and they would be guilty of impiety were they to introduce any novelty in the delineation of the object of their adoration. Anything like improvement is, under such a system, next to impossible; and the frequency with which the same object is designed, instead of adding a greater degree of perfection to every copy, has had so contrary a tendency as to be unaccountable on general principles.

"They are in the constant habit," remarks Davy, "of colouring their statues, which adds much to their lively appearance, and they give a pupil to the eye, which animates the figure still more. The finishing the eye is considered an important and mysterious operation, and is performed with a great deal of ceremony. Before it is accomplished the image is merely an image—a stock, or a stone; but when it is completed it is esteemed by all but the priests as something more—as something divine, and not till then the artist falls down and worships the work of his own hands as a god."

The Singhalese shew much skill in casting small figures, principally of gods and animals, in brass and copper, and figures of Buddha in

copper have been found, in a sitting posture as large as life, that would do credit to an European manufacturer.

CHAPTER VII.

Singhalese System of the Universe—The Heavens—Brachmea-lochès and Dewia lochès—The rock Maha méra—The Asura bhawané—The Naga bhawané—The Gal-pollowa—The Seven concentric Rocky Circles—The Seven Seas—Sakwala-galla—The Four Continents—The Infernal Regions—Theory of the Tides—Phenomena of Meteors, &c.—Theory of the Creation—Materialism of the System.

THE Singhalese system of the universe, and Buddhist geography, though a jumble of a few particles of truth with a vast mass of error, is an interesting subject, and deserving of notice, if it were only in relation to its influence on the character of the people, its great antiquity, the wide extent of country over which a belief of it is diffused, and its numerous and striking peculiarities. "Each world is by this system held to be a complicated system of heavens and hells, of continents and seas, of rocks and rocky circles, inhabited by mortal gods, demons, and devils, and other strange varieties of fabulous beings. A rock, Maha-mēra Parwataya, is the centre of this system. Above this rock they believe there are twenty-six heavens; and under it, on which it rests, three rocks, the Trikoota, between which is the residence of the Asurs, the Asura bhawana. Under the latter they have placed the residence of the Cobra Capel, Nāga-bhawana, in which is a king called Nāga Raja, and under it, a rock, Gallpollowa, which rests, they maintain, on water, which water rests on air. Round Maha-mēra, they conceive, there are seven rocky circles; and round the whole world, a wall of rock, the Sakwala-galla, all of which they believe to be separated from each other by seas. In the sea, between the seventh rocky circle and the wall of rock, they have placed four great continents, each surrounded by five hundred islands. Beneath this sea, one under another, they believe that there are eight hells, Aiwīchaya Maha Narakaya, and round them a hundred and twenty lesser hells, Osupat Narakaya; and between every three Sakwalas, or worlds, a single hell, common to the three called Locarnantarika-narakaya.

"With the details of this system," says Dr. Davy, "a learned Singhalese is as perfectly conversant, as with what relates to his village

or family, and infinitely better than with the geography and history of his country.

"The heavens in this system are divided into Brachmea-lochès, twenty in number, and Dewia-lochès, six in number. The former are arranged in groups of three-and-three, and four-and-four, rising one above the other. They are the abodes of the Brachmeas, beings of greater purity and higher rank than the gods who inhabit the six inferior heavens, which are situated one under the other at the distance of 42,000 leagues, which is also the interval of space between the preceding groupes. The Brachmea-lochès, with few exceptions, and more particularly the Dewia-lochès, are paradises provided in the oriental taste, with palaces and gardens, and every thing delightful in nature and art, and that can gratify their inhabitants. The Brachmeas, who reside in the lower Brachmea-lochès, are all males, and are without female companions. In different heavens they vary in size, which is always most gigantic; they all resemble each other in being of great beauty, of a red colour, and of astonishing splendour, the light alone that radiates from one of their fingers being equal to that of 10,000 suns. Void of all passions and desires, they concern themselves about nothing, give not a thought on things sublunary, and pass a perfectly unruffled existence.

"In the highest heavens of the Brachmeas, there are peculiarities in the character of the inhabitants that require to be pointed out. In the Brachmea-lochè, called Rootala, the Brachmeas resemble the others in form and appearance; but being more perfect, and in a happier state, they neither move nor think. In the next higher heaven, Arootala, they are spirits, and resemble air; they speak and hear, but do not see. In the next superior heaven, Asanginnya, they are both without form, and neither see, hear, nor are conscious; and in the next and highest heaven, Abhogata, which signifies *nothing*, life itself is in appearance annihilated,—but only in appearance and delusively, the Brachmeas in this heaven not having reached the summit of the wishes of true Buddhists, and being still liable to new births and mutations of form.

"The seven Dewia-lochès are called Wasawarti, Paranirmittia, Nirwané-rattè, Toosita, Yuma, Tawatinsè, and Chator-maharajikè. They are inhabited by gods and goddesses, who resemble the human shape, but excel it greatly in beauty. Their persons are tangible, but pure like exquisite paintings, and without humours or fluids, without even blood, flesh, and bone. The gods have hair on their heads, but no beards; the goddesses are distinguished by their bosoms, and by their feminine form and dress. They eat and sleep in different degrees and manners: some are satisfied merely with the odour of meat, others prefer its flavour, none of them swallow food. There being no night in their heavens, they repose and sleep just when they feel inclined. They are not subject to pain, and are always easy and happy, leading a round of perpetual enjoyment,

amused with dances and vocal and instrumental music, and every kind of sport and festivity that can afford delight. Peculiar as it may appear, they are not passionless; they possess in common, love, anger, selfishness, in which envy and covetousness are included. Their love is a pure bond of attachment between the gods and goddesses, the pleasures of which they enjoy in contemplation; their anger is excited by the vices of mankind; their selfishness and covetousness are gratified by devout worship, and rich offerings; and their envy is excited by the appearance of extraordinary merit and growing power in inferior beings. In regard to the perfections of their natures, and the enjoyment of their existence, they vary in different heavens; the inhabitants of the higher being more powerful and beautiful and longer lived, and less annoyed by the violence of passion, than those of the lower. As before remarked, they are all mortal, and they must all die and appear on earth in human forms, before they can be qualified to ascend to higher states of existence.

"The rock, Maha-mēra, immediately under the lowest of the heavens, as already observed, and the centre of the world, is square, 160,000 leagues high, half in water and half in air. Its south side is blue, its north yellow, its west red, its east white, and its centre is of a golden colour. It is the property of the god Sacrea, who occasionally quits his heaven, Nirwané-rattè, to enjoy himself on Maha-mēra, where he has a palace, and a beautiful garden, an extraordinary tree and cow, a white elephant, and attendants of all kinds. Such are the rare qualities of the cow and tree, that the gods have only to visit them and express a wish, and it will be immediately gratified. The Singhalese make frequent allusions to these two objects; if they wish to compliment a generous man, they compare him to the tree in the garden of Sacrea. The white elephant of Sacrea, well adapted to bear a god, has the power of passing from one heaven to another; and its flight is only limited above by the heaven of its master, and below only by the boundaries of the world. The attendants of Sacrea, who live on Maha-mēra, are accomplished in the highest degree; some of them, as the Gandarwa, (his singers and musicians,) resemble men; others are singular in their appearance, as the Garooda, who constitute Sacrea's guard, and have square faces, and noses and wings like hawks.

"The Asura-bhawané, below Maha-mēra, and between the three spherical rocks, the Trikootas, is 10,000 leagues in circumference. The Asuras, by whom it is inhabited, are degenerate Brachmeas, who have lost their beauty of form, though they still retain their powers, which are so great as to render them formidable to the gods, whom they sometimes attack and defeat. In war they multiply their species like the polypus, each limb or piece that may be lopped off becoming a complete Asura. They retain much of their original splendour, as well as power, and illuminate their abode with their

own brightness. Their king, Asurendria, formerly devoured the sun and moon; now he no longer possesses that power, and causes eclipses, by stretching out his hand, and obstructing the light of these luminaries.

"The Naga-bhawané, that lies under Asura-bhawené, is also 10,000 leagues in circumference. It is a hollow sphere, without mountains or hills, lakes or rivers, and entirely destitute of vegetation, with the exception of a single tree, called Parasattoo, that answers for all others, bearing not only an immense variety of flowers and fruits, but every object of desire. The Naga-bhawané is the abode of a numerous race of snakes, similar in kind to the hooded snake, and of great size, beauty, and power, capable of passing from one part of the world to another, and shining like gods, so that though they have no other light but that arising from their own bodies, they enjoy perpetual day, infinitely brighter than ours. In their former lives on earth, they were persons of remarkable purity and goodness, almost deserving of becoming gods; but their high virtues were sullied by some vice, particularly that of malice, to which they owe their present forms. Though snakes, they are Buddhists, and retain a relic, and worship in temples. They reside in well furnished houses, and eat and drink, and enjoy society. By merely wishing, they instantly procure any article of food they want; and whatever it may be, it always appears in the form of a frog. They are under a king, and are divided into castes, like the Singhalese. Their ruler, Maha killa-naga-rajaya, is in every respect superior to the rest; it was through his help that the gods and Asurs charmed the milky sea; he wound himself round a rock, and they, pulling at his two extremities, set the mass in motion, and accomplished their work. Were these snakes so disposed, they could destroy the whole of the inhabitants of the earth by a single blast of their poisonous breath; but they are naturally mild and benevolent, and do harm only when provoked. In consequence, they are rather venerated than dreaded; and it is on this account that the common hooded snake is so much respected.

"The Gal-pollowa, on which the Naga-bhawené rests, and which is the rocky foundation of the world, is of a hemispherical form, and, including the rocks which it supports, it is 240,000 leagues thick. The subjacent water on which it rests, is twice that depth, and the air that supports the water is twice the depth of the latter.

"The seven concentric rocky circles that surround Maha-mēra are, Uganderè, Eesadherè, Karaveekè, Soodassenè, Nemindera, Winatekè, and Assakannè. They are of various heights, which diminish as their circumferences increase. The inferior gods and demons reside on them.

"The seven seas that separate the different circles, have each a name, and each is of a peculiar nature: thus, one is like milk; another, the juice of the sugar cane; and a third, arrack.

"The Sakwala-galla, the lateral boundary wall of the Sakwala or

world, rises above the surface of the ocean 82,000 leagues, and extends below it to the same depth; its circumference is 3,610,000 leagues, and the diameter of the world which it encloses, is 1,200,450 leagues.

"The four continents, which are placed in the ocean between the Sakwala-galla and Assakannè, are Poorwawidehé, to the eastward of Maha-méra; Aperakodawneya, to the westward; Citurukurudiwaina, to the northward; and Jamboodweipè or Dambadiva, to the southward. Each of these continents, as has been already remarked, is surrounded by five hundred islands, and each is separated from the other by unnavigable seas, preventing all ordinary communication.

"Poorwawidehé is of a crescent form, 7000 leagues in circumference. It is inhabited by a race of men who do not differ from us, except in having faces resembling the form of their continent, and of a crescent shape.

"Aperakodawneya is of an oblong form, and also 7000 leagues in circumference. Its inhabitants have oblong faces; like gods, they have only to express a wish, and it is gratified; and in consequence, they are exempted from all toil and labour.

"Citurukurudi-waina is square, and 8000 leagues in circumference. Its inhabitants have square faces, and in no other respect differ from ordinary men.

"Jamboodweipé or Dambadiva, is of an oval figure, and 10,000 leagues in circumference. It derives its name from a jamboo-tree of huge dimensions, springing from it, the trunk of which is 15 leagues round, 100 leagues high, and each of its branches 50 leagues long. This Dambadiva is our earth, and corresponding to its form, our faces are oval; among the five hundred islands that surround it, there are fifty-six of considerable magnitude, in which large empires have been established. Ceylon itself is not one of them; it is only of the second magnitude.

"To the eastward and northward of Ceylon, is Hiemalé, which is 100 leagues high, and 3000 leagues in circumference; as its name indicates, its mountains are covered with snow, which is supposed to be owing to its great height and luxurious vegetation. It is a land of wonders; its soil consists of gold and silver; its trees all bear delicious fruit; its horses and elephants are of a peculiar race, and have the power of flying through the air; in its centre is a lake covered with flowers, called Anotanawilla, that pours forth four rivers, each of which winds seven times round its parent source; and lastly, to pass over its other marvels, its inhabitants are beings of supernatural powers, as Pasay buddhas, Moonies, Tapasayos and Bhoomatoo-dewis. Pasay-buddhas are men who by extraordinary purity of manners, and complete abstraction from worldly pursuits, and profound religious meditation, have acquired the power of volitation through the air, and of visiting any heaven; at the appearance of Buddha, they will be privileged to make any request with the certainty

of its being granted. The Moonies, by means of extreme purity and profound contemplation, have acquired extraordinary wisdom and knowledge; they are acquainted with the past and the future to a great extent, and can look back on forty Kalpès, and look forward on the same number, which is beyond the power of the gods, and is exceeded by no one but Buddha himself. The Tapassayos are devout men of different religions: there are three kinds of them; those who rank highest are neither dressed, nor move, nor eat—they are naked and fixed, absorbed in religious meditation, allowing ants to construct their hillocks over them, and the roots and branches of trees to entangle about them and cover them: those who rank next, remain stationary in religious meditation, and eat nothing but the surrounding leaves, on which they browse: those who rank lowest, walk about and live on fruits, bent solely on meditation. Those Tapassayos, who are Buddhists, will be rewarded finally like the Pasay-Buddhas; while those of other religions will imagine they shall enjoy the same reward, but instead, will be translated to Abhogata.

"The Bhoomatoo-dewis very much resemble the gods of the Dewialochès. They take a lively interest in what is passing on the earth, which they protect; and in the affairs of mankind, which they watch and superintend. Eiswara and Vishnu, the two chiefs of these gods, have delegated their powers to others, and appointed Nata, Kattragamma, Saman, Pittiya, and the goddess Patiné, as their ministers in governing the earth, and in watching in a particular manner over Ceylon. All these gods are worshipped by the Singhalese, and, with the exception of Eiswara, have temples erected to them. The worship they require is prostration, prayers, and offerings of flowers, and money; no meat-offering must be made to them; and no one must appear before their shrines, unless he has lived on a vegetable diet many days previously, and is strictly pure. Prayers are addressed to them merely for temporal blessings; their power being limited to the present, and not extending to a future life. The appearance and dresses of these gods are thus: Vishnu is blue; Nata and Saman, white; Patiné is yellow, and Pittiya and Kattragamma red.

"Dambadiva, in general, is inhabited by men and demons. Of the latter there are five different kinds: the Rakshasa, Yakshyayo or Dewatawo, Bhootayo, Prayta, and Pisatcha. The Rakshasa in form resemble men, but they are hideous likenesses, and of gigantic size; though they have greatly dwindled, they are still as tall as palmyra-trees. Their dispositions are cruel and vicious. Furnished with teeth like lions, they feed on human flesh; and when they cannot procure meat, they eat dirt. They can descend to the bottom of the ocean, and walk under the sea; but they cannot traverse the atmosphere. They dwell in a part of the eastern ocean that is unnavigable. They are never seen; and now they are not even heard, as they were formerly. The Yakshyayo or Dewatawo

resemble the preceding, but are inferior to them in size and power. Unable to walk, they move along the surface like vapour, and cannot rise to any height. Their eyes are fixed, and destitute of all motion. They inhabit everywhere—houses, woods, and caves. To create alarm, they make hideous noises, and sometimes appear, and occasionally even attack man. Of a malicious and revengeful nature, they suck the blood of men and other animals, and cause sickness and death. Though not worshipped, the timid, with the idea of warding off threatened danger, or any pressing misfortune, apply to some tom-tom beater, who officiates as their priest, and receives offerings on their account, which he, of course, appropriates and applies to his own use. The Bhootayo are so called from '*bitaya*,' fear, the Singhalese fearing them very much. These beings have no form or figure, but resemble wind. They dwell in forests and in graves, and notwithstanding their airy nature, feed on dirt. They are capable of making noises, and of frightening people, in doing which they are supposed to take delight. The Prayta are ugly figures, composed of skin and bone; though unable to walk, they are capable of floating through the air. They have a desire for food and drink; but in attempting to satisfy their appetite they are always tantalized, their food and drink flying before them.

"Their power of doing mischief is limited to that of appearing and terrifying the timid. The Pisatcha resemble air, and, like air, they abound everywhere. Like the preceding, they in vain attempt to satisfy a craving appetite; and like them, too, they are only capable of exciting terror.

"The infernal regions, the abodes of the guilty, are the only parts that remain to be described. Under the ocean, to the eastward of Dambadiva, are situated the eight principal hells—Sangeewa, Kalasootra, Sanghata, Raurawaya, Maha-raurawaya, Pratapaya, Maha-pratapaya, and Awichu. They are all metallic hollow squares, composed of different alloys of the common metals, and without any openings. In each there is an intense fire, which burns constantly, without fuel. Though they do not differ in kind, they do in degree; the lowest being the largest and hottest, and the punishments inflicted in them proportionally more severe and protracted. Sinners are doomed to different hells, according to the degree of their crimes: thus, those who are merely guilty in thought and intention descend to the first hell; and as the crime deepens its dye, the sinner sinks lower. For each great sin there is a particular kind of punishment: for murder the wretch is perpetually murdered, and the very act that he has been guilty of, in all its minute circumstances, is constantly repeated on him; for stealing, the sinner is punished by gems of great value in appearance tempting him to seize them, and when seized, turning into fire; the drinker of spirituous liquors is drenched with melted lead; the liar is constantly tormented by the application of red-hot irons to his tongue;

and the adulterer is punished perpetually by climbing up and down a thorny tree in pursuit of his paramour, whom, when he is below, he sees alluring him above, and whom, when he has forced his painful way through the thorns to the top, he sees practising the same arts below. Besides these particular punishments, there are innumerable others. They all suffer dreadfully from intense heat, and from hunger and thirst, the pains of which are heightened by the expectation of gratification, which, instead of enjoying, they swallow fire. Besides, they are subject to be impaled on burning brands, and to be flogged while burning, and to be cut and clipped, and fashioned like wood. Their tormentors are sinners like themselves, in the form of Kaffres, dogs and crows, of the most monstrous appearance, and armed with teeth and claws of the most formidable kind. The most wicked are uncommonly fat, fleshy, and attractive; whilst those who have sinned least are extremely thin, mere skin and bone, perfect natural skeletons, with little feeling, and no charms for their hungry tormentors. The one hundred and thirty-six smaller infernal regions, that surround the eight principal, are similar to them, only differing in degree; and as they are smaller, so are they less terrible. The period of punishment, though not infinite, is of immense duration; even in the first hell, where life is shortest, it lasts several kalpès. Having expiated their sins, either in part or entirely, some will be born as demons, brutes, or men, and some even as gods. The Locarnantarika-nariké, the infernal region common to three worlds, is a general receptacle, and a place of extreme punishment. It is an immense hollow, composed of walls of clay, without light or heat. Those who have committed the worst of all crimes are alone doomed to it; as the murderer of a parent, priest, or a teacher; the scorner of Buddha or the gods; those who oppose their worship, or injure their temples. The inhabitants of this hell are punished in utter darkness by the most intense cold, and by the calls of a ravenous appetite, that urge them to bite and tear, and devour one another. As often as they die, they come to life again, changing their abode from one hell to another, without mitigation and without end.

"Their physical system, as elsewhere shewn, is conformable with the preceding. Rarely having recourse to natural causes, and never to any but of a monstrous kind, they suppose almost all the striking phenomena of nature either to be produced by means of particular gods, or to take place in consequence of the operation (if operation it can be called), of a fatal necessity.

"Their theory of the tides is an instance of the first kind of explanation. Over Sangeewa, the uppermost of the infernal regions, they imagine an immense pit to receive the water of the ocean, and prevent its overflowing the land; the water, in descending, becomes heated, and before it has reached the bottom is inflamed and forced

back in the state of steam and smoke, producing a violent commotion and regurgitation, the cause of the phenomenon in question.

"The phenomena of meteors and the heavenly bodies are explained on the more general and accommodating principle of divine agency. A god of wind, of clouds, of heat and rain, by a mere will, can produce these meteors: when angry with one another, they set the elements to fight, and create storms. Their residence is in the lowest heaven, which, divided into twelve equal portions, revolves once every twenty-four hours, above and round Maha-méra. The sun, moon, planets, and stars, are supposed to be luminous gods, resident in the same heaven, in transparent mansions; all of which, exceping the abodes of the fixed stars, are constantly travelling at a certain regular rate, and in a precise direction, drawn by different kinds of animals, as horses, elephants, goats, deer, and bullocks, appearing when on one side of Maha-méra, and disappearing when on the opposite side. The milky-way is supposed to be the light of a serpent, and a shooting star the death of a god.

"What in their fabulous system are the greatest of all events, the destruction and renovation of worlds, are apparently referred to fate, and associated with the moral condition of mankind; the world degenerating and tending towards chaos as vice increases, and improving and becoming more perfect with the growth of virtue. The time between one chaos and another, called a Maha-kalpè, is incomprehensibly long, and includes many revolutions or minor destructions, the periods between which, called Anta-kalpès, though very subordinate to the greater, are still so immense, that man is unable to form any idea of their duration. The chaos in which a Maha-kalpè terminates is produced by the joint operation of the elements, ending in an almost universal conflagration, that spares no part of the world, except one of the Brachmea-lochès.

"The fire having exhausted itself, the restorative process commences; the world is inundated with rain, which in due time subsides, leaving a surface of mud, clay, and rocks. The flower Naloon (a species of lotos) springs up, bearing suits of robes for as many Buddhas as are destined for the Maha-kalpè just commencing, and which vary in number from one to five. This flower grows to the height of the Brachmea-lochè, that during the general destruction remained uninjured. Eight Brachmeas descend by it to the earth, to become the progenitors of the next race of mankind. By feeding on a sweet mud, with which the ground is covered, and a species of vegetation like a mushroom, they degenerate, become subject to change, acquire human passions and forms, become divided into sexes, and finally into castes, and, to be kept in order, require the control of government.

"The outline of one anta-kalpè will suffice for the whole. The human race by degrees degenerate further, and become more vicious

and shorter-lived, all animals and all nature degenerating with them. When at that pitch of depravity and degradation, that the majority of men are almost destitute of the moral sense, and the age of man is reduced to ten years, a warning voice will be heard all over the world, proclaiming, that in seven days there will be a great rain, and that all who are wetted by this rain will be converted into beasts, and destroy one another. The few who have any remains of virtue will listen to the warning voice, and by keeping themselves dry, escape destruction. They will begin to reflect on the effects of vice, and to reform; as they get rid of their sins their ages will be prolonged, and the earth improved. When in their greatest purity, their age will be of astonishing duration, and the beauty of their persons, the dimensions of their bodies, and their mental faculties, proportionably exalted. No state being permanent, when most perfect, they will begin to decline, and continue degenerating till the time arrives for the commencement of another anta-kalpè. Such is a very general outline of this system.

"The Buddhists, the followers of this system, do not believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, self-existent and eternal, the Creator and Preserver of the universe: indeed, it is doubtful if they believe in the existence and operation of any cause besides fate and necessity, to which or to obscure negations, that are hardly to be distinguished from fate and necessity, they seem to refer all changes in the moral and physical world.

"They appear to be strict materialists, and to have no notion of pure spirit or mind. Pranè and Hitta, life and intelligence, the most learned of them seem to consider as identical; seated in the heart, radiating from thence to different parts of the body, like heat from a fire; uncreated, without beginning, at least, that they know of; capable of being modified by a variety of circumstances, like the breath in different musical instruments; and like a vapour, capable of passing from one body to another; and like a flame, liable to be extinguished and totally annihilated. Gods, demons, men, reptiles, even the minutest and most imperfect animalcules, they consider as similar beings, formed of the four elements, heat, air, water, and that which is tangible, and animated by pranè and hitta. They believe that a man may become a god or a demon, or that a god may become a man or an animalcule; that ordinary death is merely a change of form, and that this change is almost infinite, and bounded only by annihilation, which they esteem the acmé of happiness.

"They suppose that plants are compounded of the same elements as animals, but do not admit that they possess pranè, and consequently exclude them from the cycle of their metempsychosis.

"This is not a rational system, nor do its followers attempt to support it by reason: if you ask a reason for any assertion, you may receive in answer a dogma in Sanscrit or Pali verse; if you are not satisfied, you may be amused with an allegory; and if you still

persist and urge an explanation, the Buddhist will take refuge in the mysteries of his religion, and in our very limited capacities to attain knowledge, and comprehend what is divine. Further, they are of opinion that the universe is eternal, at least that they neither know it had a beginning, or will have an end; and that it is homogenous, and composed of an infinite number of similar worlds, each of which is a likeness of the other, and each of which is in a constant state of alteration, not stationary for a moment, at the instant of greatest perfection beginning to decline, and at the moment of greatest chaotic ruin beginning to regenerate. They compare such changes to a wheel in motion, perpetually going round, of which they know no more than that it is in motion, and have not the least idea when it began to move, or when it will stop; indeed, they say that they are directed not to make enquiries on a subject of which Buddha himself is ignorant.

CHAPTER VIII.

Buddhas—History of Gautama Buddha, the Buddha of the present Kalpè, as given in the Pali work "Jinacharita"—Names of Buddha—Doctrines of the Buddhist religion—Nirwáné of the Buddhists—Morality of Buddhism—Introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon—Origin from whence—Present state in Ceylon.

THE term Buddha, or Boodhoo, is a generic term, according to some, derived from the Pali word, "bodie," wisdom, and applied to human beings of extraordinary faculties, attainments and destiny; a certain number of whom are destined to appear in each Maha-kalpè, for the reformation of mankind, and the restoration to purity of a religion, which is compared by its followers to a tree, not always in fruit, and sometimes even without leaves or indications of life.

The number of Buddhas destined for the present Maha-kalpè is five. Of these all have appeared except Maitré Buddha, who remains to follow before the world is again regenerated, and will come in the next anta-kalpè, at a particular time predestined, after an immense period has elapsed. The fourth or last Buddha was Gautama, who is yet with true Buddhists the sole object of veneration, and even amongst the people is the sole object of worship. The history of all these Buddhas is so similar in its leading features, that a description of one will convey a pretty accurate notion of the whole.

In the time of Dípankàra Buddha, which is 400,000 Asankhayas (an infinite number) of kalpès (the term from one regeneration of the world to another) before the present, our Bódisatwayo (he who expects to be Buddha) was born of Brahminical parents, his father's name being Sudhéwo Raja, and his mother's Sumedháyo Dewi, in the city of Amara. When he was grown up, being wearied with worldly cares, he distributed his immense riches to the poor, and assumed the character of a hermit, and lived in holy meditation in the wilderness. In this character he saw Dípankara Buddha, from whom he received Nujatawiwarana, or the sacred assurance of becoming Buddha, which Dípankara Buddha distinctly foretold, specifying the time of his exaltation to the Buddhahood, the name of the person of whom he was to be born, the place, &c. Thus, the Bódisatwayo having through a vast number of ages exercised the ten Páramitás, or ten virtues, which are absolutely necessary to be perfected by every Bódisatwayo before his exaltation to the Buddhahood, Dána Páramitá, charity or almsgiving; Síla Páramitá, holy austerities; Naisya Kramaya Páramitá, abandonment of the world and worldly pursuits; Pragnya Páramitá, wisdom; Wírya Páramitá, exertion; Kshanti Páramitá, patience or forbearance; Satya Páramitá, truth; Adhistaka Páramitá, resoluteness; Maitré Páramitá, mercy or benevolence; Upékpa Páramitá, the regarding all friends and foes alike; and beholding in succession the twenty-four Buddhas,[1] from all of whom he received Nujatawiwarana, he at last took his abode in the divine region of Tussita, the sixth of the divine worlds; and after the appropriate age had passed, the gods and Brahmas of the ten sakwalas (universes) went to his mansion, and begged his appearance in the present human world. Whereupon the Great Man, viewing the five prospects, that is, the time, the continent, the tribe, the womb, the country in which he should be born, was conceived in the womb of Maha Maya, the wife of king Suddhadena, who reigned in the city of Kimbulwatta, or Kappilawartu, in the continent of Dambadiva. Immediately on his conception, thirty-two wonderful phenomena were exhibited, and the four guardian gods took charge of the palace. After the usual period of gestation, the queen was delivered, and immediately two clouds descended from the sky, and washed the sacred child and the mother, and he was received by Brahmas in golden nets and by gods in celestial linen, and was then placed in the hands of his royal father. The holy babe then proceeded seven steps towards the north, when all the gods and Brahmas in that quarter of the world, acknowledging his supremacy, exclaimed, "O Great One! there existed not in these regions one equal to thee, or greater than thou." Thus having surveyed the four quarters of

1 The names of these twenty-four Buddhas are as follows: Dípankara; Kondamno; Mangalo; Sumano; Revato; Subhito; Anomadassi; Paduno; Narado; Padumuttaro; Sumédo; Sujato; Piyadassi; Atthadassi; Dhammadassi; Sidharté; Tissa; Phusso; Wipassi; Sikki; Wasabhu; Kakusanda; Kanágarmano; Kasiyappa.

the world, east, west, north and south, all of which acknowledged his greatness in the same manner, he proclaimed his own superiority in these words: "I am the chief of the world; I am the most exalted in the world; this is my last life; I shall not be born again."

One day the infant Bódisatwayo (Buddha) was presented to the Brahminical sage, Kála, when the holy babe, instead of worshipping the sage, as was usual, was miraculously placed on his hair. The royal father, who saw this wonderful thing, immediately fell down on his knees and worshipped the son.

When the Bódisatwayo was in his sixteenth year, he married the princess Yásoderá, who is said long to have aspired, by performing many meritorious works, to become the consort of a personage who is destined to become Buddha, and who had invariably been his faithful companion in almost all states of former existence. Thus he passed twenty-nine years, in all such worldly grandeur and enjoyment as human life admits. In his excursions to his pleasure gardens, in the royal chariot, he observed on four different occasions, a man decrepid with age, a sick man, a dead corpse, and a person in the habit of a hermit in yellow robes. These four things were much on his mind, and led him to contemplate the vanity of earthly enjoyments. On the day when his consort, Yásoderá, was delivered of a son, called Rahlau, he renounced gihigé, that is, all domestic and worldly enjoyments, and assumed the character of a hermit. He privately, therefore, quitting his wife and child by night, and mounting his horse Kanthaka, came to the banks of the river Amana. On his arrival there, being presented with the eight necessaries, he became Bódisatwayo, or a candidate for the Buddhahood.

After this, in the country of Uruwelaya, he subjected himself to severe mortifications and penances for six years. In the seventh year, in the month Wesak (May), he proceeded to Jaya-Maha-Bódi, the place where the great Bo-tree of victory is set, which is in Dambadiva, and scattering eight handfuls of Kusa-grass (a kind of grass made use of in religious ceremonies), and instantly, as if dropped from the pencil of a draughtsman, a crystal throne, fourteen cubits high; springing up, he sat down with his back against the Bo-tree and his face towards the east, and arming himself with nervous strength, he resolved, that though his flesh and skin, fibres and bones, should wither and dry up, he would not rise from that seat till he became Buddha, lord of the world. Upon this the chiefs of the divine and Brahma worlds appeared as the retinue and servants of this candidate for the Buddhahood. First, each of the ten thousand Indras of their ten thousand systems, blew a shell one hundred and twenty cubits long; Panchasikka, the god of music, played on a winá (a musical instrument like a fiddle with one string) twelve miles long; the god Siwayana waved a chæmara twelve miles long; the god Santusita waved a fan made of the gem palmyra; the great Brahma, Sahampati, held over Bódisatwayo an umbrella like a full moon, forty-eight miles broad; then Wasawarta Máraya (the adversary of

the great Bódisatwayo) having formed for himself a body with a thousand armed hands and arms, mounted on an elephant two thousand four hundred miles high, followed by an immense armed host, terrific to behold, sallied forth to hinder Bódisatwayo's purpose. Having stationed his troops so as to prevent all escape, he proclaims himself with a shout that reaches from the lowest hell through all the heavens to the highest Brahma world, "I am Wasawarta Máraya." At this all the gods and Brahmas, panic struck, fled and hid themselves, and Bódisatwayo was left alone with Máraya and his forces. Then Máraya tried all his art and all his force against Bódisatwayo. First he raised a mighty tempestuous wind; then he rained down water like a flood; after that he rained still fiercer flaming coals and heat; then he rained in succession sharp weapons, hot lime, mud and sand, but all fell harmless around Bódisatwayo.

Máraya then brought on thick darkness, but rays from Bódisatwayo's body made a light greater than a thousand suns. He then hurled at Bódisatwayo the mighty circular weapon to cleave his head in two; but it fell upon him like an umbrella made of flowers. And when the troops of Máraya struck at him with their weapons, the blows fell on him as if given by a chaplet of flowers. Máraya, seeing that all his efforts were vain, went up to Bódisatwayo, and demanded the seat on which he sat. Bódisatwayo, continuing in his profound dhana, undismayed and immoveable, in reply says, "What witnesses have you to prove that you have done works of merit for which you should receive this seat?" Then Máraya, stretching forth his arms towards his troops, they testified that the seat was Máraya's, and threatened to destroy Siddhartaya (Bódisatwayo) in various ways with their different weapons. Then Máraya asks, "Who is your witness?" The great Bódisatwayo, with unequalled power, said, "I have no rational witness here;" and putting forth his glorious right hand out of his robe, like golden lightning from a ruddy cloud, and looking at the earth, said, "In fulfilling my courses of merit, thou, O Earth, didst at divers times and in various places murmur thy applause. Why art thou silent at this critical moment? Why art thou slow in proclaiming my actions in the course of my endeavours to become Buddha?" Upon this, the Earth, rumbling one hundred thousand times, began to turn round. Máraya, thus defeated, fled ashamed, saying, "It is thou, O Buddha, who alone savest all beings; therefore afflict us not; torment us not; slay us not; I worship thy feet; I am thy slave; not knowing thy power, I came with this train; pardon this offence." While he was saying this, his ten legions went away. He being left alone, his elephant, two thousand four hundred miles high, dismounted Máraya from his back, and from fear bowed his head in adoration of Bódisatwayo, who was thus left in possession of the throne, which he justly claimed as the prize of his ten Páramitas during the course of four hundred thousand asankhayas of kalpès, at the price of his flesh and blood, which are said to exceed the sand of the earth and the water of the four oceans. Máraya

being thus conquered, went away in great grief, and all the gods and Brahmas of all the Sakwalas came and ministered to the Bódisatwayo triumphant, extolling his matchless compassion in endeavouring to save the whole human race, who were revolving round the wheel of transmigratory existence, and were subject to the incalculable miseries attendant upon that state. Bódisatwayo, then springing up into the air, and walking backward and forward in it, caused streams of fire and water to issue forth from every part of his body, which prodigy was hailed by the acclamations of gods and Brahmas. Bódisatwayo, continuing in his holy aim, in the first watch of the night, attained the power of taking a retrospective glance of himself and others throughout a countless number of ages; in the second watch he attained the divine knowledge of seeing; and in the third discovered the nature of Sansàra, or transmigratory existence, and the twelve principles by which human beings are born and are held in Sansàra, passing from one body to another; and at daybreak thus acquired omniscience, and completely extinguished the principle of evil, and became perfect Buddha. Immediately the earth quaked, the heavenly bodies shone with greater brightness, the dumb began to speak, the deaf to hear, and the blind to see; and many other miracles, such as the singing and rejoicing of the gods and Brahmas in the heavenly world, took place.

Reflecting on his sacred endeavours for so long a period, and arriving at the summit of his sublime expectations, he is said to have uttered the following song of joy: "O, I who have been wandering in Sansàra for so long a period, endeavoured to discover the builder of the house, and was unsuccessful; to-day I have discovered it, and have cut up the foundations of it by the sword of Budhagny-ànaya (wisdom peculiar to Buddha). O, I have attained my object." He passed seven weeks more near Jaya-maha-Bódhi, still employed in meditation, and all the time without food or drink.

Buddha preached his first sermon at the request of Brahma in the grove Issapatanárame, in the city of Baranes (Benares), to a congregation composed of a vast number of gods, Brahmas and men; and it is related that a great number of his hearers either directly attained the state of Rahat,[1] or became sanctified with various degrees of grace.

Thus entering upon his public ministry, he continued to establish his doctrines during the space of forty-five years. He preached his doctrines in all parts of Dambadiva. In all his wanderings for this purpose he was accompanied by Sariputta and Maggalana, his head lay disciples, and a certain number of other Rahat Theros. His preaching was attended with the greatest success wherever he went, and among many others several Irshis, or Brahminical philosophers,

1 When a person becomes *Rahat*, he has not only extinguished the principle of evil, but he is endued with the power of working miracles, and has divine knowledge in an inferior degree to that of Buddha. He is free from all future transmigratory existence.

were converted to his faith, and consecrated to the office of priests. During his life he also converted all his royal relations, many of whom were ordained priests. Among others were his queen Yásoderá and Prince Rahlau. The death (Paranimáwa, or extinction) of this luminary of the world, Gautama Buddha, took place in the eighty-fifth year of his life and the forty-fifth year of his public ministry, in the city of Kusinára, in a sacred arbour formed by two Sal trees, on the full moon day of the month Wesak. The funeral obsequies over the body and sacred relics of the divine teacher, were performed with great magnificence by the high priests Mahakassiyappa, who spent fourteen days in the pious work, seven in celebrating the funeral obsequies, and seven in the festival of the relics. His body was deposited in a gold coffin, and covered with a pile of sandal wood 120 cubits high.

At his death Buddha foretold that his religion would continue 5000 years, 2393 of which expire in A.D. 1850; that it would gradually gain ground till it became the religion of the world; that it would then gradually decline till it was wholly extinguished from the face of the earth, and be then renewed by his successor Maitré Buddha, who is now supposed to be in the divine state of Tussita, and after the appropriate age will become Buddha.

The names given to Buddha are innumerable, amounting, according to one authority, to twelve thousand, but those most frequently used are thirty-seven in number, *viz.*, Buddha; Dassabalha, ten powers; Sastroo, guide; Saster, ruler; Surwadnyia, all wisdom; Dippadutama, the majesty of two-footed beings; Moneendra, the chief of wise men; Bagawanè, the blessed; Sregana, great glory; Natah, the helper; Sacksumah, having eyes; Angirassa, sweet substance; Loka-natah, helper of the world: Anadiwara, sole ruler; Mahheseè, the great noble; Vinniaka, one ruler; Sammantachaksa, surrounded by eyes—seeing all things; Soogatá, gone to a high place; Bruree-panneah, diamond of wisdom; Mahrajé, conqueror of Mahra; Lokajè, conqueror of the world; Jinna, the triumphant; Tathagata, he came the same as other Buddhas; Sakkeasinha, the lion of the Sakkeawansè; Narawera, the skilful man; Sammantabadra, surrounded by goodness; Darma-raja, the king of doctrines; Dewa-dewa, god of gods; Maha-dewa, great god; Dewaté-dewa, great god of gods; Rajatè-raja, great king of kings; Brachmatè-Brachma, great Brachma of the Brachmas; Ouweahyawadee; Sododennè, son of Sododen: Sidharté; Gautama; Arkabandu, another family name—descendant of the sun.

The Nirwanè, or annihilation of the Buddhists, as explained by that eminent Singhalese scholar, Mr. Tolfrey, by whom the Scriptures were translated into Pali and Singhalese, is as follows: "Nirwanè in Sanscrit, from 'ni,' a preposition, signifying 'without,' and 'wané,' 'desire,' with the 'r' for euphony between the preposition and the noun. In Singhalese, 'Niwané,' from 'Niwanawa,' to

'extinguish,' as a flame, or to 'cool,' as victuals by being exposed to the air. The existence of Niwanè is compared to that of the wind, the colour, length, breadth and height of which cannot be ascertained. It is impalpable and invisible; but though it cannot be felt or seen, it is known to exist by its effects. It is within us; we perceive it when we breathe; we feel it when blowing upon us; we see the trees bending before it. It is like the ethereal expanse, for the production of which no cause can be assigned. Its extent, appearance or situation is indescribable by any similitude, and hence it bears some resemblance to the beings denominated 'Arupo,' without figure.

"It has the following properties. It destroys the heat of the passions, as cool water destroys the heat of the body. It quenches the one hundred and eight species of sensual desire, the desire that the revolutions of existence should be eternal, and the desire that there should be no renewal of corporal existence in the same manner as water quenches thirst. As medicine is a succour to those who are afflicted by disease, so is Niwanè a relief to those afflicted by the passions. As medicine terminates disease, so Niwanè terminates the pains of transmigration. Medicine has the power of warding off mortality, and Niwanè possesses the same power. As the ocean is free from all impurity, so is Niwanè free from all the impurity of the passions. The sea is not filled with all the rivers that flow into it, neither is Niwanè to be filled by any number of persons, however great. The ocean is the residence of whales and other great fishes, so Niwanè is the residence of Ananda, Rasyapa, and other celebrated priests. Food supports the life of all beings, so Niwanè supports the life of all who attain to it, and destroys decrepitude and death. Food increases strength, so Niwanè confers supernatural strength on those who attain it. Food is grateful after fatigue, and refreshes the weary, so Niwanè affords relief to those who are wearied by their passions. Food relieves weakness occasioned by hunger, so Niwanè removes the weakness occasioned by sorrow.

"The ethereal region is not born nor produced, neither has it life, nor does it die, nor perish, nor is it reproduced; it is not to be seized by thieves; it is the residence of birds; it is free and unconfined; it is eternal; so is Niwanè the residence of Buddha and other great and glorious personages, and has all these properties.

"The wish-conferring jewel gives to its possessor whatever he desires, and yields abundant delight; not less is the joy derived from Niwanè. Red sandal is rare, and equally difficult of attainment is Niwanè. Incomparably fine is the odour of red sandal; so is Niwanè of a fragrance which spreads throughout the universe. Red sandal is highly esteemed by the good; so is Niwanè by Buddha and his glorious associates.

"The summit of Mount Méra is lofty; so is Niwanè above the three worlds. The summit of Mount Méra is immoveable; so is

Niwanè like it in stability. The ascent to that mountain is difficult; so is that to Niwanè to a person encumbered by his passions. No sort of seed will grow on Mount Méra; neither will the passions grow on Niwanè.

"The pupil acquires learning from his teacher; so Niwanè is attained by strictly following the precepts of Buddha. Niwanè is a state free from desires, a state of protection and safety, of quietness and of happiness, of purity and coolness. He who has been scorched by a large fire, and escapes by a strong effort to a cool place at a distance, rejoices at his deliverance, so does the devout ascetic who obtains Niwanè rejoice at his deliverance from the triple fire of lust, hatred and pride.

"The delight of the man who obtains Niwanè is like that of one who disengages himself with much toil and exertion from a dungeon in which he is surrounded by the dead bodies of snakes, dogs and men, and proceeds to an agreeable spot, far removed from these disgusting objects.

"He who obtains Niwanè resembles a man who with great difficulty escapes to a place of safety from the midst of a multitude armed with swords. Birth, disease, and death, are the swords of existence. Like the man who, after much struggling, extricates himself from a dungeon, is he who, by attaining Niwanè, extricates himself from the midst of sensual enjoyments."

The morality of Buddhism may be judged of by the following translations of some satakas, given by Mr. Selkirk:—

"Bódisatwayo on many occasions, in several births, erected halls of charity for the purpose of giving alms. To these halls, whoever came, whether urged by poverty or covetousness, took what he listed, without being questioned as to his character or necessity; and thus funds of charity, which might have nourished and relieved the real distresses of the poor and needy from generation to generation for hundreds of years, were squandered away in a few days.

"A young woman, the wife of a poor old man, in going to fetch water, was abused by the other women of the village because of her fidelity to her husband. Being vexed at this, she refused to fetch water any more. The husband, to pacify her, for the future offered to do the work himself. But to this she would not consent, it being contrary to custom for the husband to do such offices. She insisted upon his getting a male and female slave to help her in her domestic work, threatening, at the same time, if he did not, to go back again to her parents, and get married to a younger and a better man. He then pleaded poverty; but she still persisted, and put him in mind of King Wesantara, who gives freely to every one that asks, and urged his going to him for the means of gratifying her wishes. The poor man pleaded his age and weakness. She insisted upon his going, and he at length complied. After many mishaps and difficulties, finding that King Wesantara had given

away all his riches, and had retired with his faithful wife and two children into the wilderness, to practise the austerities of asceticism, having become Bódisatwayo, he went to him, and, without preamble, asked for his son and daughter as slaves; and his request Bódisatwayo immediately granted, without putting a question to the man himself on his disposition or necessities, and gave up his children to this stranger, thus devoting them to all the hardships, and all the vices of slavery.

"A man came to the same Bódisatwayo, *i.e.* to King Wesantara, and told him shortly that his business with him was to ask him for money or riches; but as he wanted a woman to do for him the necessary work of his house, he begged Bódisatwayo to give him his wife to be his slave. This he granted without enquiring who or what the man was, and how he meant to treat his slave. In this case the god Indra, whose mansion is on the summit of Sumera, and who governs the world, and the two lowest of the divine worlds, the Chatur-maha Rájike and Tawatingsa, and who is much inferior to Bódisatwayo, interfered to save the honour of the unfortunate princess, to which he knew Bódisatwayo himself would pay no regard; and assuming a mortal shape, he recovered the princess, and claiming her from that time as his property, left her with Bódisatwayo, saying, he had no right hereafter to give her to any one. Thus the princess was saved from dishonour; but in this artifice to save her Bódisatwayo had no share, as he had actually given up to slavery and dishonour, to be at the disposal of an entire stranger, a faithful wife, who had voluntarily left all the honours and comforts to which she had been accustomed, and following him into a wilderness, had submitted to do the meanest and most laborious offices for his sake.

"The merit of actions like these is highly praised by every Buddhist; and on these the Bódisatwayo—the candidate for the supremacy of the world—rests his claims for arriving at that eminence. Perhaps the duties of men, which, in connexion with the Buddhist religion, may be summed up in the three injunctions—'Abstain altogether from sin, practise every virtue, repress thine heart,' are insufficient to encourage to good, or to deter from evil courses, owing to the remote period at which Niwanè is to be obtained. Transmigration, the animation of other bodies, is too favourable to those who delay repentance or the performance of moral duties. Whatever may be the cause, the effect is certain—that the moral system of Buddha has long had but little, and soon will have no influence over the mass of his followers."

Whether Buddhism maintains or denies the existence of a Supreme Being has been frequently disputed; though from the objectlessness of such a being, we might be induced to adopt the latter opinion. The following verses, ascribed to Gautama, on the occasion of his becoming a Buddha, would however lead us to conclude

that such a Being was recognized by the founder of the modern system:

"Through various transmigrations I must travel, if I do not discover *the builder* whom I seek.

"Painful are repeated transmigrations! I have seen *the architect* (and said) Thou shalt not build me another house."

Suggestive as this passage may be, it is nevertheless shrouded in mystery; and it will require elucidating by the other and still voluminous books of the faith that remain to be translated, before the question can be set at rest. The chain of existence alluded to by Gautama in one of his discourses has no less of ambiguity attached to it: "On account of ignorance are produced merit and demerit; on account of merit and demerit is produced consciousness; on account of consciousness, body and mind," &c. Among the modern professors of the Buddhist faith, the existence of an Almighty Eternal Being is positively denied; for said a college of priests in answer to the question of a Dutch Governor: "Did the supreme God make the inferior ones?"—"God can neither create the inferior gods, nor any other kind of soul. There is no necessity for such a creation; for if a soul were created, that soul must of necessity endure pleasure and pain, but no God that is all-merciful would create a soul that must endure pain. The gods and all other creatures receive their birth or formation by means of the power emanating from their own kusula or akusula (merit or demerit), such a thing as the creation of new souls by God does not appear in any of the books of Buddhism. If it be said in the books of any religion whatever, that God creates souls, such a statement may easily be proved to be false."

The eternity of matter is one of the dogmas of the faith of the Buddhas. The world is consequently supposed to have always existed, and to have in itself the principle of continued existence for ever. It is declared also to be destroyed and reproduced at certain vast intervals of time, the principal agents in this destruction being water, fire and air. Sin, misery and death were not always inhabitants of our planet, being produced, according to Buddhism, by the folly and covetousness of man. "Living beings," said Gautama, "first appeared by an apparitional birth, subsisting in the element of felicity, illumined by their own effulgence, moving through the air, delightfully located, and existing in unity and concord. Such was the condition of primæval man, until desire and covetousness entered into the world, and mankind degenerated into the present perverse and sinful race. The world was not, however, allowed to degenerate thus, without an effort having been made for its restoration. Twenty-four beings, as we have already shewn, of infinite purity and unspotted holiness, had appeared upon the earth in the revolutions of countless ages, to arrest the progress of its decline, and had preached righteousness and purity to the world, not without effecting wonderful improvement, before the last of the Buddhas, Gautama himself,

appeared upon the earth, and declared: "I am the most exalted in the world; I am the chief of the world; I am the most excellent in the world; this is my last birth; hereafter there is to me no other generation." The character assumed by Gautama was no less happily conceived than fulfilled. He resorted to no violence; his life was strictly moral, and consistent with his pretensions; though it was one of his tribulations to be accused of incontinency with herself by a young woman, even after he had attained the rank of a Buddha; he propagated his doctrines orally, wandering with his disciples from village to village, receiving alms from all who offered them, but neither asking any, nor allowing any of his followers to ask any; he wrote no books, but allowed his disciples freely to copy out his conversations, and in these he preferred the language of parable and the reasoning of analogy to direct assertions. He preached reliance upon the gods, faith in the Buddhas, and confidence in good works. Simple and austere in his manners, he courted not the adoration of the great, but he did not despise their invitations if he thought he might be an instrument of good.

Apart from the numerous miracles ascribed to him, the history of Gautama is monotonous and unchequered, though his disciples have vied with each other in ascribing to him the most amazing feats. His discourses exhibit few pretensions to superior power or strength; in knowledge and the subjection of his passions he desired to be, and he appears to have been, superior to his age. Having been requested to state what actions were of superior excellence to all others, the substance of his reply was, "Not to serve the unwise, but to attend on the learned, and to present offerings to those worthy of homage; to live in a religious neighbourhood; to be a performer of virtuous actions; to be established in the true faith; to be well informed in religion, instructed in speech, subject to discipline; to honour one's father and mother; to provide for one's wife and children; to follow a sinless vocation; to give alms; to act virtuously; to aid relatives and lead a blameless life; to be free from sin; to abstain from intoxicating drinks and to persevere in virtue; to be respectful, kind, contented, grateful, and to listen at proper times to religious instruction; to be mild, subject to reproof; to have access to priests, and to converse with them on religious subjects; to have a mind unshaken by prosperity or adversity, inaccessible to sorrows, free from impurity and tranquil; these are the chief excellencies. Those who practise all these virtues, and are not overcome by desire, enjoy the chief good."

The ten fundamental prohibitions of Gautama were as follows:— A prohibition of unjust suspicion, of coveting in any form, of evil wishes to others, of all falsehood, of betraying the secrets of others, of slander, of all foolish conversation, of *all* killing, of stealing, of fornication and adultery.

So far as they are known, the discourses of Gautama appear to

exhibit proofs of a powerful, equable, and cultivated mind, and are as far removed as possible from the absurd tales and precepts of Brahminism, the fruits of which were the arbitrary classification and trammels of caste, bloody sacrifices, and the assumption of superior rank and peculiar sanctity by the Brahmins. In the Kaasiyappa Bojjhangan he declared, that the seven great aims for the attainment of knowledge, wisdom, and deliverance from transmigration, viz., contemplation; the discovery of truth; persevering exertion; contentment; extinction of passion; tranquillity and equanimity; had been fully taught, meditated on, and practised by him.

In the Damma Padan, or Footsteps of Religion, given in the Appendix, we have exemplified a code of morality and a list of precepts, which for purity, excellence and wisdom is only second to that of the Divine lawgiver himself, and show the vast superiority of their inculcator to those around him at that period. "Gautama," rightly observes Mr. Knighton, "was eminently a practical philosopher, and spent his time not in curious investigations into mind and its influence, but in deducing rules from nature for the government of man." The absence of outward ceremonial, further than the preaching his doctrines, is one of the first subjects to attract the attention of the inquirer into the principles which actuated the philosopher of Maghada. It cannot rightly be imputed to him, then, that the parasitical twiners, which have sapped the vitality of the fair tree of his planting, were, with suicidal hand, set simultaneously by him. He would seem to have foreshadowed the degeneracy of his followers, when he compared the mortal body to a vessel externally bright and beautiful, but abounding with impurities, or to a pool of water which teems with insects. The pure and beautiful edifice of the faith of Gautama could no longer be expected to be preserved from the moss and excrescences which time and the superstition of mankind might attach to it, than any other system. Yet even in these corruptions of the religion of Gautama, and those ceremonies which had become a part of the religion when it was introduced into Ceylon, we shall find nothing of a decidedly immoral or pernicious tendency.

That tyrants, professing the religion of Buddha, have shewn themselves occasionally monsters of cruelty, cannot be denied; that its admirable laws have had little check upon its nominal followers, is evident; that priestly artifice, while stifling its pure injunctions, has substituted, in practice at least, a theology of its own, is equally clear; but it is hardly fair to charge Buddhism with the crimes of those who disobey its precepts, defy its commandments, and dare its threats of future punishment. A system that denounces the gratification of animal passions, forbids trafficing in human beings, enforces strict morality with peaceable demeanour, and threatens ambitious monarchs with no less impartiality than quarrelsome individuals, could never have had so rapid and wide a diffusion over Asia if its doctrines had not been clear and intelligible; but the very controversies and commentaries undertaken by its professed ministers, have

had, as in other cases, a deleterious effect upon its purity; for novel ideas, if only orally propounded, would be long in assuming a subversive character; it is only when they take a written shape, and when their authors, aiming at perpetuating them, trick them off with all the aids of sophistry, that they engraft themselves upon a purer system.

We have elsewhere enumerated the gods worshipped in Ceylon;[1] it will only be necessary to notice any peculiarities connected with their worship, &c. Weebeeshana, the brother of Rawana, is retained as a god in Kellania, and in the neighbourhood of Colombo, but is unknown at Kandy. Vishnu is worshipped in his form of Ramachandra. Kattragamma is the same as Kartickya (Mars), and has received the name by which he is now worshipped in Ceylon from the place where his principal temple is situated, which is at Kattragamma, at the south-east of the island; this god has a thousand other names, and it is a privilege of all of them to have a variety of names, the number being generally proportioned to the rank or estimation in which they are held. He is a greater object of terror (and is therefore more worshipped) than the other gods, and many of his votaries lose their health, and even their lives, in a pilgrimage through the unhealthy country which surrounds his malignant shrine. His priests are Brahmins, and were implicated in the rebellion of 1818. The goddess Patiné is supposed to be identical with Durga, and is invoked to ward off small-pox. Mahasen, as elsewhere observed, is invoked as Minneria-deiyo, from the tank of that name which he constructed; though according to Forbes he has no legitimate claim to deification. In his temples, however, the same warlike furniture may be found as in those of the other gods.

When Gautama Buddha[2] visited Ceylon, Saman appears to have been particularly worshipped, also Eiswara and Weebeeshana.

The images of the gods are generally formed of plaster and brick, and their execution is on a par with the material employed.

Abudha-deiyo,[3] the unknown god, more properly the god of secrecy,

[1] Knox relates that they adopted a mode of discovering to what god they were indebted for a visitation of sickness; it was a species of necromancy, and is not worth describing.

[2] In Kitulgama Unnanze's tenets of Buddhism, translated by Mr. Armour, it is remarked, that "in times designated Abudahotpaada, or intervals when Buddhas existed not, mankind being ignorant of the doctrines of Nirwanè, went in pursuit of vanities, like those who sought for refreshment from the miringo-jala (mirage), or fire from the glowworm, and addressed themselves to the worship of Vishnu, Eiswara and other gods, and ascribed to trees and rocks, stocks and stones, the power of protecting and rewarding; fancying that they should thus obtain protection and happiness, whereas their erroneous practices only doomed them to torments more severe."

[3] If Knox's account on this point is to be credited, "the god without a name" was a divinity of very recent origin. He is thus described: "There was lately a man who pretended to be a prophet sent to them from a new god, that as yet was nameless; at which the people were amused, for he professed to heal the sick and work miracles, so that he was soon held in high veneration. He declared that he was commissioned to pull down and spoil the dewalés of former gods. No check was opposed to his sacrilege by either king or people, the former waiting to see

probably the same as Mercury, is not much honoured in Ceylon, and has not more than one or two temples dedicated to his service, the principal of which is in the division of Bogambera.

To these we may add Nata and Pittia, who are worshipped at Kandy.

"The powers and attributes of the gods and demons of the Singhalese," remarks Forbes, "are not well defined; they appear to be immaterial spirits of a nature superior to man, but limited in power, knowledge and existence. Thus, the greatest of these deities, Maha Brahma, is a being of wonderful power and of vast comprehension, but inferior to the successive Buddhas in wisdom, purity, excellence and knowledge, although superior in strength: that spirit, like all the higher order of beings in Buddhism, rose from a common station to his present exalted one by his virtue; and after existing thus for some thousands of years, will either attain Niwanè or relapse into his original obscurity. Four of these deities are supposed to have a peculiar influence over mankind. There are vices and crimes, moreover, charged in the history of the gods, while the devils seem to respect the virtues which they do not practise, and their forbearance must be purchased by offerings and propitiatory ceremonies. The wild and wooded nature of the island, and the now thinly scattered population, naturally tend to superstition; for when the country was prosperous and populous, the Buddhist religion was maintained in the greatest purity."

The temples of the gods are called dewalés, and the priests kapuralls. In them there is always some relic or emblem of a martial character, such as bows, shields, spears, swords, or arrows; and if any person wished to erect a temple, he affected to discover, by the aid of some inspiration, astrology or other pretence, and with much ceremony and mystery, an arrow of the god, or some other relic, which lay concealed in the spot selected for the building. The will of the god having been thus miraculously ascertained, the work was com-

which god would prevail, so that he proceeded successfully, and numbered a great body of followers. Perceiving he had become popular, he aspired at length to the throne. The king, hearing of his design, craftily determined on despatching three of his nobles to test his claims, and with that object enclosed a ring in an ivory box, and bade them ask one of his priests what were its contents. The priest was for some moments taken aback, but on recovering his self-possession subtilely replied, that he was not sent to divine, but to heal the diseases and help the infirmities of the people. The king now ordered him to be placed in the stocks under a tree, to be made wet with the rain, and then exposed to the sun. The head impostor, on hearing of the punishment of his disciple, fled to the Dutch at Colombo, carrying off all the plunder he had amassed, and gave out that he was the son of the Prince of Mátalé, the king's elder brother. The people still continued to flock to him, till the Dutch watched his movements, under the apprehension of Raja Singha's anger. Whereupon the impostor returned to his former abode. He was now seized by the king's command, and after a short confinement was cut up in four pieces and hung in different places."

The people, however, still believed in "the nameless god," and as we have seen he still retains one or more temples for his service.

menced, and by permission of the king the temple might be endowed, and have the same privileges as a Buddhist wiharé. The qualifications of a kapurall are of no high order; they are not educated for their office or regularly ordained; nothing is required, with the exception of caste and the observance of a certain mode of life considered essential to purity; and they display merely cunning sufficient to dupe the superstitious, whose offerings they generally contrive to appropriate to themselves, and physical power enough to enable them to go through the violent exertions and hideous contortions which they display, and call dancing and inspiration. Knox mentions, that when thus inspired every word they uttered was looked upon as spoken by God himself, and the people would address them as gods. These ceremonies are accompanied by tom-toms, pipes, chank-shells, halamba (hollow metal rings), and other discordant noises. Over the principal temples are placed overseers, who have charge of the revenues, and are guardians of the relic. They are laymen of rank, and do not take any part in the fatiguing ceremonial and frantic orgies which in this superstition are considered to conciliate the deity invoked.

Planets are believed by the Singhalese to be controlling spirits, for whom certain ceremonies and incantations are prescribed to be performed by those who are thought to be under the power of their malignant influence; these ceremonies are called Bali, and are a combination of astrology with demon worship. Bali is used to express sacrifice to the planets or to demons, also offerings to deceased ancestors. Balia, according to Forbes, is an image of clay, made and worshipped by a person suffering under sickness and misfortune; it is supposed to represent the controlling planet under which such person was born; and for this purpose, as well as on all eventful occasions, his handahana, an astrological breviary with which every Kandian is provided, and which contains his horoscope, is submitted to the inspection of an astrologer, who directs the necessary ceremonies, such as the playing of pipes, beating of drums, and dancing; according to Knox the images were then placed on the roads to be trodden under foot. These latter are always celebrated at night, and terminate before sunrise. Victuals always form part of the offering; and the whole ceremony, as well as the name, appears to be identical with the superstition of Bel and the Dragon. Bali, the controlling planets; and the Dragon, Rahu, the causer of eclipses.

Not only the Veddahs, with whom it was till lately general, but a great proportion of the population, make offerings to ancestors and disembodied spirits of the virtuous dead. The antiquity of these ceremonies Forbes has traced to the Ramayana, in which he says it is stated, that the efficiency of a son's virtues and a pilgrimage to Gaya were sufficient to release a parent from hell. The offerings to ancestors appear to be intended for the double purpose of propitiating ancestral spirits, and rescuing them from a species of purgatory.

Demon worship is on the increase in Ceylon, and appears destined

to rise on the ruins of Buddhism. Among the infernal or malignant spirits,[1] to whom they are attracted by fear rather than affection, some will be found as heroes who were enrolled on the unsuccessful side in the wars of the Rama and Rawana; others are national misfortunes or bodily afflictions, to which superstition has given a form. Thus, pestilence is a red-eyed demon; there are also demons of the forest and the flood, tempest and malaria; demons which sport in the strong scent of insalubrious blossom bearing trees, such as the mee-tree; demons of the Sohon Pola (cemetery), who inhabit tombs and roam through burying-grounds; and lastly, the demons mental individuality may conjure up. The belief in the power of these evil spirits, the attention which is paid to propitiatory offerings, such as the sacrifice of a red cock, with the view of averting and repelling misfortunes supposed to be impending, are very general; yet many who practise these unhallowed rites in private vehemently denounce them in public. Demon worship would seem to have been a superstition of the aboriginal inhabitants that was never entirely abandoned, and though severely censured by Gautama Buddha, was sanctioned by various kings of Ceylon, and Panduwasa, B.C. 500; Sirisangabo, A.D. 239; Bojas, A.D. 340, issued royal edicts for the encouragement and regulation of demon worship. The devil temples are called covillas. Many of the sovereigns of Ceylon were of continental origin, and ascended the throne either by conquest or election, and though they might externally conform to the established religion on the ground of policy, there is no reason to suppose that they laid aside the worship of gods whom they had been accustomed to acknowledge. The kings who reigned by right of conquest we even find destroying, pillaging or polluting the sacred objects of Buddhist adoration. In comparison with the soul-debasing rites of god or demon worship, the religion of Buddha appears to the greatest advantage. The one, impure and demoralising, drags its victim or votary still deeper into the mire of human transgression; the other pure, mild, peaceful, in deeds as in words, elevating and replete with the sublimest principles of philosophy, were calculated to raise

[1] Knox remarks in reference to the worship of evil spirits: "These are local; for those invoked in one part of the country, are frequently unknown or disowned in the other; but those under whose subjection they acknowledge themselves to be, they are in greater fear of than of those whom they call gods. The people themselves will confess their misery, saying their country is so full of devils and evil spirits, that unless they invoked their protection they would be destroyed by them. Christians they acknowledge to be free from the power of these infernal spirits. Both men and women are sometimes so strangely possessed, that one would suppose it to be the real effect of the devil's power, as they would run mad into the woods, screeching and roaring, but injured none others, on the contrary would become speechless, shaking, quaking and dancing, and would tread upon the fire and not be hurt, and talk in an irrational manner. This frenzy will continue for some time, until the friends go to a covilla, and promise the devil a reward for their recovery. The people impute this madness to some breach of promise that the party affected had made to the devil, or the unlawful eating of some fruit, &c. dedicated to him"

the standard of moral excellence to the highest possible degree. Wherever, then, its sincere followers have been led astray into the depths of superstition,[1] we shall find that it is to be traced to an inaccurate view of the duties inculcated by Gautama. The decline of Buddhism in Ceylon, and the little influence its moral system has over the mass of its followers, are to be traced to more causes than one. First, perhaps, to the extinction of the Singhalese dynasty in A. D. 1739, when the example of the king no longer combined with that of the priesthood to retain the people in strict obedience to the national faith; secondly, to that fear of evil rather than the desire to observe a stringent code of morality, from which there could be no legitimate deviation, which seems to have grown upon them with their decadence as a nation, and which led them to invoke safety from gods or demons capable, in their opinion, of averting evil from their country and themselves, rather than to live in strict accordance with a system which only promised or threatened in some unfathomable futurity. Thirdly, and as regards the moral influence of Buddhism, the remote period at which Nirwanè is finally to be attained, is insufficient to encourage to good or to deter from evil. Rightly, therefore, does Forbes observe, that transmigration, or even the animation of other human bodies, is too favourable a doctrine for those who wish to delay repentance, or the performance of strictly moral duties; he who expects to appear again in different forms, will naturally reserve for them that strict propriety of conduct which may be more grateful to his future shapes than he feels it is to the body he now animates. The same writer, in alluding to the discovery by Mr. Turnour of the Pali Buddhist scriptures, containing the principles of that faith disconnected from commentaries and discourses, which were often but the vapid records and confused visions of some hermit's brain, which he had persuaded others, and perhaps himself believed, to be the result of revelations and experience acquired in former transmigrations, remarks, that "it is unjust to Buddhism, and contrary to common sense, to suppose that thousands of years of trials and expiations were to be rewarded with the most unsatisfactory of all terminations, annihilation, the general meaning given to Nirwanè. Not only Europeans, but the earlier Buddhist writers, may have erred," continues he, "in giving too definite a word to represent the meaning of a mystical expression belonging to a language which had probably ceased to be spoken before the doctrine of Buddha was recorded." It is also uncertain if we have just equi-

[1] The images of Buddha are only represented in three positions, sitting cross-legged, standing as if preparing to advance, and reclining on his side with his head resting on a pillow; he is generally represented clad in the yellow robe, but one of pomegranate-flower colour is also canonical. His statues are not placed in the temples as objects of worship, but like images in Roman Catholic churches, to keep his followers in perpetual remembrance of the founder of their religion. In the same spirit are the offerings made in his temples; objects of value are presented to the wiharé, but flowers remarkable for fragrance and beauty are alone offered before the figure of Buddha.

valents in English, or the Buddhists in their vernacular language, for the subtle expression Nirwanè, which may have been intended to remain a mystery of Buddhist doctrine. From a comparison of the many different epithets used by Buddhists as synonymous with Nirwanè, such as Amurta, which means "immortal, imperishable; freedom from death; the final emancipation of the soul from the body," he is of opinion, that "having attained Nirwanè" signifies, not only that the spirit from that time forth is emancipated from the flesh, but that having been gradually and finally purified, it is at last untroubled by any passion or aspiration, and is then and for ever an essence of purity and virtue.

With respect to the antiquity of the religion of Buddha, the source from whence it originated, and the direction in which it spread, little will be required to be said in this place, as an ample and more fitting opportunity will be offered in the consideration of the religions of India, for entering at length on these points. The opinion of the Buddhists themselves, in reference to the antiquity of their religion, is of a two-fold character, one probable, and the other absurd to a degree. By the former, they only reckon it from the time it was established, or as they state, restored by Gautama, that is, about 600 years before the commencement of the Christian era; whence it would follow that the Brahminical religion is the more ancient of the two: in fact the Buddhists themselves confess it, when they allow that their religion was extinct when Buddha appeared to revive it, and that the Brahminical religion was then in the ascendant. By the latter, they confound it with their monstrous system of the universe, and consider it in its various revolutions as old and as coexistent as the universe itself.

It has been maintained by Oriental scholars of the highest eminence, that Buddha is a mere incarnation of Vishnu, and that his religion is a graft on, and a heresy of, the Brahminical.[1] This opinion is vehemently opposed by the Buddhists, who maintain that Gautama was never Vishnu, but that their present Vishnu is destined to become a Buddha. In regard to the second point, the mythological portion of the Buddhist system in Ceylon does appear to be a graft of the Brahminical, but that which is purely Buddhist seems to have had an independent origin.

The source from whence the religion of Buddha proceeded, is even yet a question of dispute. Some have gone so far as to assign it an African origin, in consequence of some representations of Buddha possessing all the features and peculiarities of the African race; but

1 The combination of the worship of Buddha and the gods, is a curious feature in the history of the religion of Ceylon: from being at first merely tolerated, it has long become quite orthodox, and indeed the very existence of the Buddhist religion now depends upon the connection; for shorn of this protection, it would, from its philosophical and unimpassioned system, infallibly totter to its fall. It is not uncommon to see a dewalé and wiharé contiguous, and in some few instances under the same roof.

the figures of Buddha to be found in Ceylon are said by all who have seen them to have the exact Singhalese cast of countenance. The Buddhists themselves scout this notion, and hold the opinion which is most confirmed by every circumstance that can give weight to one, *viz.*, that it sprung from the north-east part of Asia. It is now the religion of the whole of Tartary, of China, Japan, and their dependencies, and in fact, of all the countries between China and the Burrampooter. It is found in its greatest purity in Ava, Siam and Ceylon, with the exception, as regards the last, that gods, &c. are there worshipped in combination with Buddha, which they are not in the two former countries, where, moreover, caste does not prevail.

CHAPTER IX.

The Priesthood—Orders of Priests—Educational establishments—Caste from which Priests are selected—Renunciation of clerical functions—Modes of ordination for a Samanairia and Upasampada—Life of a Priest—The Pohoya, or Buddhist Sunday—Wass wassana, or Lent—Priestly dignity—Rules for the government of the Priesthood—Prohibitions—Description of a wiharé and Buddhist worship—A Buddhist ecclesiastical establishment—Ceremony of clothing the Priests—Character of the Priesthood.

PRIESTS are in general of two kinds; those of the superior order are called Upasampada, and are honoured with the title of Terronnansè or Tirrinanxé, those of the inferior are called Samanairia, and have the title of Gonninansé. At Kandy, there are two great academical corporations, to one or other of which all the priests in the island belong, the Malwattè-wiharè and the Asgirie-wiharè. About three thousand priests are supposed to be attached or dependent upon the former, and about one thousand belong to the latter. Of the whole number nearly three-fourths are supposed to be located in the interior. These two religious foundations or colleges are independent, but not in the least in opposition. Over each are two rectors, or chief priests, who are appointed by the Government, called Maha-niakoo-unanci[1] and Anna-niakoo-unanci, the only individuals in the priesthood who possess official rank, superiority being allowed to none besides, except on the ground of exemplary piety or learning. To these dignitaries belong the superintendence and government of their respective colleges, in the guidance of which they are regulated by written precedents and directions, rarely, if ever departed from.

The education and ordination of priests is regular and peculiar. A noviciateship has to be served before an individual can become a Samanairia, and before the latter can be made an Upasampada, he must qualify himself to pass certain examinations.

1 Unanci, lord, is a term of respect paid to priests in general; niakoo is expressive of high rank; Upasampada signifies almost full (of religion); Samanairia, the son of a priest.

The two chief priests who presided over the priests of the two great temples at Kandy, and exercised a general episcopal control over the whole Kandian priesthood, had the power of remonstrating with the sovereign, and admonishing him not to depart from the ten prescribed duties of a king.

Every priest possesses or is attached to a particular wiharé, where he performs his religious duties, leading an indolent monastic life of celibacy. The number of priests belonging to any single temple varies from one to thirty, according to its size and opulence.

The priesthood are to a man selected from the Goewansé, although some of the higher grades of the Kshoodra-wansé are not professedly excluded by the ordinances of religion, but by the pride of caste, the higher ranks being unable to reconcile it with their dignity to pay the respect due to a priest to a person of low caste. There are indeed a sort of lay brethren of low caste called Silvat, who lead the life of priests, and perform some of their minor duties, but they are neither ordained or treated with any distinction.

It was considered a heinous crime for any priest to live after the manner of a layman, and the strictest injunctions against such a practice appear in all the books containing the doctrine of Buddhism, but to prevent a scandal which could not fail of arising in some cases, a priest was permitted to disengage himself at any time from the priestly office by divesting himself of the yellow robe, its distinguishing characteristic, and throwing it into the river, and this act of voluntary renunciation is unaccompanied by any disgrace, and the person thus acting retains a greater influence on account of his learning than any mere layman.

Usually, a youth intended for the priesthood is brought up from an early age by a priest, whom he attends as a page, and to whose temple, after gaining a sufficient knowledge and passing the requisite ordeal, he is destined to succeed. This rule is not, however, absolute, persons of maturer years having become occasionally candidates. The junior pupils of a priest are not often above eight or ten years of age, as it is supposed that from early habit they will more easily become reconciled to the routine and mortifications, which they should encounter before ordination, it being easier to subdue the passions before the character is completely formed, than after they have already had their sway; at the end of three years, after providing himself with yellow robes and the same things that it is said Siddharté was furnished with when he turned priest, previously to his becoming Buddha, and having had his head and eyebrows shaved, and his body, before bathing, smeared with a variety of applications, he may address himself to his tutor kneeling, and beg in a Pali verse to be admitted into the Samanairia, or lowest order of priesthood. This request, if he has behaved correctly, and his attainments are satisfactory, being complied with, he is dressed in the appropriate Samanairia robes. His duties combine the study, respect, and service of his tutor, and attending the temple and performing certain

subordinate religious ceremonies. The ceremony to be observed on the ordination of a priest has been prescribed by Gautama Buddha. The candidate had to repair to the wiharé and communicate his wish to one of its principal priests, who, after having ascertained that he was properly qualified for the office, delivered him over to a clever Karmmacharia Wahansé, desiring the latter to exercise him in those matters with which it was necessary that he should be acquainted previous to his ordination. After going through the curriculum of instruction, the chief priest and twenty others assembling in the Poya Gé, the candidate was brought into the middle of the room, clad in a white garment (when he is called a Nagaya), and the following interrogatories were put to him—

First. Have you any incurable leprosy, or are you affected with ulcers, cutaneous eruptions, consumption, or possessed with devils? If he were free from these disorders, he would reply, My lord, I am not subject to any such distempers.

Second. Are you free from the bonds of slavery? Are you involved in debt? Are you a messenger of the King's? Have you obtained the consent of your parents? Have you completed your twentieth year? Are you provided with a cup and priestly garment? In reply he had to salute the priests, and answer in the negative to the three first, and in the affirmative to the three last, after which he was qualified to become a member of the priesthood. At the conclusion of the examination, the candidate's hair, and sometimes eyebrows, are all shaved off, and his body besmeared over with turmeric, sandal powder and perfumes, and being dressed in rich clothes and decorated with costly ornaments, he was mounted on an elephant, and conducted in procession through the principal streets, preceded by flags, umbrellas, and music. Sometimes the King, the two Adigaars, and the four Maha Dissaves, attended by a numerous retinue, graced this ceremony with their presence. The candidate being then re-conducted to the Poya Gé, was further questioned on points of religion, and finally admitted to Upasampada (ordination), and invested with the robes of that order.

The number of Buddhist priests in Ceylon is very great, as the wiharés are very numerous, and in each wiharé there are generally several priests. Their dress consists of a yellow robe or cloth wrapped round their loins, and reaching down to their feet, and another yellow robe several yards long thrown over their left shoulder, and reaching down to the ground before and behind. They never wear stockings or shoes, and seldom sandals. Their heads, beards, and eyebrows are kept close shaven. Their heads are considered so sacred that no barber is allowed to perform the operation of shaving them, but the priests shave each other. They live by mendicity; though there are in almost all parts of the island lands belonging to the wiharés, which have in former times been left by the piety of individuals, or apportioned to them by the Singhalese kings. These lands, by a proclamation of the British Government in 1818, were declared

exempt from all taxation. Every morning, at daylight, the priests take their dish, and covering it with a piece of white cloth, go about from house to house through the village where they reside to beg rice. They are seldom sent empty away from any house; however poor its inhabitants may be, they generally in the course of the day put aside a little rice or fruit, or money, for the priest the next time he comes. It is considered a great sin to apply any of the rice thus consecrated to their own use. In towns it is usual to see six or seven, or even more of the priests thus begging from door to door. As soon as anything is put into their dish, the giver stands with hands placed together in the attitude of worship, and receives the benediction of the priest, which benediction is generally an assurance to the donor of some good in a future state or birth, as a recompense for the highly meritorious act that he is now performing in feeding the priests.

The Buddhists have a day corresponding to our Sunday, it is called Pohoya or Poya; the people ought, and the priests sometimes do, observe it, and assemble four times a month at the change of the moon for mutual instruction, &c. It should be a day of rest, but it is scarcely observed at all at the present day.

In the time of Wass, which season commences with the full moon in August, and lasts three months, being the rainy season, the priests leave their temples at the invitation of one or more individuals, sometimes of the whole inhabitants of a village, and live among the people in Pansalas (priests' houses) raised for them, near which is always erected a temporary building, called the Bana Maduwa. During the time of Wass (in some respects corresponding with our Lent), they employ themselves in teaching the children of the villages or other young persons who may go to them for instruction. They are altogether supported by the people, and live upon the best of the land, as the villagers always take good care that their priests want nothing. Festivals of several days duration take place during this period, and the Pansalas and Maduwas are always crowded with people. The Wass wassana is a time of excitement; as it occurs at a season of the year when they have not much to do in the fields, or even if they work in the days, they are at liberty in the evenings and night, which they spend together with their wives and children in the Bana Maduwa, listening to the jātakas, read and expounded to them by the priests, and they are kept awake when they begin to feel drowsy by the tom-toms, which are always beaten on those occasions. On such an occasion two pulpits are prepared, and two priests in their full robes are carried to the pulpits into which they are lifted. During the continuance of Wass, the principal priest must not absent himself for more than six days at a time, on account of the weather, travelling at that time being attended with many inconveniences, and even danger: it is considered indecorous, moreover, for a priest to be walking about under a load of wet garments. Some persons, to give a proof of their devotion, never utter a word. On the termination of Wass, the principal priest is frequently presented with an offering

by his congregation. Whenever a priest goes from his wiharé on a journey, or when he leaves it to keep Wass, he is attended by one or more servants, who carry the Banapota, carefully wrapped up in a piece of white cloth on their shoulders, together with their clothes, umbrellas, or talipats. The priest has a small circular fan in his hand, which he must, according to the precepts of his religion, hold before him so near his face, that he must not see more than the "length of a bullock" of the road on which he is going. Respect is generally shewn by the people to the priests whom they meet on the road; though there is far less of this within the last few years than there was formerly; and some persons when they stop to talk with the priests stand with their hands together, held up close to their mouth, and speak to them in a whisper. A priest never bows to any one, considering himself superior to all human beings; and though mortal, is considered superior to the gods. In consequence, a priest may sit in a dewalé; they never worship the gods; but when they preach they invite the gods to be of their audience. As many of them understand medicine, when a priest visits the people in their houses in the capacity of a doctor, a chair is brought out for him into the verandah of the house or into the midula—an open space before the house—and covered with a white cloth. The priest sits in it, while all the people stand, for no one is allowed to sit in the presence of a priest, and the nearest relation of the sick people, or some one acquainted with the disease kneels down before him, or stands behind his chair and whispers the complaint into his ear. In the case of Europeans, where there is no compulsion, some artifice is generally resorted to to obtain an observance of the rule, which is usually disregarded by those who are previously aware of their intention, but is often unconsciously observed by a stranger. They are not allowed, according to their religion, to take any fee for medical attendance or advice, but many are not very scrupulous on this point. It is but justice to say that many of them have a tolerable knowledge of medicine, as the principles of that art are laid down in their own books.

The priesthood as instituted and incorporated by Gautama very much resembled those initiated into the esoteric tenets of Pythagoras. They lived in communities, and had a common table; they were doomed to poverty and celibacy; they shunned luxuries of all kinds, whether intended to delight the imagination or to please the body; they were enjoined, as were all the Buddhists, to shun the destruction of animal life, as they would of human; they were to eat at certain seasons of the day, were prohibited from all exciting and intoxicating liquors, and were enjoined to take the lowest seats. The piety of monarchs frequently supplied their necessities, but the simple and austere character of their lives remained, and though dwelling in palaces, they retained the discipline of the hermitage.

The duties enjoined upon the priests consisted chiefly in reading a portion of the sacred books on stated days, to which they added

exhortations and comments, and they were forbidden with the most ascetic rigidity the indulgence in the most innocent no less than the most carnal pleasures. The slightest communication with the priestesses was strictly forbidden, and guarded against with extraordinary preventives. A priest touching or engaging in criminal conversation with a woman in any way, or commending sensual pursuits, saying, "Sister, the most meritorious action a woman can perform is to gratify the desires of so virtuous, pure, and excellent person as I am;" his making known "the desires of a woman to a man," or the opposite, was punishable by suspension and penances, and he could not be restored, except by an assembly of twenty priests. A priest "sitting privately on a seat with a woman, secluded from observation, or even secluded enough to permit his engaging in improper conversation unheard of by others, was liable to exclusion, suspension, or censure, according to circumstances." Nor were the avenues to offences less rigorously guarded; a priest could not recline in the same place with a woman, nor address her in more than five or six sentences without an intelligent witness, nor visit the abode of the priestesses under the pretence of delivering exhortations, nor travel with her; in short, every possible precaution was taken for the maintenance of purity and discipline in the colleges of either sex.

Every fifteenth day the priests of each temple should assemble in their poyagé, and hear the rules for the direction of their conduct read. Before the lecturer commences, the chief priest proclaims, "If any one be present whose sins will not permit him to sit while our doctrines are repeated, let him depart." Should an individual be guilty of a slight offence merely, he may confess it immediately, and having been admonished, is at liberty to remain and sit down; but if the offence be of a grave character, if he be guilty of hypocrisy, theft, fornication, or murder, he must quit the assembly, and after trial be expelled the priesthood and punished. Once annually the priests of each college should be assembled by the chief priest to be examined and exhorted.

Priests are required to observe the Triwededooscharitie and the Pratipatti. The first were prohibitory commandments, including, besides the offences already mentioned, drunkenness, eating at night, resting on high beds, amusements, as singing, dancing, &c.; accepting gold and silver, and wearing flowers, or using perfumes. The Pratipatti enjoin on them to venerate the relics and images of Buddha, as they would have done himself while alive; to respect religious books, and to respect elder priests like their own parents. Three times a day worship and respect should be paid by priests to Buddha, to religious books and to senior priests. The worship paid to religious books consists in offering flowers before them, and no worshipper will presume to touch them till they have made their obeisance as to a superior; nor sit down unless the books present are placed as a mark of distinction on a shelf or table above them. The worship that priests pay to their seniors consists in prostrations on

their knees, generally with their hands uplifted, and their head bowed to the earth, they beg a blessing, which is bestowed by the elder priest, stooping forward with his hands closed.

The wiharé generally consists of two apartments. Around the outer apartment is a verandah supported by pillars, and six or eight feet wide. As soon as the door is opened and light is thus admitted, for there are seldom any windows, the walls are first seen ornamented with numberless images of gods, devils, &c. Red, yellow, and blue are the colours with which the images are painted. There are also on the walls representations of scenes or histories in their Bana books, done in the same glaring colours. There is no light in the inner apartment, except what is admitted by a small door that leads into it from the outer one, on which account it is necessary for the visitor to request a light from the priest, if he wishes to examine minutely the different images with which it is filled. The position of the image of Buddha in different temples is various. In the temple at Cotta the principal image in the inner room is in a recumbent posture, and is twenty-eight cubits long. In front of it is a bench or long altar, on which flowers, &c. are offered every morning, either by the people of the village, or when they are dilatory by the young Samanairias, who are studying for the priesthood. The flowers are collected fresh and offered every morning. The smell arising from them is very sickly and disagreeable in a room so destitute of a draft of air. In addition to the flowers, there are generally on the altar several small images of Buddha, of gold or silver, or gold or brass, or ivory, in various positions.[1]

These are images which have been presented to the temple by different devotees. In one corner stands a large brass vessel capable of containing many gallons. The oil brought by the offerers is poured into this vessel, and is afterwards made use of by the priests in their Pansalas and on festival occasions.

Whenever a number of persons go to a temple to present offerings, they arrange the order of proceeding before they arrive at the door of the compound, or enclosed ground on which the temple stands. If the party consists of a family of persons, the wife walks first, followed by her daughters according to seniority, and then the husband and sons in the same order, while the rear is brought up by the servants bearing talipats, which they bring to shade their master and mistress from the rays of the sun or from rain. Each individual holds his or her hands, with flowers, &c. as offerings, on the top of the head in the attitude of worship, and they walk with all the gravity and decorum imaginable, without looking on one side or the other, and in this manner they proceed into the inner apartment of the temple, in which is placed the image to which they are to make their offerings. As soon as they have laid the flowers, &c. on the altar

1 A wiharé is said by some writers to have been a safe place of refuge for delinquents of every description, and the king is said to have restrained himself from ordering the violation of its sanctity.

and poured the oil into the brass vessel, they stand some time, as if contemplating in silence the excellency of the being to whose image they have been offering, and then walk out of the room with their faces still turned towards the image; as it would be an almost unpardonable offence, and a highly demeritorious act to turn their back upon it.

Having then gone back into the outer apartment of the temple, they arrange themselves into a line, and fall flat upon their faces before the images painted on the walls, and in that position repeat the following sentences, each three times.

I take as my refuge Buddha—I take as my refuge his religion—I take as my refuge his priests.

As soon as these sentences have been repeated, continuing still prostrate on the floor, or having risen upon their knees, and leaning forward with their clasped hands on the floor, and their foreheads on them, they repeat, at the dictation of the priests, these commands of Buddha.

I submit to the command which says, "Thou shalt not take away life." To that which says, "Thou shalt not take things that are not given thee." To that which says, "Thou shalt not have unlawful connection with women." To that which says, "Thou shalt not utter falsehood." To that which says, "Thou shalt not drink toddy or any spirituous liquors." To that which says, "Thou shalt not take food out of time" (after twelve at noon). To that which says, "Thou shalt not dance, or sing, or play upon any musical instrument, or see dramatic representations." To that which says, "Thou shalt not adorn thy body with flowers, or anoint it with fragrant ointment." To that which says, "Thou shalt not sleep on high or rich beds." To that which says, "Thou shalt not touch gold, silver, or any other money.

The first five are called Pan-Sil, and belong to the laity only. The first eight are called Ata-Sill, and the whole Dasa-Sill. As soon as they have repeated these commands, they rise up suddenly from the floor, and clap their hands over their heads, and call out "Sadu, Sadu, Sadu," to the extent of their voice, so that the sound is heard afar off. Some time is after this spent in hearing the priests explain some of the histories, and in making inquiries about the images, &c. with which they see the temple filled. The compound of the temple is filled with lights, as there are left in the walls all round, at a short distance from each other, small openings for the reception of lamps, which are either half of a cocoa-nut shell filled with oil and a wick put into it, or small earthenware saucers made for the purpose.

The worship of Buddha, of his relics and images, should be observed at about sunrise, noon, and sunset. The evening service at the principal temple in Kandy is described by an eye witness as much resembling the ceremonial of high mass, incense being burnt, perfumed water scattered about, &c.

A complete Buddhist establishment consists of a wiharé or temple, in which, before one or more statues of Buddha, the offerings are placed and prayers are chaunted; the poyagé is the house in which the priests should examine each other and instruct the people; the

pansala, a dwelling for the priests; the dagoba,[1] a solid bell-shaped building, built over some relic of Gautama; the sacred bo-tree, a slip or seed originally from that of Anuradhapoora, is planted on an elevated terrace, and surrounded with a wall, on which are small altars to receive the offerings of flowers; for the bo-tree is, equally with the images of Buddha, intended as a memento of the founder of their religion. The whole of these buildings are generally surrounded by a wall, in which are numerous niches for containing lamps to be lighted on particular festivals by those who make offerings. The situations for planting bo-trees are generally selected with great judgment, in secluded places among rocks and near rivers, where they are shaded with a variety of elegant palms and luxuriant fruit trees; they are always kept neat and clean, and their appearance is most beautiful.

A ceremony for clothing the priests takes place annually. Cotton, of which vast quantities grow almost in a wild state in Ceylon, is prepared, dyed yellow, spun, and woven into cloth—all in one day—and in the evening the priests invest themselves in their new attire (Kappupuja) to the deafening noise of the tom-tom and loud squeaking pipes.

Every priest is attached to a wiharé, which generally descends from himself to his senior pupil; but some incumbencies are at the disposal of Government, or of the chiefs. Aspirants to the higher ecclesiastical preferments, learn the Burmese and Siamese alphabets, and can thus compare and study the versions of Pali divinity in a cognate as well as in the Singhalese form of letters. Such persons are eligible to the presidency or vice-presidency of the two colleges at Kandy, or to the incumbencies of Anuradhapoora, Dambool, Ridi-wiharé, and Mulgiri-galla, to which, in their respective localities, a superior degree of influence is attached.

Of late years, the spiritual pride inherent in the priesthood, while as equally conspicuous as in times past, has been combined with a general and increasing laxity of discipline, and many neglect the self-denying ordinances of Gautama for the more tempting employment of acquiring and accumulating worldly riches. The decay of their

[1] An ancient dagoba, near Colombo, in ruins, and rather resembling a tumulus than the form in which it had originally appeared, was opened some years ago. In its centre a small square compartment was discovered, lined with brick, paved with coral, and containing a small cylindrical mass of grey granite, covered exactly with a rounded cap of the same stone; several small clay images of the hooded snake; a common earthen lamp; and a small obelisk or four-sided truncated pyramid, solid and composed of cement. The top of the rude granitic vase or carandua was solid. The carandua itself was hollow, and was found to contain a small fragment of bone; bits of thin plate-gold, in which perhaps the bone was originally wrapped; some small gold rings; two or three very small pearls, retaining their lustre entire; beads of rock crystal and cornelian; small fragments of ruby, blue sapphire, and zircon; and pieces of glass in the shape of icicles, which had undergone superficially considerable change, having become crystalline, rather opaque, and infusible at a red heat, perhaps from the loss of a portion of alkali.

religion, which may in some degree be attributed to this cause, instead of rousing them to exertion to remedy it, is viewed by them on the sad principle of fatalism, the world, according to them, being now in its decline yearly becoming more degenerate, vice and misery gaining strength, and virtue and happiness being about to depart. Like the monks of Europe in the dark ages, they are the principal proprietors of the learning and literature of the country, and like the same monks, their knowledge is chiefly of words and idle forms; their memories are more exercised than their judgments, and their reasoning powers prostituted to the purposes of sophistry.

The people in general are not taught any of the esoteric principles of their religion, nor are they required to observe the Triwededoos-charitie; but they are expected to believe the Tisarana, and follow the Panchaseelé. The Tissarana are Buddha-sarana, the worship of Buddha, and an acknowledgment of his supreme wisdom; Dharmé-sarana, to have faith in his doctrines, as the means of salvation, or of avoiding misery and obtaining happiness; and Sangha-sarana, to believe that priests are the ministers of Buddha, and fitting leaders for the attainment of happiness. The Panchaseelé, which literally signify the five good qualities, are the same as the first five prohibitions of the Triwededooscharitie.

Women, as well as men, may visit the temples for religious purposes, and indeed, as in most countries where there is no restraint or prohibition, the Singhalese women attend to their devotions with more regularity than the men.

Besides the preceding rules, there are some others of a moral nature that the people are expected to follow, as the bestowal of alms, meditation on the uncertainty of human affairs, a profitable life to others as well as one's self, loving others as one's self.

CHAPTER X.

THE DALADA, OR BUDDHA'S TOOTH.

History of the tooth—The Daladawansé—Trials of the Dalada, and its alleged triumphs—Its arrival in Ceylon—Alleged seizure of it by the Portuguese—Its clandestine removal from the Dalada Malagawa, and the important consequences resulting from its re-capture—Exhibition of the tooth in 1828—Its appearance—Cases or karanduas in which it is enshrined—The Dalada of Sairuwawilla.

THE conveyance of the Dalada to Ceylon is supposed to have occurred about the year 327 A.D., and the first of the various native histories of the tooth, and of the offerings made to it, was the Daladawansé, which is still extant, and is commended by Mahanaama, author of the Mahawansé, for the accuracy of its details. The annals of the relic are necessarily interwoven with the records of the

persecution of the Buddhists by the Brahmins, and the triumphs gained and miracles wrought through its influence, are no less the prominent feature of the history of Ceylon, by whose legitimate monarchs alternately with usurpers; by the Malabars, no less than the Portuguese; by the Dutch, no less than its present possessors, it has been successively used as the great political lever by which the dominion of the island was to be retained, and the fidelity of the natives preserved.

The decease of Gautama Buddha occurred B.C. 543 in the 81st year of his age, near the town of Coosinara, and in the forest of sal trees, near the place where he breathed his last, the magnificent funeral pile was prepared. Before the mortal remains of his divine master had been wholly consumed, the priest Khaima snatched the Dalada from the flames, and in accordance with an ancient prophecy, it was then conveyed to the country of Kalinga, an ancient division of India, situate along the north-west coast of the bay of Bengal, and adjacent to the present village of Calingapatam, where for several centuries it was treated with all the veneration that had been exhibited towards Gautama when alive. About the end of the third century, Guhasiva, king of Kalinga, yielding to the solicitations of the Achailakas (naked fanatics), neglected the Dalada, and omitted the prescribed offerings, but he was recalled from his indifference or infidelity by the expostulations of his minister, who described the perfect belief of the people in the virtues of the relic. The Achailakas thus defeated, betook themselves to Panduwas, paramount monarch of India, who held his court at Paelalup or Patalipura, the modern Patna, and represented in terms of indignation that his tributary, Guhasiva, neglecting Vishnu, Siva, and the other gods, worshipped a piece of bone. A large army, under the command of Chyttyana Raja, was immediately directed by Panduwas to march to Kalinga, and bring before him Guhasiva and the piece of human bone which he worshipped day and night. Advancing into the territories of his master's tributary, Chyttyana Raja encamped before his capital of Dantapoora, the city of the tooth, and being invited into the city by the King, was so friendly and hospitably treated that his prejudices vanished, and when after a relation of the former miracles wrought through the Dalada, new miracles were performed, the invader yielded, and attested the power of the relic. The commands of Panduwas being imperative, Chyttyana returned to Paelalup, accompanied by Guhasiva, bearing the Dalada in a splendid procession. Crossing rivers and mountains, they finally reached the court, where they were received by Panduwas and his nobles, who, unconscious of its hidden power, immediately ordered the piece of human bone to be handed over to the Achailakas, its enemies, and thus commenced the trials of the Dalada, which the Buddhists maintain to have terminated by miraculous proofs of its superhuman origin. Exulting in the possession of the relic, the fanatics prepared a pit in the yard of the palace, filled with glowing charcoal, into which they

cast the Dalada, but to their chagrin and astonishment, say the Buddhists, it burst unscathed, emitting rays which ascended through the skies and illumined the universe. They next took and buried it deep in the earth, which was trodden down by elephants, but mocking their labours, and releasing itself from its subterraneous abode and bonds of clay, it re-appeared in the centre of a gold lotus flower. Undismayed, the Achailakas cast it into a deep and filthy pool, which speedily became a clear pond, covered with lotus flowers, on one of which the relic was seen reposing.

Incensed beyond measure at their ill success, the fanatics maintained that these wonders were only frauds and deceptions contrived by the Buddhists, and placing the Dalada on an anvil, prepared to crush it: the ponderous hammer was upreared for its destruction, but ere it could descend, the relic had sunk into the iron, where it remained safe and immoveable.

The enemies of Buddhism perceiving the irresistible effect produced on the mind of Panduwas by these miracles, insisted that the Dalada must be a relic of some Avatar of Eiswara, Vishnu, or one of the gods, as no remains of the sage Gautama, or of any other mortal could possess supernatural power. The King replied, "If this be a relic of the gods, pray to them, and let their power release it from the anvil." The Achailakas having in vain supplicated the assistance of the gods in the task thus imposed upon them, the King permitted the Buddhists to prove the truth of their faith as connected with the relic of Gautama.

Then Subhadra,—a lineal descendant of Anepidhu, who built the Jaitawanarama temple for Buddha,—having made great offerings to the Dalada, and recounted the meritorious acts and successive transmigrations of Buddha, was rewarded by seeing the relic disengage itself from the iron, and still farther acknowledge the faith of the votary by the effulgence which spread around. The Dalada then floated in water placed in a golden cup, which was held by Subhadra. The prime minister and the nobles had long been satisfied, and the people already believed, while the result of these miracles was the confirmation of the wavering and the conversion of the incredulous; among others, the King Panduwas, who disowned the heretics, made great offerings to the wiharés, and implored forgiveness from Buddha. In his supplications, the King remarked with naiveté, that these trials of the Dalada were the means of obtaining a triumph to true religion by indicating its power, and that it was for this purpose he had permitted the tooth to be exposed to the indignities of the heretics. "Gems," said the Raja, "are of acknowledged perfection after they have passed through the fire, and gold becomes more valuable after its purity has been subjected to proof."

Not long after these events, Ksheeridara, king of Saewat-Nuwara, assembled an army, and demanded that the Dalada should be delivered up to him, and on meeting a refusal to his proposal, advanced against Paelalup, but was repulsed under the city walls by the army

of Panduwas, and himself slain in the encounter. The relic was now returned to Guhasiva, who departed for Kalinga, and again placed it in the great temple of Dantapoora. Panduwas after these events resigned the throne of India to his son, became a priest of Buddha, and died in retirement. After the return of Guhasiva, the son of the king of Oodaini, a zealous Buddhist, arrived at Dantapoora, made great offerings to the Dalada, and became the husband of Hemamálawa or Ranawali, a daughter of the King of Kalinga.

After the defeat of Ksheeridara by Panduwas, his nephews collected a great army, which they directed against Kalinga, and finally appeared before Dantapoora. Fearful of the result and the consequent removal of the tooth, Guhasiva directed his daughter and son-in-law, Dantakumara, to escape from the city. Disguised as Brahmins, and in possession of the Dalada, they retired, and having crossed a large river to the southward of the town, concealed the relic for a time among the sands.[1] Subsequently, Hemamálawa having hid the Dalada in her hair, contrived to reach a vessel on the coast, where, with her husband, she awaited the issue of the impending contest, it having been previously agreed that the appearance of a red flag was to denote the ill success of the besieged, in which case the guardians of the relic were directed to proceed to Ceylon, and deliver it to the king of that island, which it had been predicted should be its final resting place.

No sooner, therefore, did the Prince and Princess perceive that emblem of defeat and despair floating from the walls of Dantapoora, than they hastened towards their destination, and reached Ceylon in safety with their precious charge. Since then, for upwards of 1500 years, it has shared the vicissitudes of those who along with it swayed the destinies of the island. It has had its wanderings and returns, captivities and exiles, degradation and triumphs, and now, after 2000 years of travel, rests in the Malagawa temple at Kandy, one of the richest shrines of superstition.

The Dalada arrived in Ceylon A.D. 309, in the reign of Kitsiri Majan, who received the royal escort and the subject of their mission

[1] In the 17th chapter of the Mahawansé, entitled "The arrival of the Relics," it is said that in the reign of Dharmasoka, king of Dambadiva, B.C. 306, this relic was obtained from the god Sakraya, together with a dish full of other relics, from King Dharmasoka himself. A large dagoba—a word derived from "Dhâtu" and "Garba," a womb or receptacle for a relic—a large, high, bell-shaped building was erected, called Tooparamaya, in which the relic was deposited. At the enshrining of this relic in the dagoba, in the full moon of the month Kattika, a terrible earthquake took place, which made the hair of the spectators to stand on an end. The subsequent history of the tooth in Ceylon will be found under the respective reigns.

Since the foregoing lines were printed, intelligence has arrived of the transference of the Dalada to the Lay and Ecclesiastical Committee connected with the management of the temple. This step has been preceded by a severance of the union previously subsisting between the Government and Buddhism as the national religion of Ceylon. It is highly probable, therefore, that divested of the prestige attached to it from this source, it may cease to be regarded even by the lower classes of the next generation.

with all possible honour and respect. The people in their devoutness vied in the richness of the offerings which they made on such an auspicious event, and the King, not to be outdone, dedicated the whole island to the Dalada.

The profane European has ventured to unveil the sacred origin of the dental prize, and it was pronounced to be the tooth of an ape by no less an historian than Ribeiro. He states that it was taken from the Singhalese at Yapahoo in A.D. 1560, by Constantine de Braganza, who refused the immense ransom offered for it by them, said by Sir T. Herbert to have been 300,000 ducats, and conceiving that its destruction might prove the means of securing the Portuguese dominion, ordered it to be publicly burnt. Subsequently, another tooth is mentioned by the same writer as having been forged in imitation, by which the priests were deceived, and purchased it at a high price. The Singhalese maintain, however, that the Dalada was not captured by the Portuguese at Cotta, but at that time remained concealed at Delgamma, in Saffragam.

In either case, it is reasonable to suppose that whatever became of the Dalada, if a substitute was prepared, it would be an exact resemblance of the original, and not the least curious fact connected with this antique is, that the original promoter of the imposition—which passed it as a tooth of Gautama—did not procure some old man's tooth, and thus deprive sceptics of at least one strong argument against its authenticity.

In A.D. 1815, when the British had become rulers over the whole of Ceylon, and proprietors of the Dalada, it might be expected that its wanderings would cease, but two years after, and prior to the rebellion of 1817, it was clandestinely removed by the priests appointed to officiate at its sanctuary. Towards the conclusion of the rebellion, it was again recovered, having been found with a priest, who was seized in the Mátalé district. The first Adigaar remarked on this event, "That whatever the English might think of the consequence of having secured Kappitapola and other chiefs, in his opinion and in that of the people in general, the taking of the relic was of infinitely greater moment." And an Englishman, then resident in the interior, says, "The effect of its capture was astonishing, and almost beyond the comprehension of the enlightened."

The next occasion on which the Dalada attracted public attention was at its public exhibition in 1828, the first time for fifty-three years. In 1834 a plan was discussed by some seditious Singhalese for again removing the Dalada and renewing the rebellion, but their proceedings were discovered and prevented.

The exhibition of Buddha's tooth in 1828 was accompanied by every attribute of magnificence. Fifty-three years had elapsed since King Kirti Sree had openly displayed it, and owing to the revolutions which had since taken place in the country, few people remembered the ceremony, and still fewer had seen the Dalada, which they had been taught to believe the most sacred object on earth, and that

a sight of it proved their former merits by their present good fortune. In despite of all, many are said to have attended at this Dalada Puja through motives of compulsion rather than motives of devotion, and to have feared present punishment rather than the loss of spiritual comfort from absenting themselves.

Major Forbes, who was present at the ceremony, thus describes it: —"On the 29th of May, 1828, the three larger cases having previously been removed, the relic contained in the three inner caskets was placed on the back of an elephant richly caparisoned; over it was the Ransiwigé, a small octagonal cupola, the top of which was composed of alternate plain and gilt silver plates, supported by silver pillars. When the elephant appeared coming out of the temple-gate, two lines of magnificent elephants, forming a double line in front of the entrance, knelt down and thus remained, while the multitude of people, joining the points of their fingers, raised their arms above their heads, and then bent forward at the same time, uttering in full deep tones the shout of Sadhu, this joined and increased by those at a distance swelled into a grand and solemn sound of adoration. The elephant bearing the relic, followed by the establishments of the temples, with their elephants, also those of the chiefs, after proceeding through the principal streets of the town, returned to the great bungalow, where the first Adigaar removed the relic from the back of the elephant, and conveyed it to the temporary altar on which it was to be exhibited. The rich hangings were now closed around the altar, and the three inner cases opened in presence of the Governor, Sir Edward Barnes. The drapery being again thrown open, disclosed the tooth placed on a gold lotus flower, which stood on a silver table; this was covered with the different cases of the relic, various gold articles, and antique jewellery, the offerings of former devotees."

Under whatever influences, whether political or religious, the Kandians are led to venerate the Dalada, it is certain that it is held to be the palladium of their country by the whole national mind, and, as they believed the sovereign power of the island to pertain as a matter of right to its possessors, it is not to be wondered at they should have subjected themselves to the greatest risks and hazard in their attempts to obtain it from their new masters. The relic itself is a piece of discoloured ivory, slightly curved, nearly two inches in length, and one inch in diameter at the base; from thence to the other extremity, which is rounded and blunt, it considerably decreases in size. It was discoloured, according to its annalists, before it arrived in Ceylon, and its stained and faded appearance was urged as a proof of the imposture, as no true relic of Gautama could thus suffer, but we are assured that a miracle settled the dispute, and silenced the objectors. The sanctuary of this relic, is a small chamber in the temple, attached to the palace of the late kings of Kandy, and there the six cases in which it is enshrined are placed on a silver table, hung round with rich brocades. The largest, or outside cover, of these caranduas (caskets), is five feet in height, formed of silver gilt, and shaped in the

form of a dagoba; the same form is preserved in the five inner cases, which are of gold, two of them, moreover, being inlaid with rubies, and other precious stones, the relic itself is wrapped in pure sheet gold. The outer case is decorated with many gold ornaments and jewels, which have been offered to the relic, and serve to embellish its shrine. In front of the silver altar on which the tooth was exposed, a plain table was placed, to which the people, approaching one at a time, and viewing the Dalada, deposited their gifts, and prostrating themselves, passed on to make room for others. The offerings consisted of the most heterogeneous things: gold chains and gold ornaments; gold, silver, and copper coins of all denominations; cloths, priests' vestments, flowers, sugar, areka nuts, betel leaves. The Dalada was exhibited, and the offerings continued for three successive days. On the second day, some wretched specimens of the science of defence were exhibited before the Governor, both with fists and also with wooden swords and targets; on the fourth day there was a display of native fireworks, well made and skilfully managed. Night and day, without intermission, during the continuance of this festival, there was kept up a continual din of tom-toms and sounding of Kandian pipes and chank shells.

The principal temporary building was 250 feet long, of proportionate breadth, and supported by six lines of pillars; it was under this that the tooth was exhibited, and the whole was ornamented with palm branches, plantain trees, fruit and flowers; so gracefully were these disposed, that the columns in the variety of their decorations, and some even in unity of effect, presented combinations, which, if transferred to stone, would rival any specimen of elaborate Corinthian architecture. In the brilliant pageantry of this festival, the rich altar and resplendent ornaments of the relic, the great size and elegant decorations of the temporary buildings, the peculiar and picturesque dresses of the chiefs, the majestic elephants and dense mass of people, threw an air of imposing grandeur over the spectacle, to which the old temples, sacred trees, and the wild and beautiful scenery around the Kandian capital formed an appropriate landscape. During the continuance of the Dalada festival, the priests of Buddha, in different communities, and headed by the leaders of their establishments, with their fans before their faces, perambulated the town with their begging dishes, and received alms, though they never asked for them. This was more as a temporary penance than a regular practice, though the living by alms is enjoined by the rules of their order. Their sleek faces and sly looks betokened better fare, procured elsewhere with less trouble and more certainty.

THE DALADA OF SAIRUWAWILLA.

"Many Buddhists," says Forbes, "reject as apocryphal the account of the Soma[1] dagoba at Sairuwawilla, which asserts that a

[1] Sir T. Herbert would seem to allude to this relic and its repository, where he says; "Another was not far from Mattacala (Batecalo), conspicuous in its

Dalada relic is contained in that monument, yet, as the King of that orthodox country, Siam, was anxious to become its possessor, and the arguments against its authenticity must have been repudiated by those who reared this great pile in honour of it, a short account of this tooth, which, in permanence of abode and obscurity of destiny, presents so striking a contrast to the vicissitudes of the Kandian Dalada relic, may not be out of place.

Abhya, a prince of Girinuwara, having quarrelled with his more powerful relations, left his country, and sought refuge with Saiva, a tributary king, residing at Sairuwawilla. The Prince was accompanied by numerous followers and his queen, Soma, by whose advice he commenced building a dágoba. When the building had reached a proper height, a priest, called Mihindoo, fulfilled a promise he had formerly made by giving a Dalada relic to Abhya, who, having deposited it in a space left in the centre of the building, completed the work B.C. 180, and named it the Soma dágoba.

Sairuwawilla is situate in an isolated part of the district of Kottiaar, and between the two branches into which the Mahavellé-ganga separates before reaching the sea.

In 1797, the Kandian King Rajadhi-raja Singha, made an attempt, at the request of the King of Siam, to gain possession of this relic, the repository of which was within the recently conquered Dutch territory. For this object a Kandian chief, with a few trusty persons, were surreptitiously sent into the British territory, and safely reached the secluded ruins of the Soma dagoba and the other buildings of Sairuwawilla, which are said to be on the opposite side of a tank, but to be connected with the dagoba by a causeway through the water. Perceiving their undertaking impracticable with so small a party, they returned to Kandy, and made no further attempt to penetrate to the relic.

CHAPTER XI.

Festivals—The Perraherra—The Awurudha—The Nanamura—The Five Wahala Pinkamas—The Katina Pinkama—The Kartikya—The Alut Sal (new rice) —The Waliyakun.

THE literal signification of the word Perraherra is a procession, and though the epithet may be applied to any procession, it is used emphatically in reference to a festival held annually in the city of Kandy, which generally commences on the day of the new moon in

standing, concerning which the Singhalese report that many years ago a king of their's nourished a conceit that this was no better than a senseless idol, whereupon a jogue, by the devil's craft, so wrought, that upon a time when the king entered he beheld, as he thought, the Pagod breathe out fire, his eyes seeming to be coloured with rage, and the scimitar in his hand wrathfully bent against him, at which the amazed king cried out for help, accused his infidelity, and became a zealous believer.

August, though so late as 1820 it was kept in July, and was properly called Eysalakeliyè, or the play of July.

The true history of the Perraherra is lost in the maze of antiquity, but the reveller in fiction is never at a loss; accordingly, we find its origin referred back so far as to the reign of Gajabahoo, whose capital was at Anuradhapoora. The legend is as follows. One night, when walking through the city in disguise, he saw a widow weeping, whose sons had been taken captive by the King of Sollee in his invasion of Ceylon during the preceding reign. The King having made a mark upon the door of the house, returned to his palace. Next day he summoned his nobles, and asked what injustice had been committed in the city. They replied, that the whole city was as free from injustice as a house wherein a festival is celebrated; whereupon the King enraged, sent for the woman, whose house he had marked, and asked her why she was weeping upon the previous evening. She replied, that in the reign of the King's father, the people of Sollee had taken 12,000 captives from Ceylon, among whom were her two sons. Upon hearing this, the King collected an army, and proceeding to Yapana (Jaffna), there announced that they must restore to their own homes the subjects of his the King of Sollee had led into captivity. With Neela, a giant, he arrived at the sea shore, where, dismissing his army, and taking an iron rod, he struck the sea, which divided, and he and the giant went over to the continent. The King of Sollee was in great fear, and to increase his terror, Neela took one of the royal elephants and dashed it against another with such force that both the animals died. In the same manner the giant devastated the country. When the King of Sollee had received intelligence of these events, he asked Gajabahoo why he had come with an army to subvert his throne. The Singhalese monarch replied that he had brought no army besides his giant, and proceeded—"In the days of your father, when my father reigned, he went over to Ceylon and seized 12,000 persons, and brought them captive hither, and I am come to demand them." His continental antagonist, undismayed, answered forthwith, "Though you go to Dewia-lochès and receive the assistance of the Asurs, you will not be able to overcome me." Gajabahoo, incensed beyond measure at this refusal to deliver up the captives, declared that he would not only take his own subjects, but an equal number of captives as well, and he threatened to burn the Sollean capital to ashes in case of a refusal. To shew his great strength, and that his threats were not mere idle words, he squeezed water out of a handful of dry sand, and subsequently out of his iron rod, which so alarmed his Sollean majesty that he delivered up the 24,000 persons demanded, the golden Halamba of Patiné, the sacred utensils of four Dewalés, and the "refection dish" of Buddha; and with these Gajabahoo returned to Ceylon. The 12,000 Singhalese were sent to their respective homes, and the 12,000 captives were permitted to reside in Aloot Koorakorle, a district to the northward of Colombo, the inhabitants of which to this day retain many marks of their continental origin.

The sacred vessels here referred to had been taken away in the reign of Walagambahoo, B. C. 90, and the Perraherra was, doubtless, originally established to commemorate their return, as the carrying of the Halamba and other relics seems to be the most essential part of the procession, and to the dividing of the waters also a reference will afterwards be made.

It is not clear from the narrative whether the Halamba had been previously in Ceylon, though from other traditions we should suppose it had; but this will make little difference in the intention of the festival, as it may still be held to celebrate their arrival. It is upon these relics that the heathen natives swear in the courts of justice. The origin of the Perraherra may be dated as far back as the second century of the Christian era. According to a description of the four principal Kandian festivals, compiled from materials furnished by a native chief, we learn, that until the reign of King Kirtisree (A. D. 1747-80) the Perraherra was celebrated exclusively in honour of the four deities, Nata, Vishnu, Kattragamma, and Patiné, and altogether unconnected with Buddhism. The Dalada relic was first carried in procession, together with the insignia of the four gods, in 1775. The circumstances which gave rise to this innovation were as follows:—the Siamese priests, who were invited hither by King Kirtisree for the purpose of restoring the Upasampada ordination, one day hearing the noise of ginjals, &c. inquired the cause, and were informed that preparations were being made for celebrating a festival in honour of the gods. They took umbrage at this, and observed that they had been made to believe that Buddhism was the established religion of the kingdom, and that they had never expected to see Hindooism triumphant in Kandy. To appease them, the King sent to assure them that this festival of the Perraherra was chiefly intended to glorify the memory of Buddha, and to convince them of it, the King directed that the great relic should be carried foremost in the procession, dedicating his own howdah for its reception.

There can be little doubt that the Perraherra received the countenance of the native princes rather from a political than a religious motive, though these circumstances would vary with the disposition of the reigning king. It was one of the few occasions upon which the monarch presented himself to the public gaze. The most imposing edifice connected with the palace was the Pateripoa, an octagon of two stories, the upper story having a balcony that overlooked the principal square of the royal city, on one side of which was a lake, and on the other various religious and consecrated places. The procession was collected in the square, that the King might see it from the balcony; and when the curtain which shrouded his majesty at his entrance was withdrawn, and the assembly did lowly reverence amidst the clamour of the drums and pipes—the sight of the prostrate thousands, the elephants richly caparisoned, the royal guard in proud array, the countless banners floating in the breeze, and the Adigaars and other chiefs at the head of their respective clans, all

arranged in due order and degree, must have produced an effect that is not often equalled even in the festive scenes of far mightier kingdoms. On some occasions the King joined in the procession, but in this there was no uniformity of observance, his Majesty being at one time on foot, and at another we are told in a golden chariot drawn by eight horses.

The Perraherra afforded an excellent opportunity to the King to examine into the state of the provinces, the conduct of the governors and chiefs, and the obedience of the people. The refractory were punished, the loyal rewarded, a national feeling of union was revived, and new regulations were promulgated that they might be carried to the more distant districts of the island. It afforded also an opportunity of apprehending the suspected, and punishing the disaffected—an opportunity that the late king availed himself of in a terrible manner. To the inhabitants generally, it must have been a time of grateful festivity, especially during the reigns of the more popular kings; as it was a spectacle of splendour, and the various chiefs were able to exhibit their consequence in the presence of the assembled kingdom. The manner in which the people behaved themselves during these festivals is worthy of notice. It is described as most decorous and highly creditable to them, and so far from being a scene of riot and disturbance, the most modest, according to an eye-witness, might have looked on without having occasion to blush, and the most refined depart without a shock to their feelings, which is more than can perhaps be said even now of public exhibitions on the continent of India.

The Perraherra begins on the day of the new moon in the month of Æsala. The commencement is regulated by the nekata or situation of the moon; and at the appointed moment, which must either be in the evening or morning, never at mid-day, the Kappurale of the Vishnu dewalé cuts down a young and barren jack-tree, which has been previously chosen, and is consecrated for the purpose by mysterious rites. The day before the Kappurale must bathe in pure water, anoint his head with the juice of the lime, and clothe himself in clean garments. In ancient times, flowers were used as mentioned by Knox, and these were the flowers of the œhæla (Cathantocarpus fistula), but either because this tree does not now bear flowers in the proper season, or because another tree is more conveniently found, the jack has been substituted in its place, which, however, for a time receives the name of œhæla. When Knox wrote, the procession was in June, and when Davy wrote, in July; it is now in August, and like all other eastern festivals, from the imperfection of the native astronomy, it traverses through all the months of the year. The painted stick of Knox, adorned with flowers, appears to be commemorative of the wonder-working rod of Gajabahoo, and the jack is undoubtedly an innovation. When the tree has been cut down, it is divided into four sections, one of which is conveyed to each of the dewalés, under a white canopy, and accompanied by music. The section is

cleaned at the dewalé, and put into a hole, protected by a roof and covered and ornamented with palm leaves, flowers, and fruits, and the priests of each temple carry in procession round it the bows and arrows of the gods; after which offerings of cakes are presented, called Ganabodana. The Gana are an order of inferior deities attendant upon the gods, and bodana is the Elu form of bhogana, food.

The consecrated wood is adorned with leaves, flowers, and fruit, and during the first five days the procession simply passes round it; the Kappurales bearing the sacred vessels and implements. After this time they are brought beyond the precincts of the dewalé and paraded through the principal streets of Kandy. On the night of the full moon the procession is joined by the Dalada, magnificently accompanied, which is afterwards carried to the Adahana Maduwa, a consecrated place, near which are the tombs of the ancient kings and other individuals of the royal race. The Maduwa is encircled by stone, within which it is said the kings had no jurisdiction; it was a kind of sanctuary. The relic receives the adoration of the crowd until the morning, when it is returned to the temple. At the end of the five days, the principal part of the Perraherra, called the Randoelébeyma commenced. The procession just described was joined by the Randoelies, or palanquins, four in number, each dedicated to a particular goddess, and each furnished with a golden pitcher and sword, similarly dedicated. In the evening, the palanquins followed the elephants bearing the arms of the gods; but by night they preceded them. They were attended not only by the women of the temple, but likewise by the ladies of the court, and by the young wives and daughters of the chiefs dressed in royal apparel, presented to them by the King. The King, who was before a mere spectator of the ceremony, now took an active part in it, and during the five days that the Randoelé-beyma lasted, regularly joined the evening procession in his golden chariot, drawn by eight horses. According to the natives, this part of the Perraherra was extremely magnificent, the chiefs vieing with each other in splendour of dress and in the multitudes of their attendants, and every party concerned, the King in particular, used every exertion to make the spectacle as imposing and brilliant as possible.

Towards the end of the festival the procession approaches the river at the ancient ferry, near the bridge of Paradiniya, and while the multitude remains upon the bank, the Kappurale enters a boat that has been splendidly decorated for the occasion.

The boat is rowed to some distance, when the Kappurale takes a golden sword, and strikes the water. At the same instant a brazen vessel is dipped into the river, and while the water is yet disparted, a portion is taken up, which is kept until the vessel can be filled in the same manner at the next festival. The water which had been taken the previous year, is at the same time poured back into the river. There is a close analogy between the striking of the river and the striking of the sea by Gajabahoo, though what is meant

by the dividing of the water is not clear. It is probable that there was something extraordinary connected with the passage of the king, which was afterwards magnified into this miracle by tradition. Were we disposed to be fanciful, we might notice the resemblance which the striking of the sea by a rod, the squeezing of water from the dry sand, the errand of the king to demand captives, and some other circumstances, bears to certain facts occurring in the exode of the Israelites from Egypt, but as a gap of any importance would be sufficient to neutralize the apparent concatenation of circumstances, it is hardly worth our while to pursue the parallel.

The general arrangement of the Perraherra is the same now as in former times, but in the grandeur of the spectacle there can be no comparison. There are still elephants richly adorned; flags, pennons, and banners; several bands of drums, tom-toms, and pipes; the palanquins of the gods, the sacred utensils; and the chiefs of the dewalés, &c. with their separate retinues. The streets are lighted by vessels of oil, placed upon poles, and carried by men after the manner of the meshals of the Arab tribes. There are several who have a light at each end of the pole, which they whirl round at intervals with some velocity. The din of the tom-toms cannot be better described than in the words of Knox:—"they make such a great and loud noise, that nothing else beside them can be heard." The chiefs walk alone, the crowd being kept off by their attendants; the stiffness of their gait, as they are wrapped round with manifold layers of cloth, being in perfect contrast to their usual ease, indeed, we may say, gracefulness of manner. The long whips were cracked before the Adigaar until the festival of 1841, but since then no one has been appointed to that office, and no other individual is entitled to that honour. The whole procession may extend about a quarter of a mile; but this is only towards its conclusion, as it gradually increases in the number of its attendant elephants from the commencement.

The natives who attend as spectators are now few, even in comparison with recent years, and it would seem that in a little while its interest will vanish away with many a better remembrance of the olden time. The procession was one day prevented from taking its accustomed round, as a man had hung himself in one of the streets through which it must have passed. The natives are very unwilling to enter into conversation respecting the detail of this ceremony, and say that there are many mysteries connected with it that they cannot reveal.

The history of the Perraherra is another evidence how tenaciously the people adhere to the Brahminical superstitions, and would tend to prove, that, even when Buddhism was predominant upon the continent of India, it must have had very little hold of the mass of the population; and this may account for its almost total destruction after it had once the ability to erect the splendid temples that yet remain, monuments at once of its majesty and its weakness. Buddhism is too philosophical, too cold and cheerless to be a popular

creed; and it is only its present alliance with its deadly antagonist of former times that now preserves it in the place it occupies, as the national religion of Ceylon.

The Awurudha Festival is called the Festival of the New Year, and is held when the sun enters Aries. It is both a state pageant and a religious festival, but connected with the greatest astrological absurdities. Thus before New Year's day, every individual procures from an astrologer a writing, fixing the fortunate hours of the approaching year, on which to commence duties or ceremonies, and to the most minute points of these instructions he rigidly adheres, believing that even an involuntary omission of any prescribed act at the appointed moment, would render him liable to misfortune.

The following is an abridgment of one of the annual documents prepared by the astrologer at Mátalé, who had to inform the local officer of the Government of all eclipses, and to give special instructions in writing how to avoid those misfortunes which they might occasion:—"The emblem of the approaching year will be a red lion, seated erect on a horse, and proceeding from an aperture resembling the mouth of a horse; this will be at the commencement of the year, nine hours and fifty-four minutes after sunset: at this fortunate moment milk should be boiled at each of the four sides of the house." "Next day," says Forbes, "I was directed to look to the north, while dimbul leaves were suspended over my head, and with kolon leaves placed under my feet: then having anointed myself with different juices and aromatic drugs, I was to dress myself in perfumed clothes of red, white, and blue colours; then to look to the south, and cause fire to be lighted and cooking to begin. On the second day, at two hours and a half after sunrise, I was to commence eating victuals, prepared with pounded salt and curdled milk. At twenty-seven hours, while looking to the east, I was recommended to begin business, by paying or receiving money. The whole concluded with a prediction, that from the situation of the planets, and other cogent reasons, I might expect both good and evil to happen during the year about to commence."

Under the kings, the royal physicians, according to Davy, had to superintend the preparation of a thousand small pots of the juices of wild medicinal plants at the Natá dewalè, from whence, carefully covered and sealed, they were sent to the palace, and distributed with much ceremony to the other temples. At the time appointed for the commencement of the new year, the King sat on his throne in state, surrounded by his chiefs, and the event was announced to the public by the discharge of ginjals.

At the hour appointed for the second ceremony, young women of certain families, with lighted tapers in their hands, and a silver dish containing undressed rice and turmeric water, stood at a little distance from the King, and when he directed his face to the south-east, with imbul leaves under his feet, and nuga leaves in his hand, and applied the medicinal juice to his head and body, they thrice exclaimed,

"Increase of age to our sovereign of five thousand years; increase of age as long as the sun and moon last; increase of age as long as heaven and earth exist."

At the hour appointed for the third ceremony, the King having first tasted a dish on his table called Dinaboegama, made for the occasion, and compounded of all kinds of legitimate food, he gave a portion of it to each of his chiefs, who were all assembled, and who, following the royal example, tasted it for the sake of nekata or the star, and the same night they were invited to a feast at the palace. This hour sometimes happened on the first, sometimes on the second, third, or fourth day of the year. During the interval between the commencement of the year, and the occurrence of this hour, no food could be used that had been dressed by fire. This was the fortunate hour for commencing trade, or beginning business. The chiefs now sent rice, cocoa-nuts, fruit, &c. to the royal store, and received similar presents in return, and the people in general now made gifts to one another in a friendly manner, and were indulged in being allowed to carry on an exchange of little articles of property at the royal stores, which were thrown open for the purpose. Under the Kandian Government the inferior chiefs were at this period reinstated in office, on the payment of a fine. The object of its founder seems to have been to prevent confusion of time.

The Nanamura (bathing) festival takes place when, according to the calculation of the Malabar soothsayer or astrologer, it will be fortunate to bathe for the first time after their new year's day (Awurudha). The juices of medicinal plants, and perfumed oils, were used also on this occasion. The last ceremony was the reception of the chiefs by the King, both of whom sent presents to the Malagawa temple. The presents received by the King were deducted from the annual sum due by the chiefs.

The five Wahala Pinkamas were so called, because their principal ceremonies were performed in the palace, and for the benefit of the King's household. The Buddhists believe that all events are consequences of merit or demerit, kusala or akusala. Wahala signifies "the royal gate;" Pin denotes religious merit, or moral virtue, acquired by a course of moral action. It is usually applied by the natives to charity or almsgiving. Kama means a manufacture.

The Katina Pinkama relates to an ordinance of Buddha, as to the itinerant life a priest ought to lead, and to a prohibition from residing under any other roof than that of leaves or Pansala, except during Wass, when they read in Bana Maduwas to the people, and receive in return cloth and dye for their robes. On some occasions, however, the government provides the cloth for the robes.

The Kartikya, the festival of lamps, or of the fortunate hour. This festival is celebrated in the native month of the same name, corresponding with our November, on the night of the full moon. In the morning, lamps and oil were brought from the royal store to the Nata dewalé, where the chiefs being assembled, and the Kap-

purales of the four principal dewalés, the latter sung the Mangala-asta, a hymn of thanks and praise, to the gods, and offered up prayers for the prosperity of the kingdom. The people formerly presented offerings of oil to the King, for illuminating the triangular niches in the walls of the palace, in which lamps were placed, and lighted at a particular moment (nekata) determined by the astrologer. The great square, dewalés, and principal streets were also illuminated in the evening, and the relic was carried in grand procession. This festival was instituted, according to some, in honour of the great Bali, the hero of Indian romance.

The Alut Sal, or new rice festival, which was designed for the encouragement of the cultivation and the use of rice, the staff of life in Ceylon, was in like manner determined by the astrologer, when new rice was first brought into the city from the royal farms. It would seem to have been intended as a propitiatory offering at the commencement of the (maha) great harvest. These ceremonies are splendidly got up; but the principal having been described, there is such a sameness throughout as to render repetition quite unnecessary; but the best ceremony to the poor is that of eating the rice, and for which an astrologer's nekata is also indispensable.

The paddy was put into new earthen pots, and the rice into clean white bags. Those for the Malagawa were conveyed on an elephant; those for the dewalés, by men shaded by canopies of white cloth; those for the palace, by the people of the King's villages, in their best apparel, and with their mouths covered with white cloth. These were attended with tom-toms, flags, and other honours, under a salute of ginjals, and were met on their way from the farms by the Adigaars and chiefs who accompanied them to the great square. At the nekata, a salute was fired from ginjals; and also when the rice and paddy were carried to the respective places for which they were destined. At the same nekata, or fortunate hour, both chiefs and people brought new rice and paddy from their own fields and houses; and at the nekata for eating the new rice, which took place two or three days after, and was mixed with certain curries, and eaten with the face in a particular direction; the portion for the gods was eaten or buried by the priests, selected for their known morality and religious lives.

The Waliyakun — Yakun signifies demi-gods, or deified heroes, but these are regarded by the people as devils. The Waliyakun signifies three heroes, one the offspring of Vishnu, the second sprung from the Nymphea Nelundo, and the third from grass. The Waliyakun is thus described by Knox: "At this time they have a superstition which lasted six or seven days, too foolish to write; it consists in dancing, singing, and juggling. The reason of this is to mollify the power of the Yakkas, or infernal spirits, who might prove prejudicial or noisome to the aforesaid gods in their progress abroad. During the celebration of this great festival, there are no drums

allowed to be beaten to any particular god at any private sacrifices. In the month of November, when the moon is at the full, there is another great solemn feast, called in their language Cawtha Poujah, which is celebrated only by lighting of lamps round about the pagoda; at which time they stick up the longest poles they can get in the woods, at the doors of the pagoda, and of the King's palace, upon which they contrive to set lamps in rows, one above the other, to the very tops of the poles, which they call Tor-nes. To maintain the charge thereof, all the country in general contributes and brings in oil. In this Poujah, or sacrifice, the King seems to take delight, the reason of which may be, because he has a larger share of the honour than the gods, in whose name it is celebrated; his palace being far more decked and adorned, with high poles and lights, than the temples are." In these annual festivals, as in most parts of Indian government, there was a curious intermixture of superstitious rites, pompous pageantry, and political institution.

CHAPTER XII.

The King—His power, privileges, and immunities—Origin of a King, according to a Singhalese tradition—Adulatory treatment of a Singhalese monarch—Ceremonies on the death of a King and pantomimic inauguration of his successor—A Royal Marriage and its Festivities—Presentation of Ambassadors—Portrait of a Singhalese Monarch.

THE Singhalese even at this date can scarcely reconcile their minds to any form of government but that of an unlimited monarchy, and are apt when reasoned with on the subject to fortify their views by instancing the analogy of animal nature, where both birds and beasts have their king; the anser, which corresponds with their albatross, reigning over one, and the lion over the other. And certainly, except in the case of European control, there would be neither order nor harmony, but the most unbounded confusion and dissension through the whole frame of Asiatic society under any other system. No person was in their opinion qualified for the throne who was not of the Raja or Suria wansé by the father or mother's side, but instances have occurred in which individuals of the Goewansè have been elected to the throne, though this was not considered a precedent, but rather an exception, arising either from the intervention of some extraordinary destiny, or the result and fitting reward of some remarkable piety and virtue in a former life.

The origin of kingly power is traced by the Singhalese to a source similar to that assigned by ourselves. The fall, they consider to have been a change from immortality to mortality, from infinite happiness to pain and sorrow, from spotless purity to corruption, and

from a condition of miraculous power to a gradual debility. "Desire," says Gautama, in the Suttra Pitaka, "had introduced sin, sexual passions came into being, private property was now first acquired; then men assembled and deliberated, saying, Most assuredly wicked actions have become prevalent amongst us; every where theft, degradation, and punishment will prevail. Let us then elect some one individual who may eradicate that which should be eradicated, who may degrade those who should be degraded, expel those who should be expelled, and we will assign to him a share of our produce." The person chosen, Surayia Kumara, afterwards styled a Maha-Sammata or Great Elected, was accordingly appointed, and from his possessing lands, he was called Khattiyo or Kshatrya; such was the origin of the highest or royal caste, from whom it has been attempted to trace the descent of the Buddhist sovereigns of India, including the family of Gautama Buddha. He was, however, of a perfect original equality with the people. As utility was the design in the establishment of the first caste, so it was also of the succeeding. Men soon found that others were required to investigate the conduct of the people, and the Brahmins or Brachmina caste—the eradicators of vice, were accordingly constituted the second caste.

Again, it was supposed to be imperative in the monarch to be of the established religion, and a follower of Buddha, but an adherence to this rule was either dispensed with or broken by the usurpation of some princes and the overbearing character of others. The throne[1] was theoretically considered hereditary in the descendants of the solar race, and the law of primogeniture was generally observed, except for very urgent reasons to the contrary, and with the acquiescence of the rightful heir; nor was it ever doubtful, except when the King had no near relations, in which case, unless the King should have nominated a successor before his decease, the responsibility of a selection devolved on the Adigaars, whose duty it was to choose a properly qualified person; propose him to the chiefs and people, and with their consent place him on the throne.

The last four kings who ascended the throne of Kandy were elected in this way, and the persons selected were all near relatives of the Hindoo queens of the preceding kings. None of the Hindoo queens of the first three of the kings mentioned left any issue. The relations of the queens resided in a particular street in Kandy (Malabar Street), and although they were seldom raised to situations of trust and emolument, they all had revenues assigned to them for their support. They were usually designated Nayakaras (relations of the King). Being in constant attendance at court, and in familiar intercourse with the King and queens, they greatly modified the influence of the Singhalese or Kandian courtiers. Owing to the jealousy

[1] An analysis of the reigns of the Singhalese monarchs, for which we have furnished the reader with ample materials in Part I. will develop some interesting facts both as to their succession and the length of their respective reigns.

which the Kandian chiefs entertained of each other, they often elected a Nayakara to the throne in preference to choosing one of themselves to be the sovereign.

The rights and functions of the monarch were all absorbent; he was the acknowledged lord of the soil, he alone taxed the people, and exacted their unpaid services; all offices of government were at his disposal, and all honours, as well as power, emanated from him, and were enjoyed only during his pleasure. Nevertheless, there were certain supposed restrictions against the abuse of absolute power, but they were never enforced except in the case of timid and irresolute princes. These merely nominal limits to the exercise of an uncontrolled will were to follow the example of good princes, observe the national customs, and attend to the written rules[1] handed down for the direction of kings. The violation of these observances would cause the prince to be viewed as a tyrant, and the people, if they had the power, would consider themselves justified in opposing him *en masse* and dethroning him.

The adulation demanded and obtained by the Kandian monarch was so extravagant as to be fit for a god rather than a man. The chiefs never approached him without the most humiliating prostrations, and commonly addressed him as Dewo (god). The high-sounding epithets with which he described himself in the ordinary documents to which he affixed his name also partook of this barbaric tinselry. Thus—"The most wealthy—The protector of religion, whose fame is infinite and universally spread, of surpassing excellence, exceeding the moon, the unexpanded jessamine buds, the heavenly river, the white chanks, and the stars; whose feet are as fragrant to the noses of other kings as flowers to bees; our most noble patron and god by custom; like Sakrea, who subdued the Assooriahs, sitting on the precious throne of the magnificent and prosperous city Sengadagalla, that possesses the beauty and wealth of all kingdoms, and is like the heavenly kingdom of Sakrea, &c."

It is scarcely possible to form a notion of the wearisome etiquette and ceremonial of the Kandian court, except from a detailed account of the manner of proceeding on public occasions, such as the election and inauguration of the King designate, his marriage and burial. On the demise of a king, the Adigaars having first promulgated a report that he was ill, assembled to deliberate concerning his successor, and to send orders for the assembling at Kandy of the principal

[1] These rules, which are expressed in Pali verse, were called the Sattara sangraha wastoo, the Sattara agati, the Dasa raja dharma. The first enjoin charity to the deserving, mildness of speech, a line of action conducive to the good of the people, a love of the people no less than of one's self. The second—the favour of no one to the injury of another, the injury of no one to benefit another; not permitting fear to prevent justice, avoiding the commission of evil through ignorance. The third—munificence, a strict observance of the duties of religion, the reward of the deserving, uprightness of conduct, urbanity, patience, an absence of malice, the non-infliction of torture, mercy, attention to good counsel.

people of the Ratties, who were entitled to be consulted on the choice of the new monarch. On arriving at a decision, the Adigaars ordered a guard to be posted before the house of the monarch elect, and this was the first notification of the business of the conclave. Their next proceeding was to summon the chiefs, and inform them that the King was ill, and that it was right to be prepared for the worst that might happen. If there were an heir to the throne with an undisputed title the chiefs would reply—there is an heir apparent, and therefore no need of deliberation; if not, they generally expressed their assent in the selection made by the Maha-nilamés, who then named the candidate. These preliminaries with the chiefs having been completed, they next applied to the people of the different districts, sending for those of each ratté in turn, to whom they gave the same version of affairs, and with the same result. Then the prince designate was described, and a representative of each district was sent to see him, that he might be identified again, and they might be able to guard against any future imposition.

The plot now thickened fast; the chiefs were assembled in the hall of audience, and the people in expectancy gathered in crowds without. The Adigaars came forward, and informed the assembly that the King was very sick, and they therefore desired to know what arrangement the people wished to make. Then the people replied, "Such a one (naming the person chosen by the ministers) promises to possess all the virtues of the sick king, or is free from his faults." To which the ministers rejoined, "Well, remember it is your choice, do not blame us for it, hereafter we cannot refuse our assent." It now began to be understood that the King was dead. The Diawadene nilamé and the Haloowadene nilamé attended the prince to assist him in bathing and investing himself in the robes and ornaments of royalty. He proceeded in the royal palanquin to the palace, and getting out at the great archway, ascended the steps to the Daladamalagawa, prostrated before the shrine, and made an offering of flowers to Buddha, to prove that he was of the established religion. From the temple he proceeded to the adjoining Pateripoa, the hexagonal pavilion at the head of the great square. A signal being given, a curtain was drawn, and the prince was displayed seated, when ginjals were fired, and tom-toms, &c. played. The chiefs in the square below, arranged according to rank, prostrated themselves three times, and then went on their knees. The prince, affecting to waive the ceremony, they prostrated again, and at his request went on one side. Then the people of the Ratties, drawn up in lines, and formed into a square, presented themselves, and the first Adigaar described the different districts to which they belonged. Now the chiefs repeated their prostrations, and were followed by tumblers, fencers, and dancers, who, after many prostrations, performed before the prince. The chiefs having prostrated once more, the prince retired, and was led to the royal bedchamber.

The announcement of the King's death was now publicly made. A tent was pitched before the hall of audience, in which, on a piece of iron and a basin of mixed metal, a man stood by the side of a heap of paddy, and beat the mourning tom-tom—the public signal of the event, warning the chiefs to assume the garb of woe, and enjoining on the people to bewail aloud. Till the corpse of the deceased king was burnt, it was not permitted for the prince either to eat or drink. The body, enclosed in a coffin, was carried in a palanquin to the Awadana-maduwa or royal cemetery, attended by the chiefs, their wives and daughters. As the funeral procession moved on, two women, standing on a platform, carried by four men, threw rice over the coffin. The priests of the different wiharés were assembled at the burying ground, and having offered up the appointed prayer for the felicity of the deceased king in his metempsychosis, were presented with cloths that were laid on the coffin to be given them as a perquisite for the discharge of their solemn office. The coffin was then placed in a sort of wooden cage, and was surrounded with wood; a person broke open its lid with an axe, and a relative of the deceased set fire to the pile, which was fed with oil and pitch, and sandal wood and various perfumes. When the whole was enveloped in flame, the chiefs retired, went to the great square, and having announced to the prince that the body was consumed, were directed to return home and purify themselves. The mourning tom-tom was beat, and the funeral fire kept alive till the eleventh day, when the chiefs proceeded to the place of interment with offerings of betel, areca-nut, and such other things as might be presented to a king with propriety. The fire was now extinguished by pouring on it milk and cocoa-nut water; some of the calcined bones were put into a pot or urn of earthenware, and covered and sealed, while the rest of the bones and ashes were collected and deposited in a grave, with the presents brought for the deceased king. "The urn," says Davy, "was placed on the head of a man masked and covered all over with black, who, holding a sword in his hand, and mounted on an elephant or horse, and attended by the chiefs, proceeded to the Mahavellé-ganga, at the ferry called Kadhugastotté, two small canoes made of the Kakoonga, and ornamented with plantain trees and cocoa-nut flowers, were prepared, lashed together, and covered with boughs in the form of a bower. The masked bearer entering the canoe, was drawn towards the mid-channel of the river by two men swimming, who, when they approached the deepest part of the stream, pushed the canoe forward and hastily retreated. Now the mask having reached the proper station, with the sword in one hand and the urn in the other, divided the urn with the sword, and in the act plunged into the stream, and diving, came up as far as possible below, and landing on the opposite side, disappeared. The canoes were allowed to float down the river; the horse or elephant was carried across and left to graze at large, never to be used any more, and

the women who threw the rice over the coffin, with the men who carried them, were also transported to the other side of the river, under the strict prohibition of re-crossing. The whole ceremony seems to have been admirably adapted for perpetuating the feelings of mystery and awe, which it was the policy of Singhalese monarchs to maintain when alive, and after death to transmit to their successors. The chiefs returned to the great square, informed the Prince that the ceremony was ended, and were again ordered to purify themselves. If a near relation of the deceased monarch, the Prince himself put on, and ordered the court to wear deeper mourning than before, but if not, he threw off his mourning, with the exception of a black kerchief, which he continued to wear about his head."

Another ceremony remained to be performed before the Prince could be considered completely king—it was that of choosing a name and putting on the regal sword. It was the duty of the royal astrologers to ascertain a fortunate period for the ceremony, and invent fortunate names; each individual being required to write a name on a plate of gold set with precious stones, and deposit it in the Nata-dewalé. On the day fixed, which was sometimes a year or two after the election, the Prince went in great state to the Maha-Vishnu dewalé, where he presented offerings, and made prostrations to the god. Thence he passed to the Nata-dewalé, and having gone through the same religious ceremony, inspected the plate, chose the name that pleased him, and read it to the first Adigaar, who proclaimed aloud, "This is the name that the gods have chosen for the king to bear." Then the gold plate, the nalalpate on which the name was inscribed, was tied to the Prince's forehead by a member of the Pilamé Talawè family, which, being of royal descent, enjoyed this privilege and that of putting on the regal sword, which was attached to a belt that passed over the shoulder and came round the waist. The sword having been girded on the Prince, the Kappurale presented a pot of sandal-powder, in which the Prince, now King, dipped his fingers and touched the sword, and this ceremony was performed in the Maha as well as in the Nata-dewalé. From the temple, mounted on his elephant, the King went round the great square, and paraded through the illuminated streets of his capital, preceded by dancers, singers, and musicians of all kinds, and attended by his whole court, making the greatest possible display of pomp and splendour.

Though a crown was not named among the essential regalia, which were the white umbrella of pearl, the chameraga or brush made of the tail of the Tibhet cow, the gold sword, the gold forehead plate, and the golden slippers, it was assumed on this occasion, and was a very handsome one of gold set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. It was seldom worn, and a cap, from superstitious motives, was generally substituted for it—a king imagining that in wearing a crown he put himself on a level with the gods (whom they suppose

to wear crowns), and that unless he imitated them in his conduct and led the most correct and irreproachable life, he should excite their highest displeasure, and draw down the severest penalties for his shortcoming and ambition. An assembly of all the dignitaries of church and state having been made, the royal mandappa or canopy was brought forth, richly ornamented, amidst much reverence. Beneath this the monarch's throne was placed, and on his having occupied it, a royal virgin, adorned with costly ornaments, and holding a sea chank full of the purest river water, approached him; then elevating the chank above the King's head, she poured upon it the libation, addressing him in the following words:—"Your Majesty is hereby anointed to rule over this whole assembly of Rohatrias, may it therefore please your Majesty to perform the duties of a sovereign, and to exercise your sway with benignity and justice." A silver and golden chank of water were then successively poured upon his head, and assuming the crown, he became henceforward "King of Kings and Emperor of Lanka."

Though the religion of Buddha restricted every one to one wife, the King was tacitly permitted to have as many as he pleased, the only qualification being, that they should be of the Suria or Rajawansé caste, in consequence of which the Kings of Kandy had to procure consorts from the Indian Peninsula, and Pandi or Madura was the country usually selected for the purpose. Though tedious and costly, the marriage ceremony was looked forward to with eagerness, it being a scene of great festivity and enjoyment, during which a mutual exchange of familiarities were encouraged between the prince and his chiefs, and an unusual relaxation of court etiquette was permitted. On the arrival of the princess, and after the marriage had been determined on, the Adigaars ordered the astrologers to calculate a fortunate day and hour for its celebration, directed the people of the Dissavonies to prepare the necessary presents for the occasion, and had the Queen's apartment fitted up, and gorgeously decorated.

On the nuptial day, the ladies of the court, the wives and daughters of the chiefs, and the chiefs themselves, assembled in the verandah of the Queen's apartment to receive the King; who having entered and seated himself, was presented by the chiefs with flowers, and the ladies rubbed sandal-powder, and other perfumes, on his arms, singing and instrumental music accompanying the application. On the King's departure, her Majesty's turn came, who, taking a lower seat, was similarly anointed. The ceremony was regularly repeated every day for a week, when the King and his consort had their nails cut, and all superfluous hair, including the beard of the former, removed—his own barber operating upon the King, and a female on the lady. This was done in accordance with an ancient custom, according to which, neither the hair should be cut, nor the nails pared before marriage. The royal couple next bathed, and

were clad in saffron robes, emblematical of purity and holiness. Subsequently, having exchanged these for state dresses, they proceeded to the verandah before mentioned, and seated themselves, the Queen elect below the King, a curtain intervening. At this moment two necklaces were carried round on a gold plate, each of the company in turn blessing them, saying, "May the pair enjoy long life and happiness." Then the father, or the bride's nearest male relative present, stepped forward, and pouring water on betel leaves from a gold pot, declared he relinquished his daughter to the King, who thenceforth might consider her his own. The mother was asked if she assented, and answering in the affirmative, the King took one of the necklaces from the gold plate, and standing up, he stretched his arms over the curtain, put the necklace round the neck of the bride, and clasped it, an event that was announced to the public by the firing of ginjals. The curtain was now drawn, and the King and Queen saw each other for the first time; their little fingers were joined, and the ends of their clothes were tied together. This part of the ceremony was repeated four successive days; on the night of the fourth day, at the fortunate hour fixed on by the astrologers, the King put the second necklace on the bride, and clasped it, and thus was the marriage rite completed. On the day following, a sort of carnival ensued; the King and Queen diverting themselves with throwing perfumed balls, and squirting scented water at each other; presently the wives of the chiefs were admitted, and allowed to take part in the amusement, and were quite free to pelt and bespatter even royalty to their heart's content.

When the King became tired of the sport, he retired to an apartment overlooking an adjoining room, in which vessels of scented water and small copper cups were prepared for use; and in which the chiefs were assembled, only waiting for the appearance of the King to deluge each other with a shower of condiments. The same night the chiefs and their wives were invited to sup at the palace, the former to be the guests of the King, and the latter of the Queen. For each person a mat was spread on the ground, covered with white cloth, the royal colour, and a fresh plantain-leaf, laid on a white cloth, was furnished for a table to eat on. The entertainment consisted of two or three hundred varieties of curries, and milk, or a sweet beverage resembling lemonade. During the repast the King presided, seated on an elevated chair, and by his example encouraged mirth and sociality. After the feast, dancers and dancing girls, singers and musicians were introduced, and amused the company till break of day, when the company retired home. On the following month, the chiefs were expected to bring presents to the royal pair, each according to his rank and ability. The presents generally consisted of trinkets, jewels, and embroidered cloths, and each offering was divided into two portions, one for the King, and another for the Queen, and were presented at a certain time in the afternoon, with

all possible respect, and attended by numerous dancers and singers. At the close of the month, all the chiefs having made their presents, they and their wives were invited to another and similar entertainment at the palace, and his majesty having, in his turn, made a present to each, the festivities on account of the marriage were finally concluded.

A Kandian monarch preserved before strangers a semblance of authority and wealth, far greater than what he really possessed. The mode of receiving ambassadors was remarkably and singularly illustrative of this. The King held his court in the hall of audience, and transacted all business with his officers, seated on his throne. Behind the throne[1] there was a secret door, by which his majesty passed unobserved; and before it seven curtains, which were not drawn up till the King was seated and composed, and in perfect readiness to appear. On ordinary occasions, all the curtains were raised at once; and after the chiefs had prostrated three times, they were desired to be at their ease, that is to rest upon their knees, on which, when the business was over, they left the hall backward, his majesty remaining till all had departed. To the principal chiefs he always delivered his orders in a style calculated to shew their immeasurable inferiority. On the presentation of ambassadors, extraordinary pomp and ceremony were observed. According to Forbes, the part of the audience hall where the ambassadors were placed, was secretly heated previous to their reception, by means of glowing charcoal placed in cocoa-nut shells, in order that the natives might see how poor foreigners were influenced and overcome by the awful presence of Kandian majesty. A great number of people were assembled; the royal elephants were drawn out; all the guards were on duty, and the approaches to the palace were illuminated. On entering the hall, the chiefs and ambassadors had to prostrate before the curtains, which were now managed with pecular finesse, being all suddenly drawn up, and as suddenly let down, affording at first only a momentary glimpse of his majesty; after a pause, they were slowly drawn up, one after another, a certain number of prostrations being required for each, till the throne was disclosed, and the King exposed to view; then the ambassador, actually crawling, was led to the foot of the throne by the ministers, walking in the most submissive attitude; and having delivered his letters, he had the troublesome task to perform of walking backward.

Previous to the invasion of the Singha race, Ceylon appears to have been divided into separate principalities, but the nature of its institutions in that early period cannot now be traced. Wijeya becoming King by force of arms, doubtless constituted himself in

[1] The royal throne was of plaited gold, ornamented with precious stones. When the King appeared on state occasions, he was either clad in the most magnificent robes, loaded with a profusion of jewellery, or in complete armour of gold, ornamented with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds.

name, if not reality, an absolute monarch; but the country was in those days found to be too extensive to be entirely occupied by his followers, and their immediate successors, and he seems to have been under the necessity of appointing chiefs to subordinate posts to keep the more remote districts in subjection and security. This measure, whose utility was obviously manifest at the time, subsequently became a fruitful source of division and insubordination. The tributary chieftains, finding that they were left in the hereditary possession of their dignities, gradually assumed a corresponding degree of authority, till they finally came into direct collision with the sovereign. It must not, however, be inferred from this circumstance, that any organized or recognized power was employed to restrain within due bounds the absolutism of the King; if any such power ever existed in Ceylon, it would appear to have been invested in the first minister, in other Eastern countries the mere organ of the sovereign's pleasure, but who here seems to have been commissioned with a general power of providing "*ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet.*" His possession of this power is, however, a mere matter of opinion, and cannot be decided upon with any exactness, as it always appears most prominently in the reign of an imbecile and timorous prince.

If the King were a man of great abilities, well skilled in ancient laws and usages, acquainted with the practices of former kings, and properly versed in religious knowledge, he might, according to the Kandian Terronansi, interrogated by Governor Falck, decide according to his own pleasure in administrative questions, but the question could never rest long at this point; for a spirited monarch would never endure the restraint implied in the permission, and it is difficult to imagine how a minister or people could presume to determine a point so difficult and delicate.

According to the same authority; as a King called to the throne by the voice of the ministers and people, always was elected for the express purpose of inquiring minutely into what was lawful, what unlawful, of causing what was unlawful to be set aside, and what was lawful to be carried into effect, of acquitting the innocent, and of inflicting on the guilty punishments proportionate to their crimes, nevertheless, when a person had committed a capital offence, the custom was to have the circumstances of the case inquired into by the people, and judicial chiefs, who referred to an ancient book, which contained an account of what was lawful and unlawful. If the crime were then proved, and found to be deserving of death, sentence was passed accordingly, but a King could not confiscate the property of an innocent person.

The King would seem to have had the sole command of the army, but he could not legally invade any foreign country without previously consulting his ministers. The King could legally dismiss his ministers, and set aside a decision of the judicial chiefs, if within the scope of duties pertaining to a King.

Unlike the Brahmins of the continent, the priests of Buddha seldom, if ever, appear to have attempted to control the free action of the Sovereign's authority, we shall have to confine ourselves then to the exceptional case we have just alluded to, to discover any positive check to his unbridled will.[1]

The government of the provinces seems to have been but a transcript of that of the capital. A vassal ruled with almost absolute sway, being dependent on him alone from whom he received his authority. Unlike the despotisms of other Eastern countries, the inhabitants of every district seem to have had the privilege of petitioning the Sovereign, when they conceived his deputy acted without justice and moderation. Nor could these appeals be easily set at nought by the King; as the council which ratified his decrees had the first consideration of them, and unless he were lost to all sense of shame or rectitude, he would be obliged to give to them an account of the transaction, with the reasons for his conduct, before the final settlement of the question.

The property of the King extended to all forests and wildernesses unoccupied by man; all the mines of precious stones or metals, and the produce of the pearl banks. He imposed taxes, and determined what services had to be performed; all offices of government were at his disposal, and all honours as well as power emanated from him. He was not at liberty, however, to dispose of the sacred relics, the various ponds and tanks, aqueducts and watercourses, temples and dágobas, as these were considered national property. The principal privileges of the King were grounded on a selfishness the most glaring that can be conceived. He did not permit any person to have a house two stories high, nor to build one with windows, nor even to roof with tiles, nor whitewash mud walls, without previously obtaining his sanction; by such arts, therefore, the mean buildings of the Kandian palace remained in the eyes of natives the most splendid edifice in the world, and their King the greatest of its monarchs.

PORTRAIT OF RAJA SINGHA II.

A Singhalese King, A.D. 1600.

Though a monster of cruelty, Raja Singha was both temperate and continent, and notwithstanding he could command a variety of luxuries, his principal diet was fruit and herbs, and that but once a day. Every dish was covered with a white cloth, and its bearer

[1] Perhaps the observation of a late writer is correct where he says, "The King, though an unlimited monarch, in reality possessed few, if any of the advantages which bestow on monarchs their grandeur and influence. He was, properly speaking, only a supreme chief, whose dignity and rank were sanctioned by other chiefs, and sustained by their attachment and influence. His money revenues were extremely limited, and, having no efficient standing army, he had little independent power.

had a muffle placed on his mouth to prevent his breathing on the King's food. When every thing was arranged, a nobleman was summoned to taste the dish selected by royalty, and then hand it to the monarch. The greater part of his attendants were boys and young men of good birth and attractive appearance, who were selected by the dissaves in the provinces, and went bare-headed, with long hair hanging down their back. Young women were selected for the royal kitchen in much the same manner, but were never allowed to return home again. During Knox's captivity, the whitest and most beautiful of the Portuguese women, married and unmarried, were sent for to court; the least pleasing were, fortunately for themselves, sent home; of the others, some who were reluctant to satiate the royal appetite, were drowned in the river, and the others sent prisoners into the country. The King's harem was partly lodged in the palace, and partly in the villages in its vicinity, to which no stranger was permitted access. These villages were considered places of refuge, and a slave fleeing thither from the tyranny of his master, was inviolate, though he still remained in servitude to his protector.

The King's court was at Digligy neura during the close of his reign. The arrangements of the palace at that place are compared by Knox to Woodstock bower, for their intricacy and sinuosity. At every door and passage stood guards by day and night, who could not move from their posts until they were relieved, nor were they allowed to approach or utter a word to each other. At every watch the posts were visited by a chief, and horns and drums played to keep the people awake. At one end of the palace, there were placed a number of elephants, who, in case of disturbance, were brought forward to trample down the insurgents. Near the King's person was a Kaffre guard, in which he reposed more confidence than in his own subjects. No person was allowed to approach the hill adjoining the palace, as that was the King's place of refuge in case of an outbreak. The aim of all these precautions was to conceal the precise place where the King was to be found at any one time. Knox relates that on one occasion, a spy in one of his rounds discovered an officer asleep, and taking his cap, sword, and other arms, brought them to the King, who in a fit of caprice restored them to the owner with a slight reprimand.

"His dress," says Knox, "was very strange and fantastical, not after the country fashion, nor any other, but after his own invention. On his head he wore a cap with four corners, like a Jesuit's, three tier high, and a feather like that on the head of a forehorse in a team; a long band hanging down his back in the Portuguese manner, his doublet was of the strangest shape, and he wore long breeches to his ankles, shoes, and stockings. He did not always keep to one fashion, but changed as his fancy led him, but always had a sword hanging by his side in a belt over his shoulder (which no subject was allowed to wear except white men), a gold hilt, and scabbard of beaten gold."

When the King went out for exercise, all his guards, headed by a Dutch or Portuguese officer, with drummers, trumpeters, &c. elephants, horses, falconers with their falcons, had to stand at the gates in readiness to attend him, and this assemblage might be summoned three or four times before his Majesty ventured out, nor could they depart until orders were given for the purpose. At other times, the King, accompanied by a few attendants, would make a private exit, till some of his subjects descrying him, would run and place themselves at a respectful distance, to guard his person, and wait his pleasure. He was much pleased with high and inflated titles; and his subjects, while honouring him as a god, spoke of themselves in his presence as dogs and reptiles. After the rebellion, however, Raja Singha hesitated to assume the title of god, having visibly seen and almost felt that there was a greater power which ruled the earth, and set the hearts of the people against him.

"He was once guilty," says Knox, "of an act that seemed to prove him a man of most unbridled lust; for he had a daughter that was with child by himself, but in childbed both died. But this manner of incest," continues that writer, "is allowable in kings, if it be merely to beget a right royal issue, but in all others it is here held abominable, and severely punished; and there is a Singhalese proverb, 'None can reproach the King or the beggar; the one being so high that none dare, and the other so low that nothing can shame them.'"

Raja Singha was naturally disposed to cruelty, and shed blood without reason or remorse. His barbarity was displayed both in the tortures and painful deaths he inflicted, and in the indiscrimination of his punishments. Thus whole families would be sacrificed for the imaginary transgression of one member. The tortures were commenced by cutting and pulling away the flesh with pincers, burning them with hot irons to extort confessions. After a confession of more than they had ever heard or seen, their arms were hung round their necks, and they were made to eat their own flesh, and their mothers to join them in the act of cannibalism. They were then led through the city to the place of execution, the dogs following to devour their remains. At the place of execution, bodies were always to be seen impaled on poles, or hanging up in quarters upon trees.

Once, to try the hearts of his attendants, he pretended, while swimming in the water, to be sinking, and cried out for help; upon which, two young men, more venturous than the rest, ran to his aid, and taking hold of him, brought him safe to land, at which he affected to be pleased, and on his return to the palace demanded to know the names of his benefactors. They, expecting by his manner, that it was with the view of rewarding them for the good service they had rendered, replied, "We were they;" whereupon he ordered a noble, for it was such whom he appointed to witness executions,

to take them both, and cut off their heads, for presuming to lay their hands on his person, instead of prostrating themselves that he might lay his hands on them for his relief.

After the rebellion, when the people living at a distance, saw that the King intended to settle himself near Digligy, to which he had fled, and not again to return to Kandy, they met together, and sent an address to intimate their desire (it being very troublesome and tedious to bring their taxes thither), that his Majesty would not leave them ungraced by his presence, which was to them as the sun; that he would not absent himself from them to dwell in a desolate country, but seeing that there was no further danger, and that all the rebels were destroyed, he would return to his old palace again. The King, alarmed at their numbers, deemed it prudent to temporize, and thanking them for their love and affection, mentioned that he desired to take up his abode in a part of the country he named, and bade them go and build him a palace there.

The people gladly departed, immediately set to work, and for two whole years continued felling and carrying timber, laying the foundations, hewing stone, &c. till, becoming tired, they began to accuse one another for having been the occasion of all this toil. At length, when they were all in despair, and the people generally were quiet, the King sent to them to leave off. The building remained unfinished, the timber soon rotted, and the palace became a ruin.

And this was the manner in which he repressed the energies of his people; pulling down and rebuilding, levelling inequalities of surface, making sinks under ground for the passage of water through his palace, dragging great trees out of the forests for the purpose of making pounds for snaring elephants, though they could be caught with far less labour.

The people were thus employed in vast works that it required years to finish, in order to inure them to slavery, and prevent insurrection. The people of each Korle were selected for a particular work, and the governor was overseer of the work. These works were levelling hills, or filling up valleys, or making a course for the water to run into a lake near his palace.

To conduct this water into the lake, was no small labour; a great mountain having to be rent in twain for the purpose, and great embankments to be formed for some miles: the rocks which opposed their progress were softened by fire, and then removed. The water thus diverted, had previously been employed by the people for the irrigation of their fields, now they were scarcely able to produce any thing: they ventured, therefore, to acquaint his Majesty that their district was desolated, and disabled from performing the duties and services due to him. The King was greatly enraged at their presumption in repining for the loss of a little water, and dismissed them in a menacing manner.

His policy was to render his country as intricate and difficult

to traverse as possible; he therefore forbade the woods to be felled, more especially those which divided province from province, and neither permitted bridges to be thrown over the rivers, nor the paths to be made wider.

His jealousy was on a par with his fears; thus one of his bravest officers, who had expelled the Dutch from various posts in the interior, he aimed at rewarding by decapitation, but the object of his affection having been apprised beforehand of his intention, effected his escape to the Dutch. "Yet the King," says Knox, "out of the height of his stomach, seemed not in the least to be vexed thereat; as if it were beneath the dignity of so great a monarch to be affected by such a trifle, but appointed a successor, and neither seized the house nor estate of the fugitive, scorning to esteem or regard it."

"At the new year," says Knox, "all his subjects, both high and low, used to bring him certain presents or dues, which he was formerly wont to accept, but of late years he so abounded with wealth, continually putting into his treasury, and but seldom taking out, that he disdained to receive his due revenue, lest his people should think it were out of necessity and want; and though the nobles still persisted in offering, he did not accept any thing for many years. His mind was so haughty, that he scorned to seem to value any thing in the world."

He is represented by the same writer as crafty, cautious, and a great dissembler. He was not passionate in his anger; for with whomsoever he was angry, he would not shew it; nor was he rash or over hasty in any thing, but deliberate, though ill advised, as he was his own councillor. He accounted it wit and policy to lie and dissemble with the view of concealing his intentions, but dealt severely with those who deceived himself.

The youth in attendance at court, and who were descended from noble families, were generally made away with after they had become habituated to its practices, when their places were supplied by others, "who went," says Knox, "like oxen to the slaughter, but with far more heavy hearts, for both they and their parents knew full well to what end the King's honourable service would bring them, howbeit, there is no remedy. Until the King were pleased to summon them to his service, which might not happen for years, their own parents had to maintain them. It sometimes happened that the boys thus brought had grown up before they were required, when they effected their escape, but the fathers of those employed were released from all taxes, customs, and other duties, until they were discharged from the royal service, which was always by execution, or being condemned to perpetual bondage. In the former case he was accounted a traitor, and his father's house and estate seized, and sometimes the whole family perished; at other times, the property was recoverable by giving a bribe to the courtiers."

The Christian religion he did not in the least persecute or dislike, but rather esteemed and honoured it.

Though he had poisoned his son and the heir to his throne, the death of his sister grievously affected him, and the whole nation was thrown into mourning.

It is mentioned by Dr. Davy that the kings of Ceylon formerly delighted in games and sports; in witnessing feats of horsemanship and gladiatorial exhibitions, as well as the fights of animals, such as bulls, rams, elephants, &c. but I am not aware that there are any grounds for such an assertion. Raja Singha, according to Knox, had a variety of animals, chiefly sent him by the Dutch, but they were viewed more as curiosities than retained for such a purpose as that suggested by Davy.

KANDY AS A MILITARY POWER.

The strength of the Kandian country consisted in its natural inaccessibility, and in the craft more than the courage of its defenders. "The King," says Knox, "hath no artificial forts or castles, but nature hath supplied the want of them; for his whole country of Kandy Uda standeth upon such high hills as to be an impregnable fortress."

In their wars, moreover, there was but little valour used, although they did accomplish many notable exploits in the way of stratagems; they never met their enemies in the field, or repulsed them by force of arms, nor was the enemy likely to meet with any opposition on his first entry into the Kandian territories; as they knew he was at first wary and vigilant, and well provided with every necessary, but their usual practice was to waylay him, and stop up the ways before him, there being particular places in all the roads for the purpose; and at these places the woods were not suffered to be felled, but kept to shelter them from the sight of their enemies. Here they lay lurking and planting their ginjals between the rocks and trees, thereby taking their opponents unawares, nor could the latter rush in upon them, in consequence of their being protected by the rocks and trees; and if they could by any chance succeed in carrying this barricade, the natives, with their light guns upon their shoulders, had already effected a retreat into thickets, into which it was impossible to follow them, and again sallied forth when they had retired. At other times, while passing defiles they would let fall large trees, which had been previously cut nearly through, upon the advancing foe, along with a shower of spears and arrows. In these stratagems great circumspection was used, and the plan of operations was confined to a few trustworthy persons, secresy being rightly considered essential to success. They never hazarded a battle, except the odds were as ten to one, by which means, and their acquaintance with the habits

and discipline of Europeans, they frequently succeeded in repelling the attacks of both the Portuguese and Dutch.

Some of the kings of Kandy appear to have taken scarcely less precautions against internal than external enemies. "There were constant watches," according to Knox, "in certain parts of the country, and they were posted at thorn gates, but in times of danger every avenue was encompassed by these formidable defences." They are thus described—"These thorn gates were made of a sort of thorn tree, each stick or branch of which had on every side sharp prickles, like iron nails, three or four inches long, which were enwrapped or plaited together, and fastened to upright spars. This was hung upon a door case, ten or twelve feet high, made of three pieces of timber like a gallows, the thorn door hanging upon the transverse piece like a shop window, and was lifted up and clapped down as occasion required, being tied with a rope to a cross bar. No one could pass these posts without a passport, which was the print of a seal on clay, varying according to the calling of the applicant: thus, to a soldier, the print of a man with a pike on his shoulder; to a labourer, a pingo on his shoulder, with the load at each end; to a white man, the impression of a man with a sword by his side and a hat on his head," &c.

It was the policy of the court to separate the soldiery from their neighbours as much as possible in times of trouble, and the highlanders were dispersed over the whole country. According to Knox, there was no supreme commander of the forces, nor any written, but merely verbal orders issued, and each chief had the direction of his own men. As might be expected, these independent commands led to disputes and disagreements, but that was the aim of their suspicious ruler, and he was never more pleased than when the chiefs were at enmity; but he would not permit them to proceed to such extremities as to make it a subject of notoriety. When there was any intelligence to be sent to court, they did not send a messenger in common, but each despatched a private one of his own. And their common practice was to inform one against another, looking to their own advantage entirely, so that his Majesty was made cognizant of every thing that transpired.

The troops were exposed to great hardships during a campaign. Besides their arms, they had to carry every necessary article for the preparation of their food, and their tents were merely composed of sticks, covered with talipat leaves. Whenever an army had taken up a position, the posts beyond were immediately secured, to prevent any communication with the enemy, and it was not until this precaution had been taken that the people were informed against whom they were to fight, or of the mode of attack. Extraordinary intrepidity was worse than thrown away on these occasions, for as it was opposed to the tactics of native warfare, so was it also repugnant to the wishes of the prince, and Raja Singha generally contrived to sacrifice the

person displaying it to his fiendish jealousy. We have described under the head of castes the nature of Singhalese military service; an army was not enrolled by enlistment, except on extraordinary occasions; in case of a neglect to obey the summons of the Modeliar, the party in default forfeited his inheritance; if he wished to be discharged, he had also to yield it up to another, who took it subject to the same terms.

CHAPTER XIII.

Officers of State under the Kandian dynasty—The Adigaars, their rank, duties, and privileges—Gaja Nayaka nilamé—The Dissaves or Lieutenants of Provinces—Their importance and authority—Mohottalas, or Modeliars, Koraals, Atukoraals, Mohandirams, Vidahns, and Canganamas—Ratté mahatmeyas Liana-raala, Undia-raala, &c.—Malagawa dewa-nilamé and the Dewalé basnayaka ilamé.

THE Adigaars[1] or Adikaarams were the ministers of state, who had general authority and superintendence over the chiefs and people. In most cases the King governed as well as ruled, when the Adigaar was little more than the instrument employed in seeing his mandates enforced. In some instances, the inertness and lack of energy in the supreme power caused the functions otherwise devolving upon the King to be delegated either by himself, or in certain cases, by the chiefs, upon the first Adigaar. That minister then became the arbiter of his master's fate, and in more than one instance deposed

[1] The Singhalese honoured them with the title of Maha-nilamé or Maha-mahatmeya. In remote times there were four ministers; one to attend the King, one to take charge of the city, one to administer justice, and one as minister of war. But for very many years prior to the reign of Raja Singha, there was only one minister, when he added a second. The first Adigaar, Pallegampahé adikaaram mahatmeya, derived his distinctive name from the five low villages which belonged to his office—low in point of situation, being lower down the Mahavellé than Kandy. The second Adigaar, Udegampahé adikaaram mahatmeya, was so called from the five villages that were attached to his office, being situated higher up the river, and nearer Kandy. Udé signifying both these circumstances. The inhabitants of these villages were Katipooly-Lascaryns, who executed the orders of the ministers. The third Adigaar, Siapattowe adikaaram mahatmeya, was supplied with Lascaryns from various villages, whence probably his name Sia Pattoowe, signifying a hundred pattoos. The only officers appointed by the Adigaars were according to Dr. Davy, a Korleatchilla and the Erigé Canganama, and Dooreya, who had charge of the King's jail.

the puppet monarch, when opportunity served, and elevated himself into his place. Some kings had only one Adigaar, the usual number was two, and the last king of Kandy, in his jealousy of their power and suspicion of their designs, sought to counterbalance their influence by creating a third. One of the functions of the Adigaars was the command of the troops in the districts under their own immediate authority. When the King left Kandy for the country, one of the Adigaars accompanied him, and the other remained in charge of the city.

The Adigaars acted also in the capacity of privy-councillors to the King, and formed a court of appeal from an inferior jurisdiction. Numerous subordinate officers waited upon them, who were easily distinguished by the pastoral staves or ornamented sticks which they bore, and which were exclusively confined to their use.

The peculiar and exclusive insignia of Adigaars were the silver stick and immense whips, eight or ten feet in length, two inches in breadth (made of the fibres of a plant like strong hemp), which produced a report almost equal to firing a pistol ; seven of these emblems of power and punishment were always borne by as many men, who announced the coming, and effectually cleared the way for, the first Adigaar. But at festivals, and on all public occasions, when they were carried on elephants, or in palanquins, or in carriages, the first Adigaar had, in addition to the attendants upon the horses, palanquins, &c. twenty-four whip-crackers, and fifty or sixty spear-men in a peculiar dress, accompanied by a mat-bearer, a kettle drum-bearer, a torch-bearer, and a Kanghanama bearing betel. Near him were two men bearing talipats, large triangular fans, and ornamented with talc. On each side of him was one native headman, called the Madigé nilamé, then a Koraal, a Lekam mahatmeya, and two Aratchies. The second Adigaar was only entitled to twenty-four spear-men and fifteen whip-crackers. The third, to twenty-four spear-men and twelve whip-crackers. No other headmen were allowed this honour.

The office of Adigaar, whatever it might once have been, was latterly held merely at the King's pleasure, and as the Adigaar received no direct salary, he was necessarily compelled to find a substitute in the bribes he could extract from the suitors in his court, where causes were generally decided in favour of the party who could offer the largest donative.

The court dress of a Kandian Adigaar—minister of state and justice—consisted of a square cap, resembling a huge pincushion, sometimes made of white stiffened muslin, but in full dress, of scarlet cloth, embroidered with gold, with an elevated peak in the middle, surmounted by a precious stone. The jacket was of tissue, with short plaited sleeves, very full upon the shoulders, and fastened with amethyst buttons; over this was worn a white tippet of plaited muslin, with gold edging. On the lower part of the body, over

white trousers, which were tight at the ankle, and terminated by a frill, a number of white muslin and gold figured cloths were bound in cumbrous folds round the waist by a broad gold belt; in this was stuck a knife with a richly-carved handle. Gold chains were worn round the neck, and hanging down upon the chest, bangles on the wrists, and immense rings, which almost concealed their small hands, completed the decoration. The dress of their wives was very similar, only the ladies had their cloths bound tighter to their shape, had no head-dress, and wore gold ornaments in their hair.

The next in rank to the Adigaars was the Gaja Nayaka nilamé.

Dr. Davy relates, that in some districts where there had formerly been royal residences, and where Kattipooli-Lascaryns remained so late as 1820, as Ouva, Mátalé, Bintenné, and Hewahetté, there were Adikaarams appointed by the King to command the Lascaryns. They ranked in the districts next to the Dissaves, and acted under them in a judicial capacity. They were allowed to be preceded by whip-bearers, but to denote their inferiority, they were not allowed to crack them.

The Disapatis, Dissaves, or Dessauves, were chiefs of large districts, hence called dissavonies,[1] who had not only military authority, and the control over the administration of justice in their several lieutenancies, but the inspection of the revenue accounts, and a supervision of its collectors. The Dissaves, as representatives of royalty, were commonly selected from among the nobility, as the principal object considered in the selection was the birth of the individual.

In times of civil commotion, or foreign aggression, the Dissaves frequently asserted their independence of the Crown, and exercised all the functions of sovereignty in their respective districts. Hence has arisen, perhaps, the idea entertained by some writers, that Ceylon was divided permanently into petty kingdoms, whose chiefs maintained a merely nominal recognition of the supreme Government. This notion was doubtless encouraged by the Dissave in his intercourse with strangers, not only from motives of vanity, to which the Singhalese character is so habitually prone, but to afford pretexts and occasion for extortions in the shape of tribute, or under other circumstances, encouragement for an increased amount of presents, under the supposition that less could not be offered to an independent prince. Under the rule of an energetic and powerful monarch, things resumed their original footing, the Dissave was compelled to pass most of his time in servile attendance upon the court, and was under the necessity of appointing sub-Dissaves, to whom was entrusted the local administration of the province, and the care of

[1] Dissavony literally means side (perhaps from their situation), but may in its enlarged sense be translated province, while ratté strictly means country, or, as we should say, county.

their affairs. Thus weaned from the people, and no longer united to them by the ties of familiar intercourse, they ceased to be regarded as their natural leaders. The artificers of every village in a dissavony, as well as every occupier of land, besides the regular contributions to the King, had certain presents to make to the Dissave, who reaped considerable emolument from the gratuities of aspirants for his favour and services. The policy of the King was now to increase his annual claim upon the contributions of the Dissave, without which his protection and regard could not be preserved, and thus sap his chief source of power, while the latter was incited in his turn to use extortion towards the people, for as he was responsible for any failure, so was he privileged to enjoy any surplus in the revenue, and thus he alienated their affections from himself. It is not correct, however, that they bought their appointments, as has been stated by some writers; as they merely presented the King with some token of their gratitude. The villages appropriated for the service of the temples and the priesthood, were not subject to the authority of the Dissave, any more than those bestowed by the King upon his courtiers and favourites, but were under the exclusive jurisdiction of the proprietors. There would seem to have been four Maha Dissaves, and seventeen inferior ones, who nevertheless exercised equal authority in their own dissavonies.[1] They could inflict no greater punishments than flogging, fines and imprisonment, and in many cases they had not jurisdiction. The fines they inflicted became their own; and when they committed persons to prison, the latter rarely issued from it without a bribe. Books containing a specification of the matters on which they could or could not decide, were their guides. If a Dissave had given an unjust decision against any person in his district, the party injured might represent the circumstances to the King, through the Adigaars or the persons in attendance. But if the complainant failed of his object through these media, he or they repaired to the King's palace, where, prostrating themselves at full length, and striking their children to make them cry, they with loud vociferation called for redress.

The retinue of a Dissave was composed of twelve spearmen, and seven others bearing fans, betel, &c. In their provinces they were entitled to nearly every honour of majesty itself, prostration excepted, and each chief was preceded by his peculiar flag, a band of musicians, and by men bearing ginjals, which were fired on his first entering his district. The Gaja Nayaka Nilamé was attended in much the same manner, but had in addition a number of elephants to precede him. The principal of the wiharés was allowed four Káriyakkaroo, two Aratchies, and two Mal-miriyo, or flower distributors. The dress of these chiefs differed but little from the Adigaars, except that their caps were white and circular.

[1] A Dissavony was frequently left vacant for a considerable period when its duties and privileges pertained to the Adigaars.

The Dissaves had the privilege of appointing the following subordinate officers—three Mohottales, viz. the Dissaway Mohottale, the Attapattoo, and the Codituakka, and a certain number of Koraals, Atukoraals, Mohandirams, Vidahns, and Canganamas or Canganies.

The Dissaway-Mohottale was the first officer under the Dissave, and in his absence assumed his functions. The Attapattoo-Mohottale commanded the Attapattoo people, composed of the best Goewansé families, who constituted the escort of the Dissave, thirty or forty of them being in constant attendance upon him wherever he went.

The Codituakka-Mohottale had charge of the ordnance department of the district, and of the low caste Paduas, who had to carry the ginjals. The Koraal was the head of a Korle; the Atukoraal was under him. Their duties were to collect the rents and dues of their little districts, and look after its general interests, acting in their subordinate sphere the same part as the Dissaway-Mohottale, to whom they were responsible.

The Mohottale or Modeliar[1] was at the head of the military service generally; under him were Mohandirams, Aratchies, Canganamas,

[1] The following were the costumes of the Modeliars of the Vellalé caste, as adopted by the British from the Dutch in the maritime provinces. Shoes and stockings being the only additions:—

Maha Modeliars—Velvet, silk or cloth coat, with gold or silver lace, loops and buttons; sword hilt and scabbard of pure massive or wrought gold, or silver inlaid with gold, and shoulder belt of gold or silver lace, or silk embroidered or spangled with gold or silver.

Modeliars of the Gate or Guard—Silk or cloth coat, with gold or silver lace, loops and buttons; sword hilt and scabbard of silver inlaid with gold, and belt of gold or silver lace, or silk embroidered or spangled with gold or silver.

Modeliars of the Attapattoo, Modeliars of the Korles; Mohotiars of the Guard, and Attapattoo and Mohandirams of the Guard—Silk or cloth coat, with gold or silver lace, loops and buttons; sword hilt and scabbard of silver gilt inlaid with gold, and belt of gold or silver lace, or silk embroidered or spangled with gold and silver.

Mohandirams of the Attapattoo and the Basnayaka, and Padecarré Mohandirams employed as interpreters in the courts of the several provincial judges—Silk or cloth coat, with gold or silver lace, loops and buttons; sword hilt and scabbard of silver, and the eyes and tongue of the lion's head of gold; the belt of gold or silver lace, but not spangled.

The Koraals, Mohandirams, and Mohandirams interpreting in local courts.—Silk or cloth coat, with gold or silver lace, and buttons; sword hilt and scabbard of silver, and in the middle of the scabbard a plain silver plate; the belt of gold or silver lace, but not spangled.

Aratchies—Cloth or linen coat, with silver buttons and loops; sword hilt and scabbard of silver, with two plain plates of tortoise-shell on the scabbard; the belt of coloured ribbon, embroidered with flowers of silver or silver thread.

Canganamas—Cloth or linen coat, with silver buttons and loops; sword hilt of horn, inlaid with silver; the scabbard of horn or wood, with eight silver bands; and belt of coloured ribbon, *without* embroidery. The costume of headmen of the Karawé and Chandoo castes, and even of the Blacksmith, Washermen, and Barber castes were in most respects similar, the distinction consisting in the minor appendages, which were attached to the former, and denied to the latter.

or Canganies, and Lascaryns. The Lascaryns were obliged to assist in conveying timber to the rivers, and in catching elephants, &c. The British officer of the same name combines both civil and military duties. The Modeliar appears also to have been a distinct officer in the maritime districts under the Dutch. At present they have the charge of the native correspondence, the issue of the agent's orders, &c. The Korle Modeliars have the general superintendence of all Government service, and the collection of dues, &c.

The Mohandiram was the leader of the Dissavony Lascaryns, called Heywa-wassan, whose duty it was to guard the King's timber stores, cut timber, and plait the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, called olas, to make roofs.

The chiefs of the temples, the Malagawa dewa-nilamé and the Dewalé basnayaka-nilamés were laymen of high rank, not appointed by the college of priests, but by the King himself, and held their office, which was combined with some civil employment, only during the royal pleasure. They are now appointed by the Agent of Government for the Central Province.

The Malagawa dewa-nilamé had charge of the Dalada Malagawa, the chief temple of Buddha at Kandy, and of a large number of Pattea people, whose services were confined to the temple and to the temple lands. According to Davy, he had under him a Lekam-mahatmeya and several inferior officers; it was his duty to attend to the temporal interests of the temple, assist at its religious rites, and take care that all the ceremonies of religion were duly performed. He himself now and then had to present offerings to Buddha; to prepare himself, he had to bathe, put on a clean topetty, and abstain from meat a whole day, not from the idea that this penance would be grateful to Buddha, but from a notion that the gods who protected the temple required bodily purity, and avenged themselves for its neglect. The morning offerings that were made by the chief consisted of curry, and rice, and flowers; and the evening, of flowers, and of some light beverage, and of betel leaves. Buddha, while alive, having eaten only twice a day.

The Dewalé basnayaka nilamés in Kandy were four in number; one for each of the Dewalés, the Nata, Maha Vishnu, Kattragam, and Patiné. In the charge of their respective temples, and of the people and lands attached to them, they were aided by petty and subordinate officers. Their duties differed very little from those of the Malagawa dewa nilamé, but they were not permitted, as he, to present the offerings required of them, greater mystery being observed in their temples, and none but the officiating priests, called Kappuralles, being qualified or daring to appear before the idols. Besides the above-named chiefs at Kandy, there were others appointed to perform the like offices in the country districts.

Lekam Mahatmeya. A description of the rank and duties of this chief is given under the officers of the court.

Ratté Mahatmeya. The duties of this officer were similar to those of Dissaves, but their official rank was inferior, and less respect was required to be paid them by the people; for they were not entitled to enter their districts in palanquins, nor had they any right to flags, or the beating of tom-toms, or the carrying of ginjals before them. The officers appointed by the Ratté Mahatmeya were a Liana-raal, Undia-raal, Koraals, Atukoraals, and some inferior headmen. The Liana-raal (Liana, to write; having to keep the accounts of the district) was an office similar to the Dissaway Mohottala. The Undia-raal, called in some districts Korlea, was employed in collecting the revenue. The duties of the Koraals and other inferior officers were the same in the Rattés as in the Dissavonies.

Koraal. The name of this headman implied head of a Korle.

In the maritime districts, under the Dutch and British, the Koraal was magistrate within the bounds of his jurisdiction, and had power to decide upon cases of landed property, with an appeal to the Dissave, should the parties think themselves aggrieved. His criminal jurisdiction extended only to flagellation, and in capital cases the delinquent was tried at Colombo.

Kanghanama was a petty officer employed chiefly in aiding in the collection of revenue.

A Vidahn was the head of a village; his duty was to attend to its police, execute the orders of the Dissave, and superintend the erection or preservation of buildings intended for the reception of headmen when travelling on service.

Of these, the Adigaars, Gaja Náyaka-nilamé, Dissave, Ratté Mahatmeya, and Koraal were allowed to wear white caps; the rest black, the Kanghanama and Gama rála excepted. Under British rule great numbers of these headmen were attached to the Governor, and several to the Government agents in the different parts of the country.

In Colombo, there are nineteen native gentlemen who have the honorary title of "Modeliars of the Governor's gate," and eight Mohandirams, called "Mohandirams of the Governor's gate."

In the western province, attached to the Government agents, are one Maha Modeliar, nineteen Modeliars, and seventy-one Mohandirams, besides four other headmen.

In the southern province are one Bas-náyaka-nilamé, one Maha Modeliar, two Dissaves, twenty Modeliars, twenty-eight Mohandirams, and twenty-three others with various titles.

In the northern province are seven Modeliars, fourteen Maniagars, one hundred and forty-six Odiyars, four (called) Adigaars, and twenty-four others with various titles.

In the eastern province are six Modeliars, one Mohandiram, nine Wanniyas, seven Odiyars, and one head Moorman.

In the central province, besides the Adigaars (whose office is now abolished), are two Modeliars, fourteen Ratté Mahatmeyas, nineteen

principals of wihares who have the title of Modeliars, six Dissaves, and a few others with various titles, such as Ratté-raals, whose rank and duties were similar to those of Koraals.

It now only remains to describe the ancient divisions of the island, *i. e.* from B. C. 504, when the first dispersion of the Singha Princes took place, to A. D. 1153, when Praackramabahoo I. united the three provinces under his own rule.

Pihitee Ratté, bounded on the west, north, and east by the sea; on the south, by the Mahavellé-ganga and Didooroo-oya. It was also sometimes called Raja Ratté, as the ancient capitals Anuradhapoora and Pollonoroowa were situated in it.

Roohoona Ratté, bounded on the west and north by the Mahavellé-ganga and Kalu-ganga; and on the east and south by the sea. The mountainous portion of it was called Malayaa Ratté.

Mayaa Ratté, bounded on the north by the Didooroo-oya; on the east, by the Mahavellé-ganga and the mountains; on the south, by the Kalu-ganga; and on the west, by the sea.

At the time the interior fell into the hands of the British, the whole of it was divided into Dissavonies and Rattés. These divisions, established by long custom, were very seldom altered by the reigning monarch. The Dissavonies were as follows:—Newera Kalawa; Hattere-Korlé, the four Korles; Saperegamnay, Saffragam; Welassé; Mátalé; Bintenné; Walapané; Tamankada; Udapalaté; Sat Korlé, the seven Korles; Korlé-tunay, the three Korles; Ouva.

The Rattés were Doombera, Harriseapattoowe, Toompané, Yattineura, Udaneura, Kotmalé, Hewahetté.

With the exception of two, Walapané and Udapalaté, all the Dissavonies were, as the name implies, situated laterally in respect to the high country, and constituted in every direction the boundaries of the Kandian kingdom, while all the Rattés were situated centrically and in the mountainous region, and immediately surrounded the Kandian capital.

Both Dissavonies and Rattés were farther divided into Korles, Pattoos, &c. thus, Sat Korlé, or the seven Korles, was divided into the Eihala-dolos-Pattoo, the upper twelve Pattoos; and the Palaha-dolos-Pattoo, the lower twelve Pattoos. Thus, Ouva was divided into the Kandapalé Korlé, Kandookara Korlé, Passera Korlé, Oodakinda, Medikinda, and Yattikinda, and these minor divisions in many instances were themselves subdivided.

END OF PART THE SECOND.

PART III.

CHAP. I.

Agriculture, Native and European—Grain Crops of the Interior—Native mode of irrigating land — Agricultural Implements — Ceremonies preceding threshing corn—Description of grains—Character of Native agriculture, when viewed by the test of profit—Repair of tanks—Report of the Committee, and Observations thereon—Indian corn and gram—Successful growth of the Potato—Sugar and Cotton Planting—Cultivation of Tobacco in the Northern Province—Mulberry-tree, Indigo, Cocoa-nut, &c.—Coffee Planting in Ceylon—By whom introduced—Its original success and present reverses—Description of every process of the manufacture—Position of the Planters—Suggestions for removing or alleviating the principal obstacles they are now labouring under—Cinnamon—Doubts as to its being indigenous to Ceylon—First cultivated under Falck—Classification and Description of the Laurus cinnamomum—Injurious effects of the Cinnamon monopoly—Its abandonment by Government; induces rivalry and successful competition—Threatened annihilation of the trade in Ceylon Cinnamon —Recent reductions in the duty.

On this first head it is but candid to state at the outset, that from the stationary character of the Singhalese, no more recent information than that afforded by Knox can possibly be furnished to the reader, as far as the natives are concerned.

Commencing with their cultivation of paddy, *i. e.* rice in the husk, it may be observed that they have several sorts[1] called by various names, according to the time of their ripening, but varying little in taste. That called "Maha Wee" is seven months in ripening; "hati-yal," six; "honarawálu," five; "heenaté," four; and what is called by Knox "aulfancol," three months. The price of all is the same. The last-named is, however, the most savoury, but least prolific. Their cul-

[1] After great labour we have succeeded in identifying the real Singhalese species with those given by Knox, a work of the greatest difficulty, in consequence of that writer having been guided in his orthography by sound only. There appear to be seventy-two varieties of wee or paddy, many of which are subdivided into innumerable species. A correct list will be found in the Appendix.

tivation of so many varieties is principally owing to their mode of irrigation, thus almost every description of rice absolutely requires to be flooded with water during the period of its growth; the natives are therefore at great pains in procuring and saving water for their grounds, and display much ingenuity both in conveying the water from their rivers and ponds into their fields, and in levelling the surface, which must be as smooth as a bowling-green to be properly covered. So far does their ingenuity extend that they contrive to irrigate steep and hilly soil by levelling it into narrow alleys from four to eight feet wide, one below another, like so many stairs. The water at the top of the hills is let into each alley in succession, and by degrees covers and fertilizes all. It is often carried two or three miles along the side of a hill, and occasionally it is even carried from one side of a mountain to another by means of wooden pipes. The hilly and mountainous districts, in consequence of being well supplied with water, are thus particularly favourable for the cultivation of this important grain, and it is a most fortunate circumstance that they are so, otherwise the coolest, most salubrious, and beautiful parts of the interior would, in the place of being cultivated to a certain extent, be quite neglected and deserted. In the lowlands the same labour and skill are not requisite for this cultivation. In cutting terraces in the sides of hills, the perseverance and industry of the highlander are often displayed in an extraordinary manner. The description of rice sown much depends on the quantity of water at their disposal, and its probable duration; for the crop would be spoiled if the water failed before the paddy ripened. Thus, if they can depend on the water holding out long, they will sow the best and most profitable sorts, and *vice versa*.

Sometimes also they are compelled to sow those of more rapid growth, to prevent the damage to which they might otherwise be exposed if they stood longer; for their fields are in general in common, and enclosed till harvest. But as soon as the corn first sown becomes ripe, it is lawful for the owner after the harvest to break down his fences and let in his cattle for grazing, which would greatly injure the younger varieties. Those, therefore, who are forced to sow later than the rest, from some cause or other, sow that kind of rice which will ripen simultaneously with that first sown; all sorts, therefore, are reaped together, except in cases where the fields belong to one individual. Nothing is more beautiful than a valley in the highlands thus cultivated, presenting every alternation of crop and hue, and labourers engaged at all the different operations of agriculture in a single field, while the charm is, if any thing, augmented by the bold and savage scenery of untamed nature around.

In the northern, and indeed in many parts of the country, where there are no springs or rivers to furnish them with water, they supply the defect by the construction of tanks, which contain the rain until it is required for the fields. Their shape resembles generally a half

moon; every village has one of these tanks, and if it is full before the advent of the dry season, they reckon on a good harvest. When they want the water, they cut a gap in one end of the bank, and draw it out by degrees, as the corn requires watering. In dry weather the tanks are generally quite dry. The shallow depth of these tanks greatly facilitates irrigation. Alligators, which infest them when they contain water, leave them in the dry season, and make their way through the woods to the rivers, returning again in the rainy season. They are not in general large, but are dangerous, and accidents will occasionally happen. The rice sown in the northern province is that of rapid growth, owing to the dearth of water, for which it is wholly dependent on the rainy season or the tanks, but among the mountains, in situations where perpetual irrigation is at command, the seasons are less concerned, and the farmer can sow at his pleasure, and from good ground annually obtain two, and even three crops, viz. one of paddy and two of inferior grain. When the tanks are nearly empty, they use them as fields, treading the mud with buffaloes, and then sowing their rice. There is one species of dry rice which will ripen without artificial aid, and this is planted in those places to which water cannot be brought, but it is not considered equal either in taste or quality to the other varieties.

The ordinary season of sowing is in July and August, and the harvest in February, but where water is obtainable, there is no season in particular, vegetation being little affected by the seasons.[1] In tilling their grounds and reaping their corn, they assist each other in turn. Their plough (naguela) is a crooked piece of wood of the simplest and lightest kind, being little bigger than a man's arm, one end of which is to hold by, and the other to turn up the ground. In the hollow of this plough is a piece of wood fastened, some three or four inches thick, equal with the breadth of the plough, and at the end of the plough there is an iron plate to prevent the wear of the wood. The beam to which the buffaloes are made fast to drag by a yoke is let into that part which the ploughman holds in one hand, and in the other a goad (kaweta), with which he directs and stimulates the animals. These ploughs are light and easy to turn, which is a desideratum, where the fields are short, and if they were heavier, they would sink into the mud. They do not bury the weeds as ours do; for their object is simply to move the ground while the weeds are subsequently rotted by the water.

The ground is twice ploughed before seed time. Previously to the first ploughing, water is let in upon the land to make it more soft and pliable, and when that has taken place, the banks are made up; for if the ground were left till after the second ploughing, it would be mere mud, and not hard enough for banking. These banks, which

1 The two harvests are called the Maha (great), and the Yalla.

are usually about a foot wide, are necessary not only as paths for the people through the fields, who would otherwise have to go through the mud perhaps knee deep, but to keep in the water. The natives smooth them with the back of their houghs (udala) as neatly as a bricklayer smooths a wall with his trowel, and break up the ground where the plough cannot be used, as well as bank with the same instrument. The land having been thus ploughed and the banks completed, it is laid under water again for a short time, when the second ploughing takes place. No manure is used, or is indeed required, for their manner of ploughing and irrigation retains in the land all the necessary components of fertility. At this time it is excessively muddy, so that the trampling of the cattle equally avails with the plough, for the more muddy the better. Sometimes they will dispense with the use of the plough, and merely drive their cattle over the ground. The ground being still kept under water, so as to rot the weeds and grass, they take their corn, and soaking it in water a whole night, then lay it in a heap and cover it with green leaves, and let it lie some five or six days to germinate. It is then soaked again, and a similar process is repeated, when it shoots out into blades and roots. Meanwhile the ground is prepared for sowing by having a board about four feet long (on which the driver rests to give it momentum) dragged over the land by a yoke of buffaloes, not flat ways but on its edge, which jumbles the earth and weeds together, and levels the ground. And if they see any little hummock standing out of the water they break and level it with this board, which is called anadatpooroa. The land being still under water, until eight days have elapsed, during which the seed is undergoing the process of germination, is now drained and trimmed with little boards, called atpoorooa or goelalè, a foot and a half long, fastened upon long poles, small furrows are then made all along to carry off any rain that may fall, as any further moisture would at this stage rot the corn, and the seed is strewn evenly with the hands, as we salt meat. The water having been kept out till the corn is three or four inches above the ground, is now let in to nourish it and destroy the weeds, for they keep their fields particularly clean, and the banks are again made up. The women now come and weed it, pulling it up where it is too thick, and transplanting it where requisite. And thus it stands overflown till it is ripe, when the water is again let out to make it dry for reaping. As before mentioned, the whole community joins in reaping till the whole harvest is completed, and every individual supplies the rest with provisions while they are serving his turn. The reaping-hook (guygon-kopana-dakat) has a fine serrated edge, and is similar to ours. The employment of the women consists in gathering up the corn after the reapers, and carrying it away in bundles. Their mode of extracting the corn from the ear is by treading it with cattle, and half a dozen oxen will produce forty or fifty bushels a

day. Superstition follows them even into their agricultural operations, and in treading out corn certain ceremonies are most religiously observed. A round piece of ground is marked out, the upper turf cut off, and the clay well beat in. It is then adorned with ashes, made into flowers, and branches, and circular forms. Shells, pieces of iron, a bit of the kohomba tree wood, and a bunch of betel nuts reserved for the occasion, are then laid in the middle of the pit, and a large stone upon them, and called "commata," or the charm, with the notion of defending the grain from evil demons. The owner then walks round the circle, stops, with uplifted hands makes repeated offerings in the centre, prostrates before it, mutters a prayer, and entreats the demon not to steal or injure the grain. Then the women bring each their burden of reaped corn upon their heads, and walking three times round the pit, fling it down. Then the labour commences in earnest. For their share of the business, the women receive a gratuity called "warapol," which signifies as much corn as will cover the stone, and other instruments of conjuration at the bottom of the pit. The primitive fork, called datalla, which is merely the branch of a tree, is used to gather the straw under the buffaloes' feet. The winnow (coola) is composed of strong matting, and a frame of tough twigs. In the humid districts of the island, the process of treading immediately follows on reaping, for there are no barns of any size; but in the northern province, the corn is stacked, and suffered to remain so for months. From the moment the seed is sown, till the time of harvest, the paddy field no less than the chenas, requires a constant nocturnal vigil, to protect it from the depredations of its numerous enemies in the jungle. For this purpose, watch-huts, sufficiently elevated to be out of the reach of elephants, are fixed to the trees, and an alarm given the moment the stealthy foe is descried. The rice is unshelled by beating in a mortar, or on the ground, but some sorts of rice must be first boiled in the husk, or the beating will break them into powder. This process renders it wholesome. It requires a second beating to take off the bran, and then it becomes quite white. In the absence of rice, which formerly did not serve them out the year, there are other and inferior sorts of grain on which the people feed. Kurukkan is a small seed like mustard-seed, which is ground into meal, or beat in a mortar, and made into cakes, and baked upon the coals. It is apt to give the colic to those unaccustomed to it. For grinding it, they use two round stones, which they turn dexterously with their hands by means of a stick. There are several varieties of this grain, which will thrive on the hills as well as on the plain. Tana is another grain very prolific, and much eaten in the northern province. It is as small as kurukkan, and from one grain there will frequently spring up from three to four stalks, and on each stalk an ear containing grains innumerable. It does not rise above two feet

and a half from the ground, and when ripe, the women gather it by cropping off the ears with their hands, and bring them home in baskets. The ears of kurukkan are also cropped, but being tougher, knives are used for the purpose. Tana is first parched in a pan, and then beaten in a mortar to unhusk it. It will boil like rice, but swells much more; the taste is rather agreeable, but dry, and it is considered wholesome. It requires four months ere it arrives at maturity. Moongeh is a grain somewhat resembling the vetch, "Amu" is a small seed boiled and eaten instead of rice; when new, it will inebriate, or produce a sickening effect, but this only refers to that grown in particular soils, and is no longer applicable to it when old. Meneri and Boomæ are both small seeds. From Tala, another seed, oil is extracted, and it is sometimes parched and eaten with jaggery. Most of these grains are grown by the poorer classes on chenas, *i.e.*, land reclaimed from the jungle, and after having been cropped, suffered to revert to its original state. Some of the dry crops are weeded, but with this exception nothing is done to them from the time of sowing to that of reaping, or when the straw is not saved, of gathering the heads of corn. The same ground will not bear a good crop under the present system for two years in succession; partly for want of manure, which the natives never use, but chiefly on account of the underwood, which not having been eradicated in the first instance, presently springs up, and before the expiration of twelve months is a luxuriant crop in itself. For cutting down trees, and clearing underwood, they have two very serviceable instruments, a jungle hook (waldakat) and an axe (prooa), but they are beginning to prefer our more finished and effective tools.

Gardening among the Singhalese is scarcely known as a specific branch of husbandry. Clusters of palm and fruit-trees are indeed to be found round their houses, which they serve to ornament, and flowering shrubs about their temples; and they occasionally cultivate a few vegetables, as yams, sweet potatoes, and onions in their fields, but they have not yet began to enclose plots of ground for this particular purpose after the European manner.

It is an interesting problem, and one which I am not aware has yet been solved by the economist, whether in the case of paddy cultivation, paddy being a necessary of life to the Hindoo and Singhalese, its growth being almost confined to the East, and not being deemed an absolute necessary in Europe, whether, I say, it is politic or consistent with the dicta of political economy to divert native labour into another channel, either, for instance, into the employment of Europeans, or into another branch of industry, simply because in their agricultural operations, no less than as we have shewn in their manufacturing, much labour is wasted without adequate return. More, in my opinion, both socially and politically,

depends on the solution of this question, than might at first sight appear. Much depends on it socially, because before any legislative interference should take place, there should be a positive certainty that the position of the cultivator will be improved by the change, that he will be at all times able to procure continuous and remunerative employment. Much depends on it politically, because, we should consider that the same rule of a wasteful expenditure of labour, will prevent us from adopting a similar mode of cultivation, or very probably any mode on the specific field from whence we remove him. A question then arises as to the expediency of superseding a cultivation, which *per se* is attended with some return, or it would not be engaged in. I apprehend there is some analogy between the paddy cultivation of the Singhalese and spade husbandry among ourselves; both are the extremes of a primitive, or a highly civilized cultivation, just as you may view them through different media, and under different auspices. In England there is an increasing tendency to adopt spade cultivation. It has been found in many localities the most profitable. It absorbs a double amount of labour; and if it does not produce quite a double return, the return is still most encouraging. It is therefore the most civilized mode of cultivation properly carried out. If in general operation England would be a gigantic garden. Nor is the comparison so inapplicable to the Singhalese as at first sight may appear. So far as we can see, they could not adopt any improved mode of conveying water, or of working the earth, without an increased and probably unremunerative outlay. Notwithstanding that so great a part of the country is waste and unoccupied, and notwithstanding that their agricultural system has undergone no visible change or modification since the time of Knox, it will be perceived from the description already given, that though a simple, it is eminently a garden-like cultivation, and that as far as man, unaided by art can effect it, every possible return is obtained from the soil. My own conviction is, that if it can be shewn to return a relatively moderate return, I mean relatively in reference to products of European growth, it should be encouraged wherever possible to the fullest extent. Ceylon is fully capable, not only of producing rice enough for its own consumption, but of supplying the whole demand for that article in Great Britain, Bourbon, and Mauritius. After, however, a British occupation of the island for half a century, and of the interior for the past thirty years unmolested, the result shews (I speak it advisedly), to the everlasting shame of the British Government, that the island is not even self-supporting in this particular.

And from hence I am naturally led to a consideration of the present state of the tanks in the northern, eastern, and southern provinces; and of the question, to how great an extent, &c. irrigation can be economically and profitably employed from this source?

In entering, however cursorily, upon this topic, I must fain premise, that I do not propose to undertake the task, which, however pertinent it might be in some respects, would be supererogatory in others, of considering the abstract question, in how far a Government is justified in leaving a people who are ignorant of self-reliance, and on whom its advantages are not likely to be impressed but after half a century of British example, and a long educational regimen, to grope in all the darkness of a *laisser faire* policy; nor do I intend to point out the superior advantages of a Government, under such circumstances, taking a directly opposite course, and, though leaving to time to bring about the desired change as a matter of general policy, yet keeping in view any case in which the stringency of the rule might be advantageously relaxed, and in such case taking the initiative. But in this instance I shall content myself with a specific case, in which the interference of Government would, under similar circumstances, be absolutely necessary in any part of the world. It is hardly requisite to shew, that Ceylon presents a peculiarity distinct from our policy and habit at home, and one which entitles it to a larger amount of aid and interference from the supreme power, than can be claimed, or even required by the cultivator of corn in any country of Europe. In the culture of wheat, the individual exertion and capital of the farmer, aided by the seasons and the natural humidity of the soil, is all that is essential to success. But in this climate, where the want of natural moisture in the soil can only be supplied by bringing water at a great expense from tanks or natural reservoirs, whence it can be distributed over the length and breadth of a district, it is obvious that individual exertions are utterly inapplicable to the task, that no one man could undertake the cost of irrigating his own lands unaided, but that the construction and repair of tanks, and the maintenance of conducting channels, can only be effected by a combination of the means and exertions of the whole community, whose unanimity and co-operation must be enforced by authority, either to prevent the worthless and selfish from profiting by the labour of their more industrious and liberal neighbours, or, what is more important still, to prevent one indolent or vicious man from inflicting ruin on the whole body; for, owing to the nature of the cultivation, and the minute subdivisions of the property, all of which is inundated by one artificial channel, the neglect of one proprietor to repair the tanks may deprive all below him of the means of irrigation, or his omission to keep his share of the fences in order may expose the whole tract to destruction. But if the community be too poor even by general co-operation to effect its object, then the whole must suffer, without some intervention from the supreme power for their assistance.

It has been calculated that the repair of the Giant's tank alone would suffice to irrigate land capable of producing 134,000 bags of rice annually, and an estimate for the repair of a tank at Nuwera

Wewa, in the northern province, shews that it would be practicable to bring upwards of 550 acres into rice cultivation for an expenditure of £5,137, including the reclamation of the land from the jungle, and its ploughing, sowing, and reaping the first year, when the produce of the harvest, taking it at 32,000 parahs, and valuing it at only 7¼*d.* a parah, would give £1000, and in each succeeding year a similar harvest could be obtained for an annual expenditure of £473 in labour and seed. These instances perhaps will be sufficient to justify the opinion which exists of the practicability of restoring their former value and fertility to these now neglected districts, as well as to the many hundreds of square miles alleged to be adapted for the production of rice, but which are now lying destitute of a single inhabitant, while several hundred tanks, some of which are of Cyclopean construction and prodigious extent, are now utterly useless, though they might be easily repaired. If any further proof were wanting of the feasibility of the undertaking, it is furnished by the fact, that several tanks in the province of the Wanny were successfully repaired by the late Mr. Turnour, although after his death they were again suffered to go to decay.

The origin and cause of the abandonment already alluded to seems to have baffled inquiry. It has been generally, and with the greatest reason accounted for by the intestine commotions of the Singhalese some centuries ago, and the rude and unscientific manner in which they have been constructed, without any provision for overflow, would soon render them unserviceable without costly repairs, which the peasantry had neither capital nor confidence to undertake. The Portuguese, on their arrival in the sixteenth century, *found* the Singhalese importing rice from the Coromandel coast. Under the Dutch the native cultivation in the northern districts continued to decrease, a result which has been ascribed to the frequent passage of their marauding troops across the country, but on our taking possession in 1796 the decline was even more rapid, though no reasonable cause could be assigned. Bertolacci mentions that at that time the district of Batecalo sent annually to Trincomalee from four to five thousand head of cattle and 150,000 parahs of rice, and that in five years from our arrival, the rice ceased altogether, and we were compelled to reverse the position, and send cattle to Batecalo for the subsistence of the garrison.

From documents in the Colonial Office, it would appear that so far back as 1806, Sir T. Maitland, at that time Governor of Ceylon, proposed to repair the Giant's tank, estimating the possible expense at £25,000; and Sir R. Brownrigge spoke in equally favourable terms of the project in 1812-13. The Commissioners of Inquiry, Sir R. Horton and Mr. Stewart McKenzie, took the same view, although each of them admitted that the undertaking was too great for native enterprise, and that it must be assumed by the Government. Yet it has been, nevertheless, reserved to the Committee on the Finance and

Commerce of Ceylon, whose report has just been published, to shew that not a step has been taken on the subject, and it is very possible, under the present state of things, that the whole matter would have been allowed to sleep for another half century in a similar manner, but for the frank and explicit manner in which Sir Emerson Tennant has handled every topic connected with the interests of the colony.

While then I concur with the Committee in their remark, "that it must appear extraordinary that works of such manifest importance, and so certain to repay the revenue the whole, and more than the whole of the expenditure incurred, should have been so long neglected," I do not with them attribute it (but in a very small degree) to the policy of the Portuguese and Dutch, though it may be, and is quite true, that they looked to nothing but the amount of immediate revenue to be derived from the island, and may have abstracted by their rapacity much of the capital necessary for the maintenance of the tanks; still less can I with them assign it to the apathy of the British people, in the face of their own admission that none but the local Government could or ought to engage in such an undertaking. The Committee, while suggesting that steps should be at once taken for a general survey of the tanks in Ceylon, and for an estimate as to the cost of repairing such of them as can with the least difficulty be put into an effective state, propose for this purpose, that the temporary service of an officer who has been employed in India on similar duties, accompanied perhaps by some of those natives of India who have worked under him, should if possible be obtained from the East India Company; that the expense of his appointment should be defrayed out of the surplus revenue of the colony, and that he should be instructed to prepare a report, shewing the order in which the principal tanks may be most usefully repaired, with the probable expense of each work; that of the revenue available for public works a certain portion should be annually devoted to the repair of tanks; that every inducement should be held out to the native population to co-operate with the Government; and that the maintenance of the tanks, when once repaired, shonld be entrusted to the local authorities, subject to the inspection and control of the central Government.

To these recommendations, after a careful consideration of the whole question, we are bound to declare that we cannot give an entire and unqualified adhesion. Next in fatality to that spirit of procrastination, by which almost every Government of Ceylon, or rather perhaps the central authority at home, has been distinguished, would be any precipitancy in the introduction of this momentous change. It is obvious, for reasons too numerous to be mentioned here, that the question must be viewed as a whole, and that any *partial* application of the proposed benefit, would neutralise or despoil it of much of its value. Moreover, the Government has not been censured for its non-application, but for its non-consideration of this remedial measure. It has been urged by men on whose autho-

rity some reliance deserves to be placed, that the larger tanks cannot, from their rude construction, now be applied to their original purpose but after considerable alterations or modifications; others of scarcely less weight do not fully coincide in this opinion, but there is sufficient uncertainty to lead us to the conclusion, that something more is required than a survey of the smaller tanks by any Indian officer, however skilful in this particular branch of engineering. It should not be forgotten also, that the disparity in the dimensions of the tanks of Ceylon and the peninsula respectively, may involve considerations to which a ready solution may not be in the power of such an officer to afford. The most practical, and at the same time the most economical mode of proceeding in the long run would seem to be a preparatory survey of the northern and eastern provinces (the central having been already completed), which might be accompanied by a report on the present state and capabilities of the tanks situated therein, from the parties whose co-operation has been deemed desirable by the Committee. A commission composed of the representatives of the two branches of engineering science, and other capable persons, would, on such a foundation, be able to decide both as to the extent to which the experiment should be applied, and the mode of its application, and thus finally set the question at rest; while any piecemeal system of repairs, which would result from the adoption of the recommendations of the Committee, would prove injurious in many ways, and possibly compromise the future extension of that which, viewed comprehensively, is calculated to prove the greatest boon Britain has ever conferred upon Ceylon. Such a proceeding, moreover, would in no way retard the repair of the smaller tanks, in case that of the larger ones appeared impolitic or impracticable.

Indian corn, or maize, is not so much cultivated here as might be expected, and the people seldom use it as food. Gram might be easily produced in Ceylon in great quantities; and as it is the grain found to answer best for feeding horses, fattening sheep, &c. it is surprising that a sufficient quantity of it is not grown to obviate the necessity of importing it from other countries; for gram, with the roots of a kind of coarse couch grass, dug out of the ground and carefully washed by the grass-cutters, constitutes the chief food of horses, and the strongest proof of their nutritive qualities is, that in no part of the world are horses to be seen in finer condition.

The first attempt to grow wheat in the interior was made in 1815, and though on a small scale, it completely succeeded both at Kandy and Badulla, both in the return and the weight and fineness of the grain. But where the demand for wheaten bread is limited to Europeans, the growth of wheat is not likely to augment in any great degree until the demand from this source is proportionably extended.

The cultivation of the potato was first permanently introduced into Ceylon in consequence of its success in Upper Ouva, though some successful experiments had previously been made in the southern

province. It is now extensively grown in the interior, and attains a very good size and quality. In 1826 supplies might be received at 2*d.* per pound, but it is now procurable at a much cheaper rate; and the maritime provinces are not only themselves supplied with it, but in consequence of its extensive cultivation by the natives, ships touching at the island can command any quantity at a reasonable rate. It has, moreover, become a great favourite with the entire population, being eaten by every caste and class.

A few estates have been established in the district of Batecalo for the growth of cotton, the prospects of which are fair. Abundance of fine land is procurable, and coolies may be obtained in any number at 4½*d.* per diem. Seed has been procured from America, the Bourbon cotton, so much in favour with the northern planters, being in bad odour at Batecalo, on the ground that the staple, though long, is weak. Common country cotton, along with Indian corn, &c. is now grown by the planters, in this district, between the cocoa-nut plants, the cotton principally for the purpose of shading the ground after the grain is cut, shade being deemed of great importance. The ground between the lake and the sea is sandy, but covered with fine jungle, and is considered excellently adapted for cotton; that to the west is firmer, but fine soil, and fit for Uplands, Georgia, &c. Some of the sand is quite black, with plenty of water during the dry season at four feet from the surface. With the exception of a small quantity of cotton used for stuffing pillows and cushions, and woven into coarse cloth in the north of the island, the entire consumption of Ceylon is imported from abroad; though one of the American cotton planters, now in the service of the East India Company, with a view to the improvement of the production in Hindostan, thus speaks of its capabilities:—"I am of opinion, from what I saw of the climate, temperature, and soil, that Ceylon will produce cotton equal in quality, and when the comparatively small amount of capital required is considered, I doubt not it may even produce the article cheaper than we can in America, where a large sum must be laid out at once for labour, and where the expense of food and clothing is much greater than the cost of importing labour into Ceylon, independently of the risk of a mortality among the labourers after they have been purchased." Cotton is grown in the northern province, but to a small extent in proportion to its capabilities and area, and has not excited the attention of Government to the degree that might have been expected.

Tobacco, known by the name of "Jaffna tobacco," is also largely cultivated in the northern province, and boasts of a superior quality and flavour. It has a peculiarly dark colour. The ground is previously manured by having sheep penned on it. Connoisseurs in tobacco have preferred Jaffna cheroots to the best Havannah cigars. Singularly enough, it is so much esteemed over the same production in Malabar, though a similar sort of soil and temperature

prevails in both, that the Raja of Travancore, who monopolized the sale of the article throughout his dominions, contracted with the Government of Ceylon for all the tobacco grown in the province exceeding its consumption. This was called the Travancore investment; and the Raja was enabled, by the high price he charged for tobacco, to pay a subsidy to the Madras Government for the maintenance of a body of native troops, under an European officer, in Travancore. Though the Ceylon Government realized a profit of £10,000. a year, by thus bartering away the industry of its subjects, yet the arrangement was most injurious to the cultivator, by stimulating the consumption of the inferior growth of Malabar. To remedy this, Government established a countervailing monopoly in 1812, but that failing, an export duty of nearly 200 per cent. was imposed in 1824. As was to be expected, in despite of the drawback allowed upon exportation, the trade rapidly declined in the Eastern markets, where Jaffna tobacco had long been consumed by the Malays, and thirteen years afterwards the Government resolved on a reduction of the duty on tobacco from 200 per cent. ad valorem to 2½ per cent.; the result was, that in three years the trade had doubled itself, and has since increased in a proportionate ratio.

On account of the dryness of the northern province, the culture of the mulberry plant might be almost indefinitely extended by the introduction of the silkworm, and silk be rendered one of its leading staples, instead of being, as is now the case, completely neglected. The mode of culture practised in Hindostan, as being the most simple, will be at first the best adapted for the native agriculturist, who has to acquire skill and practice ere he can be expected to improve upon oriental methods. Much depends upon the abundance of cooly lobour, which may be further cheapened by employing children to prepare and lay down the sets as soon as the nurseries of the mulberry plant are sufficiently stocked to admit of the operations of the planter.

The cultivation of the sugar-cane was attempted several years ago in the neighbourhood of Caltura, on an extensive scale, but without success, chiefly owing to the nature of the soil, which being kabook, *i.e.* ferruginous clay, derived from the decomposition of clay ironstone, of a reddish brown colour, was unfavourable to its growth. The notion of a profitable return on sugar growing was therefore for a time abandoned, until extensive and most successful experiments at Koondésalé, Paradiniya, and elsewhere, in the central province, and in a different species of soil, once more directed public attention to the subject. If a judgment may be formed from the sugar hitherto produced in the Kandian province, it is not surpassed, either as regards succulency or crystallization, by any grown in the East, even including Mauritius. The island may be said to have ALREADY nearly rendered itself independent of other countries for this important article of domestic consumption, that is in reference to its

present standard of consumption; but as soon as its increasing cheapness shall have placed it within the reach of the lower classes, to whom it is now almost forbidden, there can be little doubt that the demand will keep pace with the supply for some years, increase as it may. Most parts of the southern province are found to be well adapted for sugar cultivation, and the extensive alluvial flats on the banks of the Gindurah river, near Galle, which are at present cultivated with rice by the natives, appear to offer great advantages for this purpose. A few planters located there have had great success, but experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining possession of the land from the natives, who are most unwilling to part with their patrimonial estates. In time, probably, the natives may be induced to plant canes instead of rice, seeing the immense advantages of the one over the other. The navigable river, along the banks of which these lands are situated, affords the means of easy carriage for the canes; and if the natives are liberally dealt with, and induced to persevere, the picturesque valley of the Gindurah will become one immense tract of canes, producing some thousand tons of sugar annually. One of the great drawbacks to cane cultivation in the interior, has been considered to lie in the distance of carriage in bringing so weighty an article as sugar to a seaport, but the success of the Paradiniya estate, near Kandy, has proved that the great economy of water power over steam, fully compensates for the additional expense of carriage. Several sugar estates have accordingly been established in the central province, where water power is most available, and ere long it is probable others will be commenced. With the exception of the district already named, the sugar estates in the western province are generally succeeding. Even where it was supposed the cane would suffer in the dry season from the sandy nature of the soil, the expectation has been falsified by the result, and nothing has been more beautiful than the canes of all ages, from the tender plant to the ripe rattoon, whether size, colour, or vigour be considered. Guano has been tried by a few planters, and has produced the same extraordinary effects as in other countries. A few estates which have been long enough established to make manure, have also found that the soil benefits fully from the application, or, as might be expected, the ferruginous clay which abounds more or less in all the soils of Ceylon, retains the ammonia until assimilated by the vegetable production.

Indigo, though indigenous in both its varieties, sativa and agrestis, is still imported from the continent, though its growth in Ceylon would be subject to none of the vicissitudes of climate, that in the course of a night have devastated the most extensive plantations in Bengal, and annihilated the hopes and calculations of the planter, at a time when they had attained all the luxuriance of approaching maturity.

The district of Tangalle, in the southern province, is the best

adapted to the culture and manufacture of indigo for various reasons, such as the abundance of the indigenous plant, the similarity of the climate to that of the coast of Coromandel, where the best indigo is produced, facility of transport by water to either of the ports of export, Galle or Colombo during the N.E., or to Trincomalee by the S.W. monsoon; every necessary material is at hand for building a first rate indigo factory, including drying yards, leaf godowns, steeping vats, and presses, except roof and floor tiles, which may be obtained in any quantity from Colombo during the S.W. monsoon, at a moderate rate, compared with their cost at home.

In 1817, an offer was made to the Government to introduce the cultivation of indigo, on condition of a free grant of the land required for the purpose, and freedom from taxation for thirty years, after which the usual tax was to be levied; and in case the cultivation were abandoned, the land was to revert to the crown. But whether from the disturbed state of the colony at the time, or from incredulity on the part of the Government, as to the capability of the colony in this respect, the application was unheeded. A subsequent proposal, emanating from a Swedish gentleman of great ability, skill, and enterprise, was defeated by his death, although a company was on the point of formation to carry out the scheme.

According to Mr. Bennett, it would not be difficult to select 500,000 acres, the property of the crown, which at a comparatively small expenditure might be brought into a proper state of cultivation for the reception of indigo seed; for very little would be required to be done beyond clearing the ground of weeds, burning the grass, and then lightly ploughing and levelling the ground; and whenever manure might be requisite, the fœcula of the leaf affords one of the richest that could be employed. Ceylon produces two other plants from which a very valuable blue dye may be obtained by a similar process to that of making indigo. The Singhalese headmen of the Tangalle district have long been anxious for the establishment of an indigo plantation and factory there, and would readily take shares in a company established for that purpose. The Egyptian name for indigo is Nil, which is also the Singhalese name for it, and one of many proofs of the great affinity between the Egyptian and Pali languages. Indigo would seem to have been exported by the Dutch from Ceylon so late as 1794.

The eastern province, which, compared with the western and central provinces, is almost destitute of that valuable production, the cocoa-nut, is fast becoming a successful competitor with them in the growth of that "all in all" to the native of Ceylon. Cocoa-nut trees, like other vegetable productions, require plenty of light and air. The natives generally smother them. European planters do not put down more than eighty trees to an acre. They require watering in the dry season for the first two years, begin to bear in the fifth year, and require little attention afterwards beyond watching

and plucking the fruit. A species of grub, or beetle, is indeed occasionally troublesome, but can be removed by boys with iron hooks used for the purpose. The natives burn wood, and put a small quantity of salt in the holes dug for cocoa-nut plants. There can be little doubt, that in process of time the whole coast will be planted ten miles deep, that is so far as the saline particles, which are blown inwards by the winds, can reach to fertilize, Europeans having been induced, in consequence of the embarrassments momentarily attending the cultivation of coffee, to embark in an undertaking, which, though longer in yielding a return for the outlay invested, is nevertheless surer.

The Singhalese are very remarkable for their luxuriant and beautiful hair, and attribute it to the use of cocoa-nut oil, which in a perfumed state is also employed by Europeans, but it is only by habitual use that its virtues can be sufficiently ascertained to insure its general adoption as a promoter and preserver of the hair, unless its natural properties are destroyed by adulteration; and as steam oil mills are now in use, and the demand for cocoa-nut oil has greatly increased since its employment in the manufacture of candles and soap, it may be anticipated that from the recent improvements in the quality of cocoa-nut oil for table use, by its being rendered free from smoke, its importation will continue to increase with its production. An extended cultivation of this noble palm, in all our tropical colonies, cannot therefore be too strongly insisted on, as, with the present comparatively limited growth, it affords employment to a considerable part of the Singhalese and Malabar population. The only objection is, that the facility of planting this palm, and the little care requisite for its cultivation, serves to impede the extension of rice cultivation, and therewith the agricultural progress of the colony. From Tangalle to Chilau, a distance of 135 miles, the shore is almost entirely lined with these trees; and between the former place and Calpentyn, it has been estimated that the number considerably exceeds ten millions, and probably there are not less than fifteen million trees throughout the country.

Coffee (*coffea Arabica*) is said to have been originally introduced into Ceylon from Java, where it was first planted by Zwaardenkroom, Governor-General of Batavia, who procured the seeds and plants from Mocha in the Arabian Gulf, in 1723. It is called *kopi* by the Singhalese. It was formerly propagated through the agency of birds and jackalls, who ate the fruit; but in 1820 its cultivation began, and in 1836 was widely extended through the Kandian provinces, where the quality is now considered very good. Previously, when it was considered common property, the produce was deteriorated in value in consequence of the fruit having been pulled before it was sufficiently ripe. The right preparation of the berry was at that time

neglected, and the native collectors of coffee were accused of dipping the fruit into boiling water before it was perfectly dry, probably for the purpose of causing the kernels to swell to a larger size. In the present depressed state of the home market, and the consequent depreciation of the staple in the colony, it is difficult to persuade the natives to gather this description of produce at all.

A nursery for coffee seedlings having been selected in a sheltered spot, and lines for the coolies having been constructed, the clearance of the jungle is one of the first duties of the intending coffee planter, and excites no little surprise in the mind of a stranger, who, on entering the forest at a late hour in the day, and for the first time, and aware that his coolies had (or ought to have) been busily employed in his absence, sees no result of their labours. The cause is at last explained, and he finds that it is the practice to notch all the trees that are to be felled half way through, when the uppermost one being felled, brings down by its weight all below it, a slope or descent giving facility to the operation. It is a magnificent sight to witness the first mass of foliage for a moment nodding in the air, then bend forward, and with a tremendous crash precipitate itself upon all below it, which in turn crack, groan, and fall, smothering hundreds by their superincumbent weight. The timber being moved, is either laid up for use, allowed to rot in a recumbent position, or burnt as the case may be. The mode now generally adopted is to contract for the removal of so much jungle or forest for a specific sum. The rainy season is generally chosen for planting out the young plants from the nursery, and the ground requires constant attention, and must be cleared of stones, or it would soon be overrun with weeds. As soon as the crop begins to flower, the planter prepares his pulpers and a water proof store.

Nothing can be more beautiful than the appearance of the white mass of silver flowers which the stalk of every branch and twig exhibits, blended and contrasted as they are with the dark green glossy leaves; nothing more gratifying than the spectacle which the fruit presents when ripe, and the branches are weighed down with berries of a rich red colour: the smell, which resembles that of a bean field, is delicious, and, in short, nothing is more interesting than the culture of coffee through its several stages. The general appearance of a coffee plantation is like that of a country covered with laurels and mixed with great forest trees; as in clearing the jungle, a portion of the shade is reserved for the protection of the plants from the power of the sun in dry seasons—and water is conducted to the roots of the plants; for at certain seasons they require a constant supply of moisture. The coffee plant is liable to the attack of the insect tribes, no less than to the more formidable devastation of rats, which in certain spots have at times committed fearful havoc among the tender shoots.

The coffee-peeler, used for separating the bean from the pellicle,

was formerly a large wheel revolving in a trough, the disadvantage of which was the flattening, more or less, of the bean, when not thoroughly dry. A new machine has recently been introduced, by which this evil is obviated; its principle being not weight, but simple friction of sufficient force to break the parchment at first, and when continued, to polish the bean free from the husk. A winnowing machine for clearing the coffee as it comes out of the peeler is attached. From the winnowing machine it runs into the separating machine, which sorts it into sizes, and equalises the samples, by which a vast amount of time and manual labour are saved. The same principle might be applied to pulping, and obviate the injury now inflicted by the grater upon the fresh berry, in spite of the greatest care. Numbers of the beans in a sample, on close examination, will be found scratched or picked, and when the closest attention is not paid, or the person superintending the process is devoid of mechanical skill, the injury is proportionate.

In many instances, without taking into consideration the durability of the trees, large stone buildings have been erected with water-wheels attached, to turn the pulping apparatus, while on some estates may be observed the other extreme, and there is an insufficient apparatus and shelter for the produce of properties yielding heavy crops annually, without any apparent diminution of vigour in the trees. Pulping is the name of a necessary process for detaching the outer covering or skin from the berry by an apparatus of very simple construction, called a pulper. This machine consists of a cylinder of wood or iron, covered with sheet brass or copper, and punctured similarly to a nutmeg-grater. This cylinder, technically called the barrel, runs upon a spindle, which turns a brass bush on each side of a frame. Immediately in a line with the centre upon which it turns, and placed vertical to each other, are two pieces of wood frequently shod with iron or copper, called "the chops," placed about half an inch apart, or sufficient to allow the passage of "parchment" coffee between them. The lower chop is placed so close to the barrel, yet without contact, that all coffee must be stopped by it and thrown outwards. The upper "chop" is adjusted to that distance only which will permit the cherry coffee to come into contact with the barrel; but will not allow the berries to pass on till they have been denuded of their red epidermis by a gentle squeeze against its rough surface. The far greater portion of the pulps are separated by being carried past the lower chops upon the sharp points of the copper, and thrown out behind, and a few are left with the parchment coffee. As from the different size of the berries, and their crowding for precedence as they descend from the hopper above to the gentle embrace of the barrel and upper chop, some pass unpulped, the coffee as it comes from the lower chop is made to fall upon a riddle which separates the unpulped cherries. These are put back again and passed through a pulper with the upper chop set closer.

The secret of working appears to be the proper setting of the chops, and many have been the schemes proposed for reducing this to a certainty. Perhaps after all, few plans are better than the old wedges, by the tightening or loosening of which, the chop is kept in the required position. Within the last few years, the machine has been considerably improved by being formed entirely of iron, cog wheels being substituted in the place of straps and drums to move the riddle, and the riddle itself is now formed of two sieves, by which the chance of unpulped berries reaching the parchment is lessened. On some estates, water-wheels have been put up to drive several pulpers at one time, which otherwise would require from two to four men each to work them; but from the costly buildings and appurtenances which such machinery renders necessary, they are rare. Although the operation of pulping is so simple, it is one which requires the utmost vigilance of the superintendent. The machine requires to be set in such a way that the greatest quantity of work may be done, or in other words, the smallest quantity of unpulped berries be allowed to pass through. On the other hand, the berries must not be subjected to injury from the barrel; for if the parchment skin is pricked through, the berry will appear when cured with an unsightly brown mark upon it. Several new coverings for barrels instead of punctured copper have been tried; among the others coir cloth and wire net, but the old material is as yet far from superseded. After pulping, the coffee in parchment is received into cisterns, in which it is by washing deprived of the mucilaginous matter that still adheres to it. Without this most necessary operation, the mucilage would ferment and expose the berry to injury, from its highly corrosive qualities. As some portion of pulp finds its way with the coffee to the cistern, which if suffered to remain, would by its long retention of moisture lengthen the subsequent drying process, various methods have been adopted to remove it. One mode is to pass the coffee a second time through a sieve worked by two men, another to pick it off the surface of the coffee, to which it naturally rises.

The next operation is the drying process, upon which greatly depends the ultimate good condition of the coffee. The contrivances to effect this object economically and speedily are numerous, for in the moist climate of the central districts, it often happens that a great quantity of rain falls during the picking season with few intervals of sunshine. It is sometimes dried upon barbecues. These are large paved surfaces, well covered with cement, polished, and inclined sufficiently to admit of the rain running off, upon which the coffee is exposed to dry. Their only drawback is the expensive and hazardous work of taking up the coffee when a shower comes on. An improvement upon these, are wooden trays upon low wheels, running upon a tram, which are pushed in under cover expeditiously, and save the necessity of heaping or bagging their contents, which is always injurious to an article so susceptible of being spoiled by wet. On many

estates the simple arrangement of exposing the coffee on mats spread upon low tables made of jungle sticks has been successfully tried. On the approach of a shower, each mat is first doubled over the coffee upon it, and then carried under shelter by two men. But from the quantity of wet coffee which accumulates at crop time, the whole can never be exposed at one time outside, and from the bad weather, an estate is very incomplete, and its produce liable to great injury, unless provided with buildings wherein the imperfectly dried coffee can be kept spread out, and continually turned over. Another experiment is to keep it in large shallow cisterns, through which a stream of clear water is to be kept constantly flowing until the dry weather will admit its being exposed to the sun. Another plan is by means of a wheel fixed in the wall of a partially closed store, upon the floor of which the coffee is spread out: it is proposed to exhaust the air—the air outside, obedient to the natural law, forcing itself through every aperture to supply that which is withdrawn—and to fill the vacuum, will excite a current through the building, which will effectually dry up the moisture of the coffee exposed to its operation.

To disengage the bean from the parchment covering is the next operation, and this is generally done at Colombo. After the coffee parchment, by repeated drying, has become sufficiently hard, it is subject to the action of a heavy wooden wheel working in a trough, which breaks the parchment. It is then separated from the dusky particles or chaff, by a winnowing machine, and the unsightly berries, broken pieces and refuse which the winnow has failed to separate from it, are picked out by hand. It is customary also to pick out and put in separate packages the round bean, commonly called peaberry coffee, and to pass it through different sized sieves to divide it into several sizes, by which a much greater uniformity is obtained in the sample. The sooner after this the coffee is packed and shipped, avoiding all unnecessary exposure, which tends to deprive it of colour, the better. With every care, all coffee will have a proportion of triage, or broken berry. Large unnaturally grown berries, of which there are always some few, if taken from the tree, and the pulp and parchment removed ever so carefully by hand, will be found to be formed of irregular segments fitting into each other: these, if they escape being broken by the pulper, must always go to pieces under the action of the peeler. Coffee imperfectly dried will also suffer by the peeling machine. Under any circumstances whatever, the trough should always be kept sufficiently full to prevent a thin surface of coffee being presented between the heavy wheel and floor. Some peelers are so constructed that the wheel is suspended at a certain height in the trough, so that if the quantity beneath is too small, it does not come into contact. Good soil, a suitable climate, and a fine season give character to produce; still the evenness of the colour, and its capability of retaining its good appearance,

are much influenced by the treatment it receives during the preparation in parchment, the mode of performing the subsequent operations, its packing, and lastly, stowage on ship-board. After pulping, the greatest care should be taken to wash it entirely free from the water made foul by its own vegetable juices. Whatever means are used to do it, it should never be exposed to bad smells, nor be placed otherwise than momentarily in a heap, for it soon becomes heated, and generates hurtful gases. It should never be despatched from the estates till the drying process is complete, and some have supposed that it is injured by being cured at Colombo, owing to the saline particles in the atmosphere at that place.

On the subject of package, opinion is divided, but an impression in favour of casks over bags gains ground. In bags tightly stowed away in the hold of a vessel, all those vapours which are created by the contact of a large mass of vegetable matter, having no means of escape, react upon the coffee which produced them, bleach it, and make the sample uneven which on packing was uniform in colour. Casks, from their shape, being incapable of close stowage, admit of the free circulation of air, and not being in the same close contact as bags, foul vapours are not so easily generated: The hatchways should be open in the voyage, weather permitting, to allow of a change of atmosphere. The only objection to casks arises from the swell at the beginning of the S.W. monsoon, when they are liable to be dipped in the sea on being put on board, and thus may be injured.

The following instance will exhibit as clearly as possible the rapid spread of coffee planting in Ceylon in the six years ending with 1846. In 1839, not a tree had been felled on the wide range of the Hunisgiria. In 1840, a small plantation was for the first time formed. There are now fifty estates, averaging each 200 acres of planted land, and yielding an average crop of 80,000 cwt. of coffee. Every acre is now purchased, and in large tracts, or there would have been double the number of estates in cultivation.

The Rambodde coffee fetches the highest price, from its superiority in the make, shape, and boldness of the berry. The weight per bushel clean averages 56 lbs. In 1846 it fetched from 90*s.* to 120*s.* per cwt. In 1847 from 80*s.* to 90*s.* per ditto. The lowest in the scale of plantation coffee is the Dombera, which averages 54½ lbs. clean per bushel, and was sold in 1846 at from 48*s.* to 60*s.* per cwt. In 1847 at from 45*s.* to 50*s.* The average price of Ceylon coffee was, in 1846, 66*s.* to 78*s.*; in 1847, 57*s.* to 63*s.* per cwt. The districts in which coffee is principally cultivated, extend over nearly the whole of the hilly region, which is the medium and connecting link between the mountainous zone and the level districts of the coast.

The mania for coffee planting has recently subsided, in consequence of the barely remunerative return for which that article has

been sold, ascribable partly to over production, and in some measure perhaps to the temporary glut of foreign coffee thrown on the British market by the reduction of the duty. It ought not to be concealed either, that owing to the prevalence of absenteeism, that bane of a colony, many of the estates have been not only indifferently cultivated, but that a lavish expenditure has been too much in vogue, while in other cases, estates have been in the hands of unskilled persons, who retained the habits in which they have indulged at home, and in many instances where that is not the case, have adopted new ones ten-fold more injurious, and are therefore ill adapted for a pursuit requiring great prudence and much caution, mingled economy and judgment in the outlay, and temperate and industrious habits. The true value of labour, or the solution of the problem, how much can be performed by a given number of labourers, is even yet a part of their profession to be learnt by many planters. Unfortunately, no precise calculations were ever attempted; the speculation was looked upon as too certainly profitable, and the rush to obtain land, superintendents and coolies, under the influence of these fallacies, prevented much care in the selection of either, and raised the price of the land and the remuneration of the latter above a proper standard. As a proof of the necessity of obtaining accurate data before embarking in coffee cultivation, it may be stated, that while there are coffee estates which have yielded upwards of fifteen cwt. per acre, yet it is a good estate which will average seven, and many do not give more than four cwt. per acre. Till recently, when they were forbidden by an edict of Lord Stanley's from holding land in Ceylon, and were allowed but a short time to dispose of their properties, the civil servants, and those otherwise connected with the island, were the most extensive planters; and their business habits, with their presence on the spot, guaranteed excellent management and a corresponding return. At the present time, there cannot be a doubt that the Ceylon planter, if he were only possessed of the qualifications before mentioned, without which he could succeed nowhere and in nothing, and could obtain a large reduction of the present enormous rate of carriage, would have vantage ground over his Brazilian competitor, both from the cheapness of labour and the superiority of his bean.

There are some points connected with the cultivation of coffee, that the Ceylon planter yet remains to be convinced on. Thus, the question of the benefit or injury produced by shade on the coffee tree has scarcely yet been solved, though the majority hold to the latter opinion. The progress of coffee planting has been accelerated by the quick return it has till lately brought to the cultivator. In five years the tree has arrived at maturity, and before the expiration of the sixth, the receipts have covered the original and current expenditure. It has been estimated that the expenses attendant on reclaiming lands in Ceylon from a state of nature, and converting

them into coffee plantations, average nearly £8. per acre. The price of labour cannot yet be said to have been much affected by the great and unprecedented demand that was created by the new coffee plantations, but unless a continuous stream of emigration is kept up from the continent, the increasing demands of the planter cannot be supplied. Coffee planting has proved a signal failure over a considerable part of the southern province, where the experiment has been made. It was at one time supposed that the great humidity of that part of the island would be most favourable to coffee, and as the soil was good, several estates were opened on a large scale, but it would appear that the temperature is too equable, or rather does not descend sufficiently low at any time to invigorate the plant, so that although it at first grows with considerable luxuriance, it soon becomes delicate, and falls a prey to an insect which penetrates the stem and destroys the vitality of the plant, as may also be seen in other parts of the maritime provinces. These undertakings have therefore been abandoned, but if a communication were opened by means of roads with the zone of highlands which extends round the southern extremity of the island, and at no very great distance from the sea, there cannot be a doubt that as fine coffee land would be available as any in the colony. The elevation necessary for a sufficient fall of temperature would thus be ensured, with the advantage of proximity to the several shipping ports along that line of coast.

Before concluding our notice on the cultivation of coffee in Ceylon, it may not be inapposite to refer briefly to a few points intimately connected with the future prospects of the planter. Of these one of the most prominent is that which has reference to the nature of the soil. We have already spoken of the frequently ill-judged selection of land by the inexperienced planter. In such a case the most prudent course is to abandon a property at once, or to devote it to some other mode of cultivation. In several cases large sums have been expended on properties comparatively sterile, to the utter loss of the capital thus sunk. In other cases the planter has gone to the other extreme, cultivating his property in a slovenly manner, preferring moderate returns from a large extent of ground to large returns from a more confined area. The coffee plant having an exhaustive effect on the soil, has finally abstracted every element of fertility; no attempt has been made to arrest the evil by the use of fertilising manures, till at length the soil has, with a mute eloquence, given signs of its inability to continue its annual largess. From what has been said, and from what the reader may venture to infer, it will be obvious to every clear-sighted person, that the temporary check which the planter has lately sustained is almost entirely of an exceptional character, and not likely to recur. He will be induced to pause before he again allows the briskness of a temporary demand for coffee to hurry him into engagements with superintendents and labourers, which cannot fail to absorb the greater share of his profits.

A continuous stream of immigration, and it is to be hoped a permanent establishment of Tamil labourers, will secure him from the risks to which he has been hitherto exposed from this quarter.

The Ceylon planter has then no grounds for despondency, but every ground for hope; his state has been one of transition, what wonder then that he should have been exposed to some of the hardships and losses without which experience is hard to be acquired.

The author of the "Annals of Commerce," in his description of cinnamon, infers, from the absence of this production, among the products assigned to Taprobane by ancient writers, that it is not indigenous to Ceylon, but has been naturalized there as cloves were in Amboyna. And in truth this opinion has much in it of plausibility. Little stress need be laid on the existence of cinnamon in the interior; for not only is that of an inferior description, and may be traced to a natural inclination in the soil of most parts of the tropic for the growth of this spice, but birds, who eat the soft berries, which do not dissolve in their gizzards, may have carried, at a comparatively recent period, the seeds from the maritime provinces. It is a subject for astonishment, also, that cinnamon is not mentioned by any traveller as being found in Ceylon until after the Mahommedans, who are supposed to have introduced it from the cinnamomifera regio on the opposite coast of Africa, had engaged in commercial intercourse with the island. Cinnamon was known to the ancient Greeks[1] by the name of *κινναμωμον*, as well as to the Romans. It was chiefly used in perfumes and unguents, but its price was so exorbitant that none but the wealthy could purchase it. It was then probably produced on some part of the southern coasts of the Red Sea.

When the cinnamon of Ceylon first attracted the notice of D'Almeyda, its Lusitanian discoverer, in 1506, it was only known in its wild state, yet so highly was this spice prized, that the Portuguese admiral at once perceived a new commercial opening, and exacted a stipulated quantity in return for his then powerful protection.

[1] The account which Herodotus gives of this fragrant spice, lib. 3. c. 3, is well known. He mentions it as collected by the Arabs, who knew nothing of the country in which it was produced, except that it came from some of the regions of India. He states that it was used by birds in the construction of their nests, of which they were afterwards despoiled by stratagem, and traces the origin of the name to the Phœnicians. "The Persians," says Valentyn, "call this spice Dar Cin, or Chinese wood, as the Chinese were the first who brought this and other eastern products to the Persian Gulf, from whence it was conveyed to Europe." Hence some supposed that Dar-cin meant a Chinese tree, and that the bark of the cinnamon was one of the native products of China. As the Greeks procured cinnamon from the Arabian merchants who traded in the Red Sea, they without further inquiry supposed it an Arabian product, and that it grew in the country of the people from whom they received it.

Cinnamon was not improved in quality by cultivation till the year 1770, when the Dutch Governor Falck determined to try the effect of culture upon the laurel, though previously forewarned by the headmen that the result would be an useless expenditure of time, labour and money, and the quality of the spice be if anything deteriorated. The first plantations, in spite of every care taken with the young plants, suddenly withered, and it was discovered that boiling water had been poured on them during the night by persons employed by the headmen for the purpose, who benefited by the former irregular method of collecting the bark, but as steadiness of purpose even in malice is not a Singhalese characteristic, they eventually yielded to the firmer will of Falck. Contrary to their expectations, the value of this important staple was not only increased in the markets of Europe, but the salubrity of Colombo has been attained by clearing the hitherto impervious underwood in its vicinity, and forming roads through the cinnamon plantations. These roads have been subsequently improved by the British Government, and were perfected under the administration of the late Sir E. Barnes. From the time of Falck until 1833, when the cultivation of cinnamon was generally permitted, but little change had taken place in the method of cultivation, but of late years it has been much improved by the exertions of individuals.

Europeans in general pass through the cinnamon gardens, as the plantations, extending over several thousand acres, are called, at full gallop, without much notice of this elegant and aromatic laurel, and are disappointed that its innumerable blossoms do not emit the odour of the spice. The general appearance of the plantations is that of a copse with laurel leaves and stems about the thickness of hazel; occasionally a plant may be seen, which, having been allowed to grow for seed, has reached a height of forty or fifty feet, with a trunk eighteen or twenty inches in diameter. From some spots there are distant views of Adam's Peak and the Kandian mountains.

The classification of the Laurus cinnamomum is Class IX. Enneandria; Order I. Monogynia; according to Linnæus. The flower is white, having a brownish shade in the middle; monopetalous, stellated, having six points. The wood is white and soft, but burns without yielding any perfume; it is used in some articles of cabinet-making; fruit, a drupe, about the size of a small hedge strawberry, containing one seed, and of the shape of an acorn, which when ripe is soft and of a dark purple colour; when boiled the fruit yields a fine oil, which congeals when cold into a waxy substance, and is said to act as a salve for diseased limbs; leaf trinervous, egg-oblong; nerves vanishing towards the tip and reticulated. The principal and only cultivated species is distinguished above all others by the Singhalese name of penné, or rassé kuroondu, which signifies honey, or sweet cinnamon; the second variety is called naya kuroondu, or snake cinnamon; the third kapooru kuroondu, or camphor cinnamon; the fourth kahaté kuroondu, or astringent cinnamon;

the fifth sevel kuroondu, or mucilaginous cinnamon; the sixth dawool kuroondu, or flat or drum cinnamon; the seventh nika kuroondu, or wild cinnamon, whose leaf resembles that of the nicasol, or vitex negundo; the eighth mal kuroondu, or flower cinnamon; the ninth tunpat kuroondu, or trefoil cinnamon, of which there are three varieties; and the tenth wé kuroondu, or white ant's cinnamon. The first four, however, are alone varieties of the Laurus cinnamomum.

When in full bloom, the cinnamon bushes have a very beautiful appearance, the small white petals affording a most agreeable contrast with the flame-coloured extremities of the upper and the dark green of the inferior foliage, intermingled with the climbing monkey, or pitcher plant (Nepenthes distillatoria), which, along with the flame-coloured Gloriosa superba, entwines its tendrils around this umbrageous and spicy laurel, and the scarlet-flowered Ixora coccinea and pink-petalled Vinca rosea enjoying the shade beneath it.

The best cinnamon is obtained from the twigs or shoots which spring almost perpendicularly from the roots after the parent bush or tree has been cut down; but great care is requisite both as to the exact size and age; for if the bark is too young, it has a green taste, if too old, it is rough and gritty. The rods cut for peeling are of various sizes and lengths, depending on the texture of the bark; these are first peeled, then scraped on the outside, and while drying cut up into long narrow rolls called quills, then stuck into one another, so as to form pipes about three feet long, which are then made up in round bundles. The rods afford the hazel-like walking-sticks so much esteemed by strangers, and which, though difficult to be procured during the prevalence of the oppressive cinnamon regulations, may now be very easily obtained from proprietors of grounds producing that spice. Cinnamon may be propagated by seeds, plants or layers; roots, also, if carefully transplanted, will thrive in favourable localities. The external appearance of the cinnamon suckers, prior to their decortication, resembles that of the hazel. The best soil for cinnamon is a pure quartz sand, which in some places rests on black moss, and which from the surface to the depth of a few inches is as fine in its nature and as white in its appearance as the best table salt, but below that depth and near the roots of the bushes, the sand is greyish. Cinnamon bushes are abundant in the wooded valleys that intervene between the successive ridges of the Kandian mountains, and trees have been seen with stems averaging eighteen inches in diameter, and of height proportioned to their size. The bark of these large trees has a strong flavour, but when chewed is coarse and gritty. The cinnamon region may be said to extend from Tangalle on the south to Chilau on the west, as regards the maritime provinces, and it is only found on such of the Kandian hills as have a temperate climate. The soil of Negombo is fully as much adapted for this product as that of Colombo, and gardens were formed there by the Hon. Mr. North. Neither Manaar nor Jaffnapatam

produce this spice. There are two regular seasons for taking cinnamon, one from April to August, another from November to January; but considerable quantities are collected at other times as the spice attains maturity. In order to ascertain the maturity of the liber, or inner bark, which is the cinnamon of commerce, the peeler gives the stick a diagonal cut with a heavy knife, and if the bark readily separates itself from the wood of the shoot that he has selected, he cuts it down, and having scraped off the outer brown and green pellicles with a blunt knife, he removes the bark by passing a sharp-pointed knife longitudinally from one extremity to the other. He then places the smaller portions of the bark within the larger, and dries it in the air and shade, where it curls and contracts as it is imported into Europe. The peelers form the cinnamon into bundles from three to four feet in length, and eighty-five pounds avoirdupois in weight, but five pounds is allowed for waste; and they have so delicate a sense of taste, that they can distinguish either of the four best sorts of cinnamon in the dark. The Government cinnamon tasters are necessitated to eat bread and butter at intervals during that pungent duty, in order to preserve the skin of their tongues.

Cinnamon is sold at 6*d.* 9*d.* and 1*s.* per lb. avoirdupois; the duty upon the exportation of all qualities has recently been reduced to 4*d.* per lb. and 3*d.* per lb. upon its importation into this country. The oil of cinnamon, which is made from the refuse of the stores, is free of duty. The price of the most pungent and delicious cinnamon water, after having undergone adulteration in the proportion of four to one, does not exceed 2*s.* 6*d.* per gallon in the island, though it much excels the best that is sold at home. The best cinnamon is not thicker than stout writing paper, of a bright yellowish red colour, and of a sweetly pungent taste. The inferior sort is thicker and darker in colour, hot and pungent to the taste, and subsequently becomes unpleasant. Many frauds are practised in England, by the sale of the bark as genuine cinnamon after its essential oil has been distilled from it.

Owing to the limited quantity of black pepper that is produced in Ceylon, in proportion to the demand for it, and the means of growing it, the island is dependent for supplies of that spice upon the Malabar coast. Pepper is required to fill the interstices between the bales of cinnamon in the ships' holds, without which the latter spice[1] would lose one-half of its value upon being imported into this country, but by being packed together, each spice is preserved in the utmost perfection during the homeward-bound voyage; such, however, is the apathy manifested in respect of the culture of the pepper vine, that it may be added as another example of the many valuable productions allowed to remain unnoticed by the planter. Genuine cinnamon oil is now distilled in this country, and is considered equal to the best that was formerly imported from Holland; but the essential oil distilled from cinnamon grown in Jamaica cannot be distinguished

1 The Dutch were in the habit of embaling their cinnamon in hides.

from that imported from Ceylon. The oil called clove oil is manufactured in Ceylon from the cinnamon leaf, and is equal in point of aromatic pungency to the oil made from the clove itself at the Moluccas. Among the spoils found in the palace at Kandy were some cinnamon candles belonging to the king, but they neither exhaled a remarkable odour, nor was there any peculiar brilliancy in their light.

Strangers cruising along the western coasts of Ceylon have conjured up the notion of cinnamon breezes, which they have professed to inhale many leagues at sea. This is a mere fancy; for if all the cinnamon trees in the island were barked simultaneously, the odour would not be perceived at the distance of a mile from the shore, being far from diffusive; whereas that operation now takes place in particular spots, as the cinnamon becomes fit for the purpose, over an extensive surface, at uncertain periods and in small quantities. The fragrance in question, unless altogether ideal, must therefore arise from the immense variety of odoriferous blossoms and flowers of the wild orange, lime, shaddock, white and yellow jessamine, and not least, the Pandanus odoratissimus. Mr. Bennett mentions, as a proof of the slight foundation for the supposition alluded to, that on one occasion, when the wind blew *dead upon the land,* the surgeon of an East Indiaman standing off the island, having chanced to rub a little oil of cinnamon on the weather hammock nettings, the griffins, or strangers, were so convinced of the reality of the cinnamon breeze, that one of them actually published an account of it from his own experience of its fragrance when many leagues at sea.

The monopoly of cinnamon was for three centuries, and up to 1833, when it was abolished by Lord Goderich, most vigorously maintained by the Portuguese, Dutch, and British Governments, and so oppressively were their regulations enforced, that the proprietor of the soil, whether European or native, dared not destroy a plant, which a passing jackdaw or pompadour pigeon, by dropping its ordure containing the undigested seed, might generate in his grounds, and a penalty was enforced from all who omitted to report to the superintendent of cinnamon plantations the presence of such an intruder upon his property. Further, he neither dared to cut a cinnamon stick for his own use, nor a particle of the bark for medicinal purposes, nor to distil camphor from its roots, or clove oil from its foliage; all cinnamon plants being deemed public property, and whenever the superintendent chose, he despatched chalias[1] to decor-

1 Valentyn mentions that the chalias were despised by the natives and oppressed by the Dutch. During the harvest, each man was obliged to procure two bars of peeled cinnamon, each bar consisting of 480 lbs. For one of the bars he received no compensation, and only 1½ rix-dollar for the other.

The origin of the chalias—a point so much involved in obscurity—has lately been discovered. Their ancestors were weavers on the continent, and belonged to a good caste. In 1250, a party of these people came to Ceylon along with some Moormen dealers, and were kept at the Kandian court, but

ticate them, and carry the bark to the Government stores, without the slightest compensation to the landlord.[1] Not only the proprietors, but everybody was made liable to prosecution and imprisonment for this atrocious offence, and trespassing bullocks were sacrificed as a deodand to the manes of the aromatic divinity. At this time the gardens were five in number, and each from fifteen to twenty miles in circumference, situate at Negombo, Colombo, Barberyn, Galle, and Matura.

At the period of the abolition of the monopoly, great competition took place for the partitioned plantations, but in 1840, cinnamon lands sold for about £4. 10*s*. an acre. Since then, the Dutch have increased their cinnamon plantations in Java to a considerable extent; and what with the impolitic export duty, that has till lately prevailed, the fraudulent mode adopted by that people for evading the higher duty on the real cinnamon, which the greater part imported by them really is, by styling it Cassia lignea, and last, but not least, the sagacity of the Imperial Government, whose policy would seem to have been to paralyse every effort of the Ceylon cinnamon grower,

getting tired of their trade, they were disgraced, and placed in a low caste. At this time they had considerably increased, and when they were sent from the upper to the lower country, the King of Cotta received them, and gave them Dekkum villages to live in and cultivate, for which they paid head money. This was in 1380. In 1406, they again fell into disgrace, and were then ordered to peel cinnamon for their support, in the same manner as some of the native castes already did. The Portuguese increased their angebaddé, or labour tax, but gave them a compensation in rations. For a long time the principal part of the cinnamon crop was collected in the forests and jungles in the territory of the King of Kandy, who was not always sufficiently well disposed towards the Dutch to permit their cinnamon peelers free admission into his dominions. To render themselves in some measure independent of the will of the court of Kandy, the Dutch commenced about the year 1765 the cultivation of cinnamon in the maritime provinces, and in 1797 they were able to obtain the requisite quantity of this spice without having to solicit the King for permission to collect any in his territory. As early as 1799, the Government began to be apprehensive that the market would be overstocked with cinnamon, and that the price would fall, and in 1802 Mr. North had adopted measures to restrict the cultivation to the four principal plantations, namely, Marandahn, Kaderane, Morotto and Ekele, directing the sale of all the others, on the condition that the purchasers should bind themselves to root out all the cinnamon trees and destroy them. Fortunately, the uprooting of cinnamon bushes is a work of considerable labour, and the purchasers of a number of plantations failed to fulfil their contract in that respect. As may be anticipated, the requisite quantity of cinnamon was henceforth obtained with great difficulty, and the annual investments were greatly reduced. On the arrival of General Maitland, the despoliation of the plantations was arrested, and the cultivation was again actively resumed.

[1] This arbitrary proceeding has produced a fruitful crop of litigation for succeeding Governments. Thus, when a recent attempt was made to dispose of a portion of the gardens, claimants started up, who maintained, justly or unjustly, that a part of the land so offered, had been filched from them, or their predecessors, by the Dutch or British, on the plea alluded to in the text, subject to the condition that it should be restored in the event of the cinnamon cultivation being abandoned.

he has really had no cause to congratulate himself on being considered a British subject.

When Ceylon was subject to Batavian rule, and formed one of the dependencies of Java, the latter island was not considered by the Dutch Government to produce cinnamon, or even Cassia lignea, though the last named shrub might have grown wild in certain districts of the interior of that great country, and such was the policy of that people, that while they destroyed all the clove and nutmeg trees they could find in Ceylon, they reserved for it the exclusive privilege of the growth of cinnamon. All the spice now denominated Cassia lignea, or pseudo-cinnamon, which is found in Malabar, and even China, but is principally imported from Java, is the produce of trees planted there subsequent to their cession of Ceylon in 1796; for not only did many of the Dutch families, who left Ceylon for Java, carry large quantities of cinnamon plants and seeds, but 3000 cinnamon plants were secretly smuggled in a Dutch brig, bound to Batavia, in 1825, the captain, who was an Englishman, having been first discharged. The external appearance of the two varieties of the aromatic laurel, *viz.* Laurus cinnamomum, and Laurus cassia, is very similar, and cannot be distinguished when growing except by the leaf, and then only by an experienced eye. If any duty is to be retained on cinnamon imported into this country, it should for the future be levied according to the assortment of the bales, and the imposition at present practised be prevented.

The article of cinnamon has for the last fifty years been boldly dealt with, under a belief, which has unfortunately proved to be a fallacy, that Ceylon was the only place adapted by nature to its production. It does so happen, that the south-west angle of the island does possess such a soil, and is so situated between the sea and the hills, as to afford a combination of three circumstances essential for the production of cinnamon in the highest perfection, *viz.* a friable and porous soil, a genial temperature, and a moist and saline atmosphere. Other districts of the island bear cinnamon freely; but owing to the want of one or other of these elements, neither the cinnamon of the northern coast, which enjoys the soil without the moisture; nor that of the Kandian hills, which have the moisture without the soil, will bear any comparison with the produce of the belt, extending along the coast from Negombo to Galle. It was a delusion, however, to imagine that the Laurus cinnamomum is exclusively indigenous to Ceylon: it is found on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar, and to our cost we have found that it is cultivated with great success, and in large and increasing quantities in Java, where it is now produced at a very economical rate, and subjected to an export duty of a halfpenny per lb.

In addition to this, its still more formidable rival, the Cassia lignea has been found to abound in the south of Hindostan, in the Eastern Archipelago, the Philippine islands, and the southern dis-

tricts of China, from all of which it is imported into England for consumption or reshipment, at the rate of more than a million of pounds per annum, its greatly inferior price having enabled it effectually to supplant the heavily taxed cinnamon in almost every part of the world. The growth of cinnamon in Java has increased from 2200 lbs. in 1835 to 134,500 in 1845.

Another equally popular, but equally unsupported fallacy, was the belief that cinnamon was one of those highly favoured articles, which formed a solitary exception to the universal doctrine, that demand will be influenced by price; and it was contended, that no variations in the value, or the duty on cinnamon, have ever been effectual in raising or depressing its consumption above or below a certain standard, which it is said ranged from 4 to 500,000 lbs. per annum. It has been stated, that the Dutch so arranged the market, while the monopoly was in their hands,[1] as to keep only a certain quantity for sale, and thus retain an effectual check on the fluctuation of price; and it is asserted, that the surplus production was burned by them rather than it should be allowed to affect the value of the Government stock by unduly increasing the supply. A return compiled from the old Dutch records shews, that for upwards of a century it fluctuated but a mere trifle above or below 400,000

1 The produce of the monopoly was sold to the East India Company at an annual payment at first of £60,000. but eventually £100,000., and by them it was exclusively exported to England for the consumption of Europe, while any surplus over the 400,000 lbs., which were stipulated to be delivered annually to them, was shipped on account of the Ceylon Government to Arabia, Persia, India, China, Sumatra, &c.; but this trade, trifling as it was, was soon lost. In fact, the monopoly, when placed on this easy footing, enabled the Government to rest so contented, and withdrew so effectually the stimulus to extend the cultivation, that, although before entering into the arrangement with the East India Company, the Ceylon Government had in some years exported upwards of 1,300,000 lbs., the production so rapidly declined under the new arrangement, that they were frequently unable to supply the Company with the quantity which was stipulated by their contract. This arrangement with the East India Company continued in force till 1823, when the cultivation reverted to the local Government, the produce being forwarded by them to be disposed of in England. The pecuniary results of this policy were however uncertain and unsatisfactory, fluctuating at times from £50,000. per annum to £170,000., while the enforcement of the monopoly was attended with hardships, and a severity calculated to bring it into the greatest disrepute. In 1832, in pursuance of the recommendation of the commissioners of inquiry, the monopoly was directed to be abandoned, and the trade thrown open to the entire population. The Government gardens continued for some time after to be cultivated on the Government account, but the produce, instead of being transmitted to England at the risk of the Government, was ordered to be sold at Colombo, and the article to be shipped by the purchaser on the payment of an export duty to the Crown. This duty was at first fixed at 3*s.* a lb. on the first and second qualities, and 2*s.* on the lowest. It was reduced in 1837 to 2*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.*, and again to an uniform duty of 2*s.* on every description, without reference to quality; in 1843, to 1*s.*, and lately to 4*d.* per lb., at which it at present remains, and which, on a calculation of the cost of production, and the selling price, amount to an impost of from 28 to 35 per cent. on the actual value of the article.

lbs. per annum; and as the subsequent contract between the Government and the East India Company, which continued for twenty years, was so arranged as to limit the supply for Europe to the same amount, the long continuance of this artificial restriction may have given rise to the belief that it was the result of an ascertained limit to the wants of the public. It is unnecessary, however, to urge any proof more contradictory of this apprehension, than that cassia, by its similarity in taste, and its equal applicability to the same purposes as cinnamon, has rapidly superseded it in the market, from the disproportion in the price, and that Java cinnamon, though inferior in quality, has taken its place from the same cause.

In 1840, the Government gardens were offered for sale, and some part was disposed of in such lots as were suitable to the means and inclination of the purchasers, but the sale is now virtually suspended, in consequence of the inability of the Government to find purchasers.

The same erroneous belief in our undisputed possession of this source of wealth, which led to the creation of the monopoly in the first instance, led to the imposition of those excessive duties as a substitute for it. It was contended that nature had given us the exclusive supply, and that we were therefore justified by our defiance of all competition, in demanding a price limited only by the fear of its amounting to a refusal of the demand; and from this mistaken confidence, the high rate of duty was maintained, till, under its protection, we had given the most successful encouragement to the Dutch to produce a rival article, and to the Chinese to pour into the market their cheaper and more abundant cassia. The result has been, that within the last few years, we have been gradually pushed out of the market, the demand for Ceylon cinnamon has declined, and its price in England has been compulsorily reduced to a figure, which is actually below the sum for which it can be delivered in London; while the demand for cassia has been rising to a large extent, and every return shews that the inferior, but cheaper article, has been driving the finer, but too costly one, out of the market. Concurrent causes, such as the unsettled condition of Portugal, Spain, and Spanish America, are also believed to have materially contributed to the decline of the consumption in those countries.

One remarkable fact, shewing the depression of the trade, is, that the article retailed in London as Ceylon cinnamon, is nine times out of ten, cassia from China and the Malabar coast. So serious has been the late decline in the prices, that fifty bales of Ceylon cinnamon were sold there at 9*d.* per lb., or after deducting all charges, 4*d.* per lb. to the shipper, for an article which it must have cost him 1*s.* to produce, and 1*s.* for export duty. Under such circumstances, there is an indisposition to ship cinnamon, unless in the case of mortgaged estates, where the produce must be forced into the market to meet the charges and interest. The depression is not confined to the lowest qualities only, which, though formerly sold at

a remunerating profit, are no longer exportable at the present prices, but it is proportionably felt by the higher also.

The statement regarding the cost of production will of course vary in different localities, but wherever it may be grown, it cannot cover its annual expense if disposed of in London at less than 2*s.* 6*d.* per pound on an average of all qualities. The native purchasers have already begun to despair of the cultivation, and to uproot the plantations, and plant cocoa-nut trees, which are a safe and steady investment, in their place. A disappointment of this kind is the more injurious, because it tends to alarm the caution of the natives, whose enterprise in such undertakings it is most desirable to see encouraged by a remunerative return. From what has been said already, it will be inferred, that under the delusion of our possessing a natural monopoly, we have pushed the legitimate right of raising a revenue, under the fallacy of our exclusive production, to an extreme which has realized the double evil to be apprehended from any excessive increase of the value thus given; we have not only given rise to a legitimate competition with ourselves in the same article, from quarters which we blindly imagined to be incapable of growing it, but we have provoked a successful competition in a spurious substitute, so nearly resembling the genuine article as to divide with it the favour of the public, when aided by the accident of price.

If, then, the cinnamon of Java, raised at an infinitely lower cost, and subject only to a duty of 6*d.* in the English market, can be brought into immediate rivalry with our own, which, in addition to its higher charge for production, has to bear an export duty of 4*d.* in Ceylon, and an import of 3*d.* in England, it still places our foreign competitors at an advantage over us in our own market in the item of duty alone. A recommendation, from a high quarter, was made some years ago for a reduction to one uniform rate of 2½ per cent. for all, but the question was not destined to be so soon settled. Since the gradual reduction in the duty, there has, unfortunately, been a simultaneous decline in the price of the article, and even the 4*d.* duty upon the present cost of the cinnamon bears a near proportion to the former rate of the tax, when the duty and the market price were respectively cent. per cent. higher than they are at the present moment. By the entire abolition of the duty, it has been calculated, that what remains of the trade in cinnamon would revive, and the sale of the cinnamon gardens be reopened to such advantage that the increased purchase money so received would in two years fully replace the duty abandoned. If this policy had been adopted in 1833, when the cinnamon monopoly was abandoned, it would have so effectually secured to us the market of the world, by the great reduction it would have enabled us to effect in the price of the article, that it is a matter of doubt, whether we should have ever heard of a successful cultivation in Java, much less a successful competition between her production and that of Ceylon.

CHAPTER II.

Commerce—Trade of Colombo, foreign, coasting and internal—Nature of Exports and Imports — Trincomalee, its magnificent natural advantages, and the unaccountable neglect of them—Galle and its prospects—Batecalo.

The commerce of Colombo, both externally, internally, and coastwise is very extensive, and daily increasing. The exports to Europe are cinnamon, pepper, coffee, cocoa-nut oil, plumbago, cordage, arrack, cardamoms, elephant tusks, deer horns, tortoise shells, ebony, satinwood, &c.; and the imports are cotton piece goods, flannel, hosiery, hats, wine, beer, brandy, hams, salt provisions, confectionary, perfumery, chocolate, preserves, earthenware, cutlery, glass-ware, ironmongery, stationery, oilman's stores, &c. &c. The exports to the British colonies and settlements in the east, besides the articles already named, comprise areka-nuts, copperas, cocoa-nuts, hookah shells, coir, nipera laths, bèche de mer, shark fins, fish oil, &c., in return for which are imported rice, paddy, wheat, cloth, silk, sugar, spices, drugs, &c. &c. Branch houses have been established at this place within late years by Parsee firms from Bombay. Generally speaking, the whole foreign trade of the island is in the hands of Great Britain and the Indian Peninsula, with whom it is likely to remain. A trade is carried on with the interior both by land and water, the Kalané-ganga being navigable for a considerable distance from its mouth. By this source, great quantities of salt, salt fish and manufactured goods are at first received, and afterwards dispersed throughout the country; and paddy, jaggery and areka-nuts returned in exchange. The Kalú-ganga is also navigable for a considerable distance, and an increasing commercial intercourse is taking place between the capital and the villages on its banks. The coasting trade has partaken also of the general tendency to improvement. Some intercourse is carried on with the Maldives, but the cargo of the prows which arrive from thence, chiefly consists of cumblemas (fish), and Galle is their principal resort.

The insignificance of the commerce of Trincomalee on some grounds yet remains to be accounted for. It is pretty generally known that the wild and uncultivated state of the country in its rear, by enhancing the price of the necessaries of life, has acted as a drawback to its prosperity, while the insalubrity engendered from the same cause, has equally compromised its magnificent commercial position; but I think it is so clear that both these disadvantages might be removed by a very moderate application of energy and capital, that I cannot for a moment imagine they will be long pleaded as an obstacle to the establishment of a mercantile house by any average

Englishman. I need not expatiate on its incomparable harbours, or on the commodiousness it may almost exclusively claim as compared with any port in India; our knowledge of them is coincident with our very knowledge of Ceylon. Trincomalee, if position were its sole claim to eligibility, would appear placed to command the greater part of the trade of the Bay of Bengal, if not to become the medium of commercial intercourse with the western coasts of the Indian Ocean, and yet its harbour wears, comparatively speaking, as deserted an aspect in 1847 as in 1747. The till recently unfinished state of the great eastern road between Colombo and Trincomalee has naturally deterred the owners of vessels from breaking bulk at the latter harbour, but that impediment is now removed, and should a railway be ultimately extended to this place, there can be little doubt it would rapidly assume an importance of which at present it remains unaccountably destitute. The vast prairies in its rear, which are capable, under cultivation, of rendering Ceylon a largely exporting country of that very necessary of life, for a supply of which it is now dependent upon the Peninsula, to the absorption of almost all the bullion it imports; and the great tanks by which they are capable of being irrigated, bear daily testimony to the short-sightedness and apathy of man. Unfortunately for Trincomalee, the immense traffic that could hardly have failed to have been carried on on the silvery bosom of the Mahavellé-ganga, if man had but stepped forth to aid the operations of nature, is in like manner either entirely undeveloped, or diverted into another or more costly and tedious channel, with the sole exception of the rafts of timber which are floated down from the interior.

Galle has a small share in the shipment of coffee, and would at once become the port of export for a considerable part of the interior, if the road I have elsewhere alluded to were completed. If the election of the capital had not been set at rest, and the necessary establishments already formed at Colombo, there can be no question that from its commanding position, it would have been selected in preference to Colombo for that purpose. One of the bi-monthly steamers now touches at this port on its way to Calcutta, and if the proposed new company be carried out, Ceylon will doubtless speedily enjoy a direct fortnightly communication with England by steam.

Batecalo is a port of export and entry, but its trade beyond sea is not great. Fine satinwood, ironwood and ebony are procured in the neighbouring forests, and exported to Madras and other ports on the Coromandel coast. A good deal of timber is likewise carried coastwise.

CHAPTER III.

Immigration of Hindoo labourers into Ceylon—Period of its commencement—Number of annual immigrants—Estimate of their savings per head—Ordinance of the Supreme Government of India for the regulation of the immigration—Erroneous statements of the pseudo-philanthropists—Deceptions practised by the Coolies—Enumeration of the real hardships suffered by the immigrants, and Suggestions for their removal.

THE immigration of Coolies from the Malabar and Coromandel coasts into Ceylon may be said to have commenced in earnest in 1839, some thousands having arrived in that year; in 1842 the number was considerably augmented, and has since averaged thirty-eight thousand annually; the numbers being in 1845, 34,870; 1846, 39,890; 1847, 41,900. It is estimated, however, that there are no less than 70,000 Tamil emigrants in Ceylon at the present time. They stay from six to twelve months, and then return with their savings, which have been estimated at 20 rupees per head, or six lakhs of rupees per annum.

So far, however, from the supply exceeding the demand, there continues to be ample room for an increased immigration, and as capital still continues to pour into Ceylon, there can be little doubt that she has the power to absorb the annual increment of the population of the neighbouring coasts, to the equal advantage of either country. In point of fact, the coffee planter depends almost exclusively on the Tamil immigrants for the gathering of his crop.

An ordinance has recently been passed by the Government of India, permitting the unrestricted engagement of immigrants for Ceylon, on condition that they are not allowed to proceed elsewhere, and the planter might so far avail himself of this permission as to establish the labourers in villages as a permanent fixture to his estate, by inducing them to bring their wives and families with them. The immigrant has lost caste the moment he sets foot on the island, and though nostalgia is a malady to which the Hindoo is especially exposed, yet it has been successfully eradicated in numerous cases by the force of example and the arguments of the employer.

Complaints have already reached England from some pseudo-philanthropists in the colony, as to the harsh and oppressive treatment of the immigrants by the planter; but from whence have there not issued the same calumnies? Let the Coolie proceed to Mauritius, Guiana or Ceylon, it is all the same. The latter is in many cases but too ready to complain; he has not the spirit or energy to accommodate himself to European notions of labour, or its expected results. He becomes disheartened, finally despairs, is punished for idleness, perhaps deserts, and when discovered, formally accuses his employer of conduct for which he has himself alone to thank. His self-appointed patrons in the colony eagerly clutch the opportunity for

notoriety thus afforded, and indite exaggerated statements to their fanatical brethren in Great Britain; but I need not dwell on this topic; the process is already but too familiar to my readers; and these champions of Coolies, Caffres, and of every savage under the sun, but the eager betrayers of their own countrymen, have by their recent proceedings fortunately so completely opened the eyes of the public, that there is little danger of its being again hounded on to their insensate cry. An enumeration of the deceptions practised by the Coolies on their European employers would engross a much larger space than I can assign to such a subject. I shall therefore confine my observations to remarking, that they demand the utmost vigilance on his part, and after all will outwit him by their ingenuity and combination.

The present route of the immigrants is from Tallmanaar through the barren and unhealthy country to Anuradhapoora, and from thence into the Kandian districts. Before their arrival there, they are doubtless subject to considerable hardship, while the cheapness of arrack exposes them to great temptations. The sickness and mortality under which they have suffered, are not however ascribable, as has been erroneously supposed, to an indulgence in that spirit. It is a considerable time before they can acquire a taste for it, and their penurious mode of life forbids any excessive consumption. It is to their parsimony, filthy habits, and unwholesome diet, to which the mortality referred to must be traced. The great evil of this fluctuating immigration is, that the planter is thereby made the slave of casualties and circumstances; any little incident which it is impossible to foresee, may at any moment impede or prevent their immigration, and thus to the ordinary risks of trade uncertainty is added, in a case where the result might be ruinous to all concerned. It is therefore of great importance to the commercial progress of Ceylon, that this population should be induced to settle permanently in the island.

It is notorious that the Hindoo is extremely unwilling to settle in any place where rice or salt are scarce or dear; accordingly, none of the immigrants bring their families with them, and they generally return to the continent in the course of the year. To secure his services permanently, the first and most important step would be, the repair of the tanks, which would lead to an increase in the production of rice, and a cheaper supply of salt; another would be the establishment of rest-houses, wells and provision bazaars along the line of march; a third, the appointment of officers to assist and advise them, and to collect at their port of debarkation all the information that could be procured as to the places where their labour would be most in demand; a fourth, the employment of a steam vessel to ply between Ramisseram, at which port the principal body of immigrants embark, and Tallmanaar or Aripo. Another arrangement, which it might be wise to adopt, would be the grant to such

immigrants as should bring their families, and shew an intention to settle, of small portions of land, on the system commonly followed in India, *viz.* an almost nominal rent for the first year or two, but thenceforward increasing, and attaining its permanent maximum about the sixth or seventh year. Perhaps it might even be possible to induce, by the advantages already alluded to, whole village communities to immigrate from the adjoining continent, as has been suggested in the case of Mauritius, who should retain their peculiar form of self-government, with their native headmen, priest, &c. But whatever future measures may be decided on for the encouragement of settlement in Ceylon, the necessity of regulations for the encouragement and protection of immigrants, is indisputable and urgent. None such at present exist; the Coolie is left to find his way, as best he can, through a very difficult country, where there are no stores where he can obtain provisions, no officer to protect him, and at a great loss of time to himself. The wonder under such circumstances is, not that so few come, but that any come at all.

The question is one in which the dearest interests of the coffee planter are concerned. If he any longer neglect it, it will be taken up by the Government, who will assess him for the support of their own plan; in which case many of the advantages that could not fail to result from leaving the undertaking in the hands of private enterprise would be sacrificed. It is therefore with great satisfaction that we learn, that the question has been taken up by the Agricultural Society, and that as a preliminary step they have, with the permission of the Government of Madras, caused circulars to be issued by the collectors of the different districts from whence Ceylon is supplied with labour among the natives, stating the season when their services would be most in demand, with the view of obviating the evils arising from the influx of labourers when they are not required. By the establishment of a steamer to ply between the strait for the three months during which the immigrants arrive, one cause of inconvenience and delay would be removed. The cost has been estimated at £600. per month, which would in all probability be covered by the passage money received.

CHAPTER IV.

Waste Lands—Mode of disposal—Uncertainty with respect to boundaries—Rise in the price of land—Competition arising therefrom on the part of individuals with Government—Pattenas, and grass lands—Temple lands—Registration of, &c.—Mode of tenure—Evils resulting from priestly ownership—Enumeration of roads—Railroad between Colombo and Kandy.

THE public lands were originally disposed of in Ceylon, as in other colonies, by free grant. In 1833 the system of disposing of them only by sale was introduced, five shillings per acre being fixed as the upset price, but for five years afterwards no sales of any consequence took place. After that period, however, a considerable change occurred, new resources opened themselves in Ceylon, and a very great demand for land suddenly arose. The Governor was therefore applied to for information, and requested to give his opinion upon the expediency of raising the minimum price from 5*s.* to £1. per acre, and of introducing in other respects the general principles of the Australian Land Sales Act as to the survey and sale of public lands. By his report, it appeared that the demand for land arose in 1839, owing to the success of some coffee estates, and that it found the Government unprepared, no land having been surveyed, and very few surveyors being then in the island.[1]

Rather, however, than lose the advantage of the applicants settling in the colony, the Government disposed of some lands, leaving the surveys to be made afterwards. The parties were allowed to select whatever lots they pleased, and with such boundaries as they chose, on condition that they were to pay all expenses of cutting boundaries and surveying, in addition to the price per acre. From this arrangement two evils resulted. Coffee estates, requiring a specific soil and temperature, became dotted all over the island without order or method, and as each lot put up for sale had been selected and surveyed at great expense and trouble, it was looked upon as almost an act of fraud to bid against an applicant at public sales, so that large tracts were almost invariably sold at the upset price. Vegetation, moreover, is so rapid, that the boundaries cut through the forest for the survey previous to the sale speedily disappeared, and many proprietors even of cultivated estates could not discover their own limits. Other purchasers, who merely contemplated a re-sale, gave themselves no trouble in the interval as to their boundaries, and many persons unintentionally cultivated lands the property of others.

[1] In 1839 the altered circumstances of the colony led to a division of the duties formerly devolving on one individual as Civil Engineer and Surveyor General. There are now a Surveyor General, a Civil Engineer, and a Commissioner of Roads, each with his assistants, and recently a Town Surveyor, with an assistant, has been appointed to survey and improve the town.

Suits were instituted at the instance of parties who some years ago purchased land, and having taken no steps towards its cultivation, found at last, on their return from England, that others had purchased a portion of it again from the Crown, and expended large sums on the improvement of it.

As it was a current opinion in the colony, that land, where it could be procured by an immigrant immediately on his arrival, was cheap in Ceylon at £1. per acre, and merchants were charging at that time from 12*s.* to 20*s.* per acre for what the Government had sold for 5*s.*, Sir Colin Campbell advocated placing the lands in Ceylon as far as possible upon the same footing as in other colonies. Persons had generally purchased more land than they could possibly cultivate, and had a higher price been fixed, they would probably have been contented with much smaller tracts, but the lowness of the price induced them to buy largely on speculation. The survey required modification to suit the peculiar features of the country, the waste lands belonging to the Crown being interspersed with fields, villages, and other property belonging to the native population, and the Governor proposed to begin by laying out a few select portions of country into lots at £1. per acre, and time would shew how far the demand kept pace with the supply. Provision was also to be concurrently made for determining the claims of the natives to the lands immediately surrounding their villages, and defining the land to be exempted from sale. A great proportion of the natives hold their lands either without any title at all, or with one to which no survey is attached, and the enactment of any law which should at once have called upon all landowners to define their boundaries would have been impracticable, certainly attended with serious inconvenience and danger. In some cases the surveyors were soon compelled to suspend their operations, in consequence of the interruptions caused by persons claiming lands without any good title.

An ordinance was however passed by the Legislative Council, which affords facilities to the Government surveyors, &c. in executing surveys connected with their department, and to private parties in making roads to inaccessible properties, without the necessity of having recourse to private enactments. Between the years 1827 and 1834, but principally from 1829 to 1831 inclusive, no less than 396 building leases were granted in the city of Kandy, the terms of which varied from 21 to 100 years. They were all for small lots, less than an acre in extent, and the greater number less than one-twentieth of an acre. Very soon after the system had been established, it proved a failure. In 1833, therefore, Sir R. W. Horton approved of converting the leases into perpetual grants, and several parties at once received theirs; when others, however, applied for the same purpose, they were told that they were quite secure, and were asked to wait for the completion of the surveys. In 1841, the notification to the leaseholders to bring in their claims for permanent grants was renewed,

but it being subsequently found to be inconsistent with a clause of the Governor's instructions under the sign manual, which prohibited him from making any free grants, he was authorised by the Home Government to grant these lands in perpetuity, provided the parties made good their claim within a twelvemonth after public notice to that effect, and defrayed the expenses of the survey and grant, notice being given, that this decision referred only to the lands affected by Sir R. W. Horton's proclamation, and was not to be viewed as a precedent.

Recently, inquiries have been set on foot by parties interested in mining operations, as to the terms on which they would be permitted to be conducted, and a reply having been given to the effect, that the mode of operation would be precisely similar to that in force in South Australia, the requisitionists have abandoned their intention of exploring the mineral riches with which Ceylon is known to abound.

The revenue which till lately has been so productive from this source, has within the last year or two undergone a serious diminution, as much from the check experienced by the coffee planter, and his being compelled in too many cases to dispose of his cleared estates, as from the more direct competition sustained by the Government at the hands of speculators, as well in England as in India and the colony, who having in many instances purchased vast tracts of uncut forests, consisting in some cases of 5000 or 6000 acres, can resell at a large profit for one-third of the price fixed upon by the Government.

Under the influence of a revival in the prices of the two great staples of the colony, the land thus retained by the individual speculator, would either be immediately absorbed by the natural demand that would thence arise, or would be brought up nearer to that of the Government level, and thus render it again saleable.

If any instance were required to prove the unmitigated absurdity of fixing the price of lands by one invariable standard, without reference to their position, the nature of their productions, their intrinsic value, and many other circumstances, Ceylon might, with the greatest propriety, be added to those already existing. In the most elevated situations of the hilly country, and on the vast plains of the mountain zone, there are pattenas and grass lands, which would for years remain unsaleable at the upset price of 20*s.* per acre, but would afford a considerable income, either if let under an assessment as in Australia, or if they were offered for cultivation, and as stock farms, at a lower rate than that now asked for the forest land, and the richer description of Crown property. As soon as ever this species of land is opened to public enterprise, I venture to predict that a result will be obtained no less encouraging and remarkable than that which has attended every similar development of the vast resources of this wonderful land.

Temple lands have naturally been on the increase in almost every reign of the Singhalese dynasty, and had not the alleged impiety, or

infidelity, of some princes, the confiscations of others, and the civil commotions resulting from the tyranny of a third, proved as effectual a barrier to this agrarian aggression as any statute of mortmain, there can be little doubt that the sleek priest of Buddha, no less than the priest of God among ourselves, would have eventually come to be as unlimited a dispenser of this world's substance as he professed ability to promise that which was to come. With every check, they still form a right lordly heritage in Ceylon, and the revenues arising from them are of course expended with the same strict regard to the will of the testator, as formerly by the representatives of monkery among us. As might be expected, they are ill cultivated, where cultivated at all, have in many instances reverted to the dominion of the jungle, from which they were originally reclaimed, and are therefore a positive and perpetual impediment to the improvement of the country. Having been actually rendered inalienable by treaty, even after a rebellion which had been chiefly instigated by priestly artifice, and the opportunity having been thus passed by for commuting them for a fixed annual money payment, or modifying the present absolute tenure, the difficulty remains, and augments every year with the increasing value of property. It is true that a special power of altering the provision then made, as might hereafter appear necessary and expedient was then reserved, but its enforcement on any ground short of a renewed violation of the regulations for their registration would, after this lapse of time, appear harsh and inconsistent. It is true also, a system of registration has been attempted to be established at various times, but especially in 1819-20, to compel the authorities to send in lists of their estates, and proofs of their title, in order to place them on record as the defence against future deception, but the schedules so furnished were so audaciously falsified that they were returned to the priests, accompanied by orders for their immediate correction and lodgment; this was effectually evaded, the priests paid no attention to the orders, and the Governor, in 1822, issued a proclamation, that all temple lands, the claimants of which should have failed to register them prior to a certain date, should forfeit thereafter their title to exemption from taxes. But even this threat was unavailing, the temples disregarded the proclamation, the Executive wanted the courage or the power to enforce it, and the evil continues up to the present hour in all its original magnitude. It has lately been estimated, that at this moment, one-third of all the paddy lands in the Kandian provinces are ostensibly in the possession of the temples, together with large tracts of adjoining forests, numerous villages, and a large population, who do them suit and service for their lands. Sir Emerson Tennant rightly suggests, that, in the event of the abolition of the paddy tax, and the consequent nullification of all existing immunities, the temples could not rightly contend for exemption from the general operation of a land-tax. The most urgent and important point requiring legislative adjustment, is the

social condition of the tenants of these lands, who are now the serfs of the temples, and subjected to compulsory labour, and a variety of feudal services, as the tenure of their fields. As no such tenure is any longer tolerated elsewhere in the island, and as the courts of law have in some instances refused to recognize the claim to enforce it, it is not likely that the priesthood would offer any serious opposition to its abolition, and the substitution of a money rent; thus converting their tenants into leaseholders on a footing with all other cultivators throughout the island, and elevating their position above their present state of dependence and servitude. The temple tenants could then be subjected to the land-tax without offence to the hierarchy, and a revenue would be gained from two-thirds of the Kandian lands, which are now exempt from taxation.

Meanwhile, the priesthood of a rapidly declining faith, and who, concurrently with its declension, have lost both prestige and influence, see themselves, while in the enjoyment of a masterly inactivity, gradually rising through the medium of British industry, capital, and enterprise, from a state, at all times one of comfort, to one of positive opulence and luxury, through the greatly augmented value of landed property. That the Government should have interfered before, and having ascertained the annual revenue received by any given ecclesiastical community, commuted it for an equivalent money payment, is at once evident, but it is no less clear that an interposition is not yet too late, and can be made with strict regard to law and equity by a legislative body which numbers representatives of the national faith among its members.

The most perceptible evil which has resulted from the privileges thus accorded to the temples, is the facility which it affords for fraud on the Government, the temple authorities laying claim indiscriminately to lands of every description, and to any extent; lands which are in reality the property of the Crown, but which have been audaciously seized, and openly sold by these parties, the Government, owing to the want of surveys, and to the ease with which sanas (or native title deeds) can be forged, being really powerless against this system of dishonesty.

In an ordinance recently passed for regulating the affairs of the Buddhist temples in Ceylon, provisions are inserted for appointing a committee to investigate the title and extent of temple lands, and for assessing the amount in money at a fair equivalent for the feudal services of the temple tenants, in cases in which the latter desire their conversion into an annual rent.

Connected with the subject of waste lands is the opening up of the colony with roads. In 1815, the greater part of the country was covered by impervious forests, in which the elephant, the cheetah, and the wild cat, roamed undisturbed; there was not a single road of any extent, except a few pathways, and even the sea-coast, which had been for four centuries under European control, was only known by

the line of forts which encircled it. Since then eleven lines of public carriage roads, traversing the country in almost every direction, and one encircling it, have been opened; another, "the Simplon of the East," runs from the maritime to the mountain capital, and the centre whence civilization and cultivation are gradually radiating in every direction. Another extends in a north-easterly direction, from Colombo to Trincomalee, a distance of 160 miles, through the wildest part of the country, which it will be a powerful instrument in improving. By means of these three, all the chief towns of the coast (Colombo, Jaffna, Trincomalee, Matura, and Galle) communicate with each other and Kandy. The remaining eight are from Negombo to Kandy, sixty-six miles. From Putlam, through Kurunaigalla, to Kandy, eighty-five miles. From Aripo, through Anuradhapoora and Dambool, to Kandy, 137 miles. From Colombo, through Ratnapoora to Adam's Peak, eighty-one miles. From Colombo to Ruwanwellé, thirty-six miles. From Kandy to Trincomalee, 113 miles. From Kandy to Badulla (through Gonagamma) fifty-three miles. From Kandy to Badulla (through Nuwera Elliya), eighty-four miles.

Besides the above, roads have been formed in the Western province, between Negombo and Veangoddé; Ballapane and Ruwanwellé; Pantura viâ Horennetoo Nambapanne; Caltura to Agglewatté; from Ballapane to Aranderre; from Matelle to Ruwanwellé; from Negombo to Delpekadewera; between Allowe, Hondelle, Kurunaigalla, and the limit of the province; between Ruwanwellé and Yateantotté; between Yateantotté and Ambagammé; between Chilau and Topor; between Aranderre and Atelle; Ambapusse and Allowe; Ambanpittia and Aranderre. In the Central province, between Yateantotté and Gampola; Deltotte Road, from Paradinya towards Ouva; Gampola to Tallegamme, Ambagammé and Tallegamme; between Helbodde and Newera Elliya; between Newera Elliya, and Hakgalla; branch road to Yattapalatte on the Newera Elliya road: from the summit of Apotella pass to Wilson plains; between Mimura-kandura and Gurutalawe. In the Southern province, Badulla, towards Saffragam, by the Apotella line; from Badulla to Hambantotte; from Badulla to Kalupahane; from Galle to Baddagamme; road to connect Ratnapoora with Hambantotte; between Orwah and Hambantotte. In the Northern province, between Navantorre and Batticotta; between Chavagacherry and Elephant pass; between Mampay and Sangane; Jaffna to Batticotta; from Mallagam to the coast; from Sangane to the coast.

The roads now most required, are a public carriage road from Galle to Newera Elliya, from whence to Kandy a road already exists, and its extension from the latter place to Jaffna; this would permeate the very centre of the island, and call into action resources at present either materially checked or completely hidden. Another carriage road urgently required, is one to connect Batecalo with Kandy, and in consequence with Colombo. The immediate district

of Batecalo is so highly favoured by the facilities of water carriage, afforded by its lake, as to be in some measure exempt from the difficulties attendant on the want of roads, but its isolation from either of the capitals has most deplorably retarded the improvement of this comparatively neglected province, and impeded the commercial enterprise for which, from its excellent position, it must sooner or later be distinguished.

Roads are easily formed in the northern peninsula, and it will ere long be probably intersected in every direction. The country is almost as level as a bowling green, and new roads are rendered completely passable by the simple operations of rooting out the thin spread jungle, consisting of thorny cactus trees and a low willow-like shrub, and removing the more prominent boulders of white crumbling limestone from the surface of the bright red soil. The next operation, is to overlay the trace with a species of limestone gravel, called muckey, which answers there quite as well as the more expensive process of Macadam. The village of Pootoor is the nucleus of a number of new roads, which are being opened up, and radiate from it: one towards Malagam and Oodooville; one to join the Jaffna road at Nellore, three miles from Jaffna; one to join the same road at Atchovalie, ten miles from Point Pedro, and to be continued to Varany, a populous parish and station of an American missionary; and, finally, another which joins the Jaffna road, close to the old church at Pootoor.

In 1845, a Railway, with a capital of one million sterling, was projected in England by the mercantile houses connected with the colony, between Colombo and Kandy in the first instance, but with the ultimate design of connecting other districts wherever practicable. The illimitable expansion of railway enterprise had already sustained a check, when the attention of the public was called to this undertaking, and before its plans could be thoroughly matured, and a report be received from the surveyor of its practicability—a monetary pressure had set in, and the Directors found themselves unable to obtain the full call to which the shareholders had pledged themselves. A communication had already been made to the Colonial Department, which at once referred the matter for the consideration and report of the Local Government, whose reply was, as might have been expected, of a highly encouraging character.

Under these circumstances, and in consequence of its having been discovered, that the cost of construction would very considerably exceed the sum originally estimated per mile, and that the Government was indisposed to accede to any proposition *immediately* involving the revenue of the colony on the capital required for the *whole* line, the Company has been compelled to suspend its intention of proceeding with the entire line for the present, and has selected a part by way of experiment. On the line thus modified, the Government has sanctioned, by ordinance, a guarantee of five per cent. per annum, along with a free grant of the land required for the railway for a term of

ninety-nine years, the Government having the right of purchase after the expiration of fifty years, and the reversion of the line, without purchase, at the end of ninety-nine years. The result of this modified plan is, that the old Company has been dissolved, the capital has been reduced to one fourth, *viz.* £300,000. under the new Company, and the holders of shares in the former are entitled to the same number of shares in the new company, as though it had been found possible to carry the original undertaking into effect. In addition, power has been reserved to increase the capital to the original amount when requisite, and the option of the additional stock will be given to the present subscribers.

Its claims to public notice are thus set forth by its promoters. "Ceylon is subject to no volcanic action; the soil is admirably adapted for the construction of railways, and the country through which the contemplated line will pass is not liable to be flooded during the monsoons. Labour is excessively cheap in the island; and bricks, lime, and timber, may be procured with facility." "The sources of revenue are a large goods traffic; considerable passenger intercourse, and the conveyance of troops and mails, &c." Under the first head, it is stated that the number of bullock bandies, with goods, passing between Colombo and Kandy, is about 79,000 annually, and the average hire about £2. 10*s* each, shewing a cost for transport between Colombo and Kandy of £197,500. per annum. The carriage of goods by these carts is tedious and uncertain, and the expense is greatly increased by reason of the extensive mortality among the cattle employed; so much so, that natives, each bearing a load of merchandise, are occasionally dispatched from Colombo to Kandy, in preference to that mode of conveyance. The cost of transport by rail will be much less, but as the traffic by this means of conveyance will greatly increase, there can be little doubt that this branch of traffic would of itself be sufficient for the remuneration of the capital invested.

The present mail coaches in Ceylon are said to shew an annual return of upwards of £7000, but it is clear, that it is on the first source of revenue that the Company must principally depend for support in the outset.

Over the division of the line[1] first to be undertaken, all the traffic

[1] The line selected by the surveyor, commences at the east bank of the Kalané, about three miles from Colombo, and following for the first thirty-two miles the direction of the great military road to Kandy and Kurunaigalla, which the line crosses twice, enters the valley of the Maha-oya, which it follows for twenty-three miles, to the foot of the hill country at the Kaduganava Pass. At this point, it commences a rapid ascent to the summit on which Kandy is situated, and terminates about three miles short of that city, being a length of fourteen miles, and making the whole length of the railway sixty-nine miles. Over the first division of thirty-two miles, the country is flat, the total rise not exceeding 170 feet in the whole length, and the highest land passed over between these points, not

between Colombo and Kandy will pass; and assuming that 40,000 tons are carried up the line at 1*s.* per ton per mile, and 22,500 tons are brought down the line at 4*d.* per ton per mile, the result will be on the former £64,000., on the latter £12,000.=£76,000, from which deducting £19,000. for working expenses, £57,000., or a dividend of 19 per cent. will be received.

In reference to expenditure, I may venture to observe that the Company might have safely taken credit for the moderate cost of fuel to which they will be subject, any quantity of wood being procurable at the several stations at the most trifling expense: this item in the United States stands the several companies in at one-third of the cost of the same item in Great Britain, and the relative expense would be yet further diminished in Ceylon where labour is so cheap.

exceeding 240 feet. Flat, however, as this part of the country is, the surface is broken in many places by short hillocks, which, though capable of being avoided in some places, will render considerable earth works occasionally necessary, and give a class of gradients of 1 in 150 to 1 in 200. Extensive and deep cuttings should be obviated wherever possible, lest they should become torrent beds in the rainy season. The second division involves heavier gradients and works than the first, as the country becomes more broken. For seventeen miles the gradients need not exceed 1 in 150 to 1 in 200, but beyond that, they might be so steep as 1 in 100 to 1 in 50 for the remaining five miles. The total rise of country on this division is 540 feet, without any intermediate summit. The third division, forming the ascent to Kandy, has an elevation of 1100 feet to be overcome, but the gradients may, it seems, be so arranged, as not to exceed 1 in 50, the numerous mountain ravines admitting of a lengthening of the line, so as to accomplish that object. The termination of the first division, *i.e.*, the portion to be immediately constructed, is near the point of junction between the Kurunaigalla and Kandy road, and consequently where the streams of traffic on these two great military roads meet. The termination of the second is at the commencement of the hill country, and intersects the great military road only 13 miles from Kandy. The cost per mile, including stock, for the two first divisions of the line (which is to be single), has been estimated somewhat under £9000. and of the third division from £21,000 to £22,000. per mile. The expense of crossing the Kalané, and entering Colombo, is avoided, as also of entering Kandy, when the time shall arrive for completing the whole line.

CHAPTER V.

The Pearl Fishery—Its original seat—Island of Epiodôrus—Distribution of the profits of the fishery under the Portuguese—Ancient theory respecting the formation of the Pearl—Bay of Kondatchie—Aripo—Wretched aspect of the coast in the vicinity—The Doric—Motley collection of huts and people—Arrangement of the fishery—Manner of diving—Shark charming—Assortment of the oysters—Sharp practices of natives employed—Description of the Banks—The Pearl Fishery not a monopoly—Description of the Pearl—Its price, &c.—The Chank Fishery—The Ceylon Fisheries in general.

THE ancient seat of the Pearl fishery, for which Ceylon has been celebrated from remote times, is stated to have been at Kolkhi, not Coléchè, as insisted upon by Paolino, in opposition to all other geographers, who maintain that it never was to the westward or northward of Cape Comorin. Kolkhi is placed by Vincent directly opposite the island of Manaar, which, with the coast in the neighbourhood, has always been the centre of the fishery, while Manaar is the island of Epiodôrus, where, according to the Periplus, the pearl oysters were only to be found, and there the fishery remains up to the present hour. From the mention of Epiodôrus, it may be inferred that a Greek of that name, from Egypt, was the first of his countrymen to visit this island; and where would a Greek not have gone, if he had heard that pearls were to be obtained. The great request in which they were in at Rome and Alexandria, seems to have rendered them, not indeed as precious as diamonds, but as a more marketable, and therefore preferable commodity for the merchants. The successive Governments, which at different epochs have presided over the fishery, whether native, Portuguese, Dutch, and, for a considerable time, English, regularly took its station at Tutacorin, on the opposite side of the straits, the fishery itself being always at Kondatchie, Seewell, and Chilaw.

The number of persons who assembled, was in the time of the Portuguese estimated at from 50 to 60,000, consisting of divers, mariners, merchants, and tradesmen of every description. The Nayque of Madura had one day's fishery as the sovereign of the coast and the representative of Pandion; the wife of the Governor of Manaar had another day, which the Jesuits, under the Portuguese, contrived to pervert to their own use, and the owner of the vessel had one draught every fishing day. After the conclusion of the fishery, a fair was kept at Tutacorin. The brokerage and the duty amounted to 4 per cent, paid by the seller. The vessels were 400 or 500 in number, each carrying from sixty to ninety men, of which one-third were divers. Cesar Frederick describes the divers in his time as chiefly Malabar Christians, but they were subsequently a mixture of that

description, of Roman Catholics and Hindoos, but the superstitions practised to preserve the divers from the sharks, and other dangers of their profession, were all Hindoo.

The theories of the ancients respecting the formation of the pearl were curious. Solinus thus accounts for its origin:—"These are shell-fish, which at a certain time of the year being desirous of conceiving, push forward the stone in their thirst after the dew and gape, and when the moon brings moisture, draw the desired humour by sucking, whereby they conceive and bring forth young, and according to the quality of that matter is that of the pearls they breed; for if it is pure, their little round stones are white; if it is turbid, they are of a faint pale colour, or are stained with red. Thus their seed springs more from the air than the sea. Finally, as often as they inhale the morning dew, the pearl becomes clearer; and when the evening, dimmer; and the more of both, so in proportion grows the stone. If it suddenly lightens, they will shut in alarm, but take in the remainder ere it be ripe; for then they have no stones, or at least very small ones. And these shell-fish have a kind of instinct, for they fear to have their issue stained; so that when the day is at its hottest, they dive into the deep, lest their stones should be dimmed by the heat. Nevertheless, age renders this precaution useless, for their whiteness then decays, and as the pearls increase in size, so does the yellow tinge. While the pearl is in the water, it is soft; but as soon as it is taken out of the shell, it becomes hard. They are seldom found more than one in a shell (hence the Romans called them "Unions"), and are said to be never more than half an inch big. To avoid the divers, they will hide among the rocks or dogfishes. They swim in shoals, of which one of their body is captain; and if he be taken, the whole are an easy prey."

Kondatchie is now the station of the boats employed in the fishery, and gives its name to the bay in which the principal oyster banks are situated, although the fishery is generally called "of Manár," from the island and district of that name, or "of Aripo," from an old fort situated near the mouth of the Malwatté-oya, or flower-garden river, from whence, though four miles distant, the fishery is dependent for its supplies of fresh water. This stream, after passing by Anuradhapoora, makes a bend to the north-east before meeting the Kurundu-oya, and directs its course due west to the sea, north of Kondatchie. The ground here is low, and consists of sand and clay, covered with stunted prickly jungle; a few tattered cocoa-nut trees, looking like exiles in a foreign land, give it an air of wretchedness and desolation which is not wholly relieved by the presence of the palmyra-palm. A large Doric mansion, built by Governor North at a great expense, and now occupied *pro tem.* by the supervisor (who is invested with full magisterial powers) and his friends, is the principal feature of a landscape, beyond all compare the ugliest in Ceylon; and from the style of its architecture, which is so little

suited to the place or its association, and its injudicious plan and position, is by no means a relief to the lover of the picturesque.

A stranger, who may have heard that the concourse of people assembled at the fishery, according to M. de Noé, reaching 150,000 persons, causes a large town, with long streets and valuable shops, to start up, as if by magic, from the barren plain, is greatly disappointed on finding that natives sitting near, or sleeping under the fronds of two or three talipat, palmyra, or cocoa-nut leaves, paddy straw, and coloured cotton cloths in endless variety, supported on one side to the height of three feet, by areka or bamboo poles, procured for such a shelter the appellation of a house, and that lines of the same were miscalled streets; and that the valuables exposed for sale consist of coarse cloth, and the common earthenware vessels in which the natives cook their rice. Very few of the multitude possess much property, being principally adventurers, jugglers, or thieves, but every one speculates as far as he can command money or credit; and when the ordinary excitement is insufficient, betake themselves to other kinds of gambling. Some natives, from the continent of India, have the reputation of wealth, the outward signs of which are gaudy palanquins and gorgeous umbrellas, covered with velvet, and embroidered with gold.

The arrangements for each day's fishing commence at midnight, at which time a gun is fired, by order of the inspector, as a signal, and all the boats start, having the land breeze to waft them to the fishing bank, nearly fifteen miles distant, on reaching which they anchor till the day is sufficiently advanced, and the water smooth, in which state it remains during the interval between the land and the sea breezes. Government vessels are on the spot to prevent any boat from fishing beyond its proper limits. The diving then commences, about half-past six or seven o'clock, and continues with wonderful exertion and perseverance until the sea breeze sets in, about ten, when a signal gun is fired, and the boats return with the Government vessel, forming an animated and pleasing scene, which is succeeded by the bustle of vending the oysters by auction, and distributing the shares to the several temples, subordinate officers of the fishing-boat owners, and shark charmers.

The manner of diving is as follows:—When the rays of the sun begin to emit some degree of heat, the diving commences. A kind of open scaffolding, formed of oars and other pieces of wood, is projected from each side of the boat, and from it the diving tackle is suspended, three stones on one side, and two on the other. The diving stone hangs from the oar by a tight country rope and slip knot, and descends about five feet into the water. It is a stone of fifty-six pounds weight, of the shape of a sugarloaf. The rope passes through a hole in the top of the stone, above which a strong loop is formed, resembling a stirrup iron, to receive the foot of the diver. The diver wears no clothes, except a slip of calico round his loins; swimming

in the water, he takes hold of the rope, and puts one foot into the loop, or stirrup, on the top of the stone. He remains in this perpendicular position for a little time, supporting himself by the motion of one arm. Then a basket, formed of a wooden hoop and network, in shape like an angler's landing net, and capable of holding some dozens of oysters, suspended by a rope, is thrown into the water to him, and into it he places his other foot. Both the ropes of the stone and basket he holds for a little while in one hand; when he feels himself properly prepared, and ready to go down, he grasps his nostrils with one hand, to prevent the water from rushing in, with the other gives a sudden pull to the running knot suspending the stone, and instantly descends; the remainder of the rope fixed to the basket is thrown into the water after him at the same moment; the rope attached to the stone is in such a position as to follow him of itself. As soon as he touches the bottom, the average depth of which is twelve fathoms, he disengages his foot from the stone, which is immediately drawn up, and suspended again to the projecting oar in the same manner as before, to be in readiness for the next diver. The diver in the bottom of the sea throws himself as much as possible upon his face, and collects every thing he can get hold of into the basket. When he is ready to ascend, he gives a jerk to the rope, and the person who holds the other end of it, hauls it up as speedily as possible. The diver, at the same time, free of every incumbrance, warps up by the rope, and always gets above water a considerable time before the basket. He presently comes up at a distance from the boat, and swims about, or takes hold of an oar or rope until his turn comes to descend again; but he seldom comes into the boat until the labour of the day is over. The basket is often extremely heavy, and requires more than one man to haul it up, containing, besides oysters, pieces of rock, trees of coral and other marine productions.

The manner of diving strikes a spectator as extremely simple and perfect. There is no reason to believe that any addition has been made to the system by Europeans, nor indeed does there seem the smallest room for improvement. The diving bell, however, was introduced by Sir Edward Barnes, in opposition to the predictions of the master attendant, who was of opinion, that though it might answer very well at first, it would ultimately be the means of destroying the oyster, for those it crushed, would putrify; and so extremely delicate is the nature of the oyster, that the infection would spread like a plague, gradually extending itself till all within it were destroyed. As no means of successfully transferring the pearl oyster to increase its habitat has yet been discovered, it may be more advantageous to leave the natives to their old customs and modes of fishing, than to adopt any new-fangled methods, which may tend to the ultimate destruction of the oyster beds.

The superstition of the divers renders the shark-charmer a neces-

sary part of the establishment of the pearl fishery. All these impostors belong to one family, and no person who does not form a branch of it can aspire to that office. The natives have firm confidence in their power over the monsters of the sea, nor would they descend to the bottom of the deep without knowing that one of those enchanters was present in the fleet. Two of them are constantly employed. One goes out regularly in the head pilot's boat, the other performs certain ceremonies on shore, and consulting the auspices, assures the divers they may fearlessly follow their submarine occupation, for that the mouths of the sharks have been closed at their command. He is stripped naked, and shut up in a room where no person sees him, from the period of the sailing of the boats until their return. He has before him a brass bason full of water, containing one male and one female fish made of silver. If any accident should happen from a shark at sea, it is believed that one of these fishes is seen to bite the other. The shark charmer is called in the Malay language Kadel Kattie, and in the Hindoostanee, hybanda, each of which signifies a binder of sharks. The divers likewise believe, that if the conjuror should be dissatisfied, he has the power of making the sharks attack them, on which account he is sure of receiving liberal presents daily from all quarters, independently of the Government stipend, so that the trade of shark-charming is lucrative. Though all the divers are not, as before observed, Pagans, yet superstition so universally predominates in the native character, that the Roman Catholic priests are led to impose a similar farce on the divers of their own faith, for not one of them will descend without a charm composed of brief extracts from Scripture fastened round the arm, which he is told will protect him from danger. Sharks are often seen from the boats, and by the divers when they are at the bottom of the sea, but an accident rarely occurs, perhaps from the noise and stir occasioned by the gathering of so many boats at one spot, and the continual plunging of the divers, which must frighten and disperse the voracious animals. Instances have occurred where the shark has ventured to attack, but the diver has generally killed the monster with his strong knife, and escaped unhurt. Many fisheries have been completed without one diver being hurt, and perhaps not more than one instance is to be found in the course of twenty years. The prejudices of the natives, however, are not to be combated with impunity, and any infringement on their established customs would be impolitic, if it were practicable. Their superstition in this particular is favourable to the interests of Government; as from the terror of diving without the protection of the charmer, it prevents any attempts being made to plunder the oyster banks.

The boats in use for the pearl fishery, being after the old Portuguese model, without keel, and head and stern nearly alike, are roughly built, and about one ton burthen, draw little water, and have only one sail; each boat contains ten divers, and ten others to assist, and when the Govern-

ment fishes, a soldier to prevent thefts; but this is contrary to the usual practice, which is to rent the fishery. Those oysters which are not sold immediately on the arrival of the boats, are thrown into paved enclosures called couttôs, the floors having a slope towards a shallow reservoir. Some of these places are occupied by the most extensive purchasers, and in their enclosures the oysters are piled up in great heaps, and allowed to die. After the second or third day's fishing, the stench of the dead oysters becomes intolerable to all except those whose thirst for gain absorbs every other sense. Custom, however, soon neutralises the effect of the nuisance on the olfactories, for the stench is considered less diffusive as the process progresses, and affects in no degree the health of the crowded population. Indeed, it is rightly observed by Mr. Marshall, that in this climate, where the effects of vegetable decomposition are so fatal and rapid, those of animal are almost innocuous. After going through the usual process of decay, which in so warm a climate is particularly rapid, the fleshy part having been completely decomposed, the pearls are found among the sand and refuse.

There are several different methods of clearing the pearls from the fleshy part of the oyster, that one can scarcely determine which is the best plan; but certainly, that in which putrefaction is resorted to, though it may be the most lucrative, is the most likely to induce disease among the human myriads that attend the fisheries.

As soon as the putrefaction is sufficiently advanced, the oysters are taken from the couttô, and placed in troughs made of the trunks of trees hollowed; sea-water is then thrown over them. They are then shaken out and washed. Inspectors stand at each end of the trough to see that the labourers secrete none of the pearls, and others are in the rear to examine whether the shells thrown out as worthless may not contain some of the precious substance. The workmen are prohibited under penalty of a beating, to lift their hands to their mouths while washing the pearls.

In general, however, the oysters are purchased and divided among the speculators, who immediately open them, and if lucky, sell their prizes, and continue their speculations on a larger scale. Where thefts so easily take place, as to set detection at defiance, from their extraordinary mode of swallowing and voiding them, and a valuable article like a pearl is so easily secreted, incessant watchfulness is necessary on the part of those who employ others to open oysters, though their endeavours are generally ineffectual, as the moral character of those assembled at Kondatchie affords no check to their inclination or interest; they have been attracted many of them from a distance, and at great risk and exertion, by avarice, and their only principle and pursuit is how to make money, and if successful, the end would sufficiently justify the means to them.

After all the shells are thrown out, the pearls they may have con-

tained remain in the sand at the bottom of the trough. The largest of these pearls are carefully picked up, and washed repeatedly with clean water; the next in size and quality are merely taken from the trough, and spread out on white napkins to dry in the sun; it is not till this is done that any attention is paid to the smallest pearls, which are generally left to the care of women, who pick them up and dry them. To assort the pearls afterwards they make use of three sieves, placed one above the other. The apertures in the uppermost sieve are the largest, and the apertures of the second sieve larger than those of the third. Thus the pearls that do not pass through, but remain in the first sieve, are of the first class, and so on to the second and third. It remains, however, for an after examination to decide on other qualities which give value to the pearls, as their regularity of form, colour, &c. The oysters or the cleansed pearls are bought and sold on the spot.

The oysters lie in layers from four to five feet deep, and when about five or six years old they abandon the madrepore, to which they had attached themselves from their first sinking after the formation of the shell (for the spawn floats about until that process has taken place), and ramble about the sandy regions of the bottom. The divers entertain the belief, that the oyster spawn descends in showers during the rainy season. It is not uncommon for fifty or sixty, and even eighty pearls of various sizes to be found in one oyster. The natives consider it a disease, or rather the result of a disease to which the animal is liable, which requires seven years to be completely developed. If a pearl be cut transversely, and observed through a microscope, it will be found to consist of minute layers, resembling the rings which denote the age of certain trees when cut in a similar manner. The naturalist may here devote some time to collecting and classifying the great variety of the class mollusca, which according to Cuvier is furnished with a heart and circulating system, and almost every batch of oysters is accompanied by specimens of zoophytes, which have neither the one nor the other, and every day affords additional treasures, particularly in polypes, fuci, and madreporæ, for his information and amusement. The kola, or leaf oyster, represents an inverted hollow cone, and is one of the most curious; and the small red-tinged, or betel oyster, which produces a superior pearl, is well worthy of being included in the collection of the naturalist. The largest pearls are found in the thickest part of the flesh of the oyster, but it does not follow that the largest oysters produce the finest pearls.

When the season happens to be stormy, the oysters often suffer, and their produce is, says Mr. Bennett, consequently diminished, for on those occasions they open and disgorge their pearls. The oysters cluster together by a fine silky filament, resembling that of the pinna marina of the Madaleine Isles (dependencies of Sardinia), but it does not possess the same valuable qualities for the manufacturer. The

pearl oyster of Ceylon (mytilus margaritifera) has a similar hinge to the mother-of-pearl oyster, but the former, which is scarcely one-half the size of the latter, is more oblong and quite flat on one side, and seldom exceeds the Jersey oyster in size. The testaceous fish enclosed in the shell has a beard like a muscle; its interior surface is equally if not more resplendent than the larger species. The spawn of the pearl oyster may be seen floating in apparently coagulated masses on the western coast of Ceylon during the N.E. monsoon, and the uncouth anchors of the native dhonies, or coasting vessels, which are composed of a thick wooden shank, with large stones lashed between transverse beams of wood in lieu of flukes, are often found upon being weighed enveloped in spawn. For the first year, the oyster seldom exceeds the size of a shilling, and is not at maturity for seven years. When it has attained the age of three or four years, or is half grown, seed pearls only are found in its flesh; but after that period they gradually increase in size until the maturity of the oyster, when the disease which produces them destroys its bivalve victim, and the pearl is lost. The pearl is not valued for its silvery whiteness at Ceylon, but for its golden hue or rose colour. Besides these three colours, pearls are found of a delicate blue tint, and some have a yellow, and some a silvery hue.

Another description of pearl is found in Tamblegam lake, in the eastern province, and was fished in 1839, 40, and 41.

As a source of revenue at the present moment the pearl fishery is entirely unproductive, and has been so for some years, to await the maturing of the oysters, and the ripening of the various beds. By recent communications from the conservator of the banks, there is a prospect of a fishery within a very few years. Sir Emerson Tennant entertains the opinion, that the present system of supervision and observation maintained by the Government is not enough, and that when oysters are found to have disappeared or declined in one locality, sufficient vigilance and exertion have not been exhibited in tracing their reappearance elsewhere, or in investigating the disturbing causes that have led to their removal. He further believes, that the fishery might be so watched and conducted, as to avoid those frequent intervals of suspension, and to render the operations so much more steady and systematic as to approach to an annual instead of an occasional source of revenue.

Previous to the commencement of the fishery, the persons employed to survey the pearl banks, having ascertained the position of those on which the oysters are mature, proceed to mark out the limits by placing buoys. If the oysters are too young the pearls are small, and if allowed to be too old, the oysters die, the shells open, and the pearls are irrecoverably lost. Portions of sand taken from banks on which the oysters have died (their shells, detached from the bottom, having been washed away) contain no appearance of pearls. The space over which the oyster banks which are fished extend, is from

twenty-five to thirty miles square, situated in the lower part of the gulf of Manár; although some are much deeper, the average depth of water on the best pearl banks may be taken at forty feet. The pearl oyster, though neither palatable nor wholesome, has no poisonous quality, and is said to be sometimes eaten by the poorest of those who frequent the fishery.

The medley of colours, nations, castes and trades (among which pearl drilling is a very lucrative one) on the Arippo sands, forms an almost unparalleled panorama for the painter from its picturesqueness. The Indian artisans are very expert in piercing and drilling the pearls, and practise their art on the spot for moderate wages. Nothing can well be more simple than their instruments, which are merely a block of wood in the form of an inverted cone, which rests on three legs, and whose upper surface is pierced with circular holes of various diameter, fitted to receive the variously sized pearls. Their drill is merely a short sharp needle inserted in a stick, which is made circular at the top, and set in motion by a bow, like those used by watchmakers. They hold the right hand between the bow and the pearl, and move the bow with the left hand. Sitting on the ground cross-legged, they keep the block of wood between their knees, and apply the drill perpendicularly to the pearl.

Few if any of the pearl divers are Singhalese, and those only who come from Manár are subjects of the British Government; the remainder arrive from various towns and villages on the opposite coast of the Indian continent; the result of this casual migration was, that the Dutch, having on one occasion quarrelled with the native sovereigns of the southern peninsula of India, they prevented the divers from resorting to the fishery, which was thus interrupted and prevented from 1768 till the capture of Ceylon by the British in 1796, who were just in time to lift the new race of oysters, which produced £310,000. from 1796 to 1798. When the fishery is over, both natives and strangers depart, the huts are knocked down, scarcely a human habitation is to be seen for miles, and the most dreary solitude prevails. There are some detached banks, but of no great value, contrasted with Manár, situated further to the south, and on the west coast of the island, nearly opposite to the village of Chilaw; these had not been fished for thirty-six years previous to 1803, and then they produced a revenue of £15,000. They have occasionally been rented since that time, but have never realised anything approaching to the same amount. One, if not the principal seat of the pearl fishery, would seem to have formerly been at Kudramalai, the ἵππουρος of Pliny, where a deposit of oyster shells is found more than 100 feet below the surface, the various layers of each fishery being clearly discernible. The speculator who accepts the tenancy generally sells shares of the banks to others. The biddings at the auctions are regulated by the examination of some thousands of oysters, picked previously from the banks at hazard. If the average

quality of pearls produced from these sample oysters be very good, the bidder raises his offer; if bad, he lowers it. The facts above mentioned at first sight might induce a belief that the age of the oyster was greater than is generally supposed, but there is little doubt that the present arrangement produces a larger amount, in addition to being a less precarious item of revenue, than allowing an accumulation of several years, and permitting renters to fish where they will. It has happened, however, more than once, that an over anxiety on the part of a Colonial Governor to make a very favourable report of this source of revenue, has jeopardised the future prospects of the fishery, by causing them to be over-fished. In 1820 the Madragam Paar was found to be the only bank where the oysters had attained maturity. It was then fished on account of Government, and the oysters were sold in lots upon the beach. The Government has seldom fished in Aumanie, or on its own account, where an average price has been offered for it by individual speculators, who could give the requisite security, or make an adequate deposit. In 1814 the boats employed in the Aumanie fishery (after the rented fishery had ceased) landed 76,000,000 oysters during the first twenty days' fishing. Repeated examinations of the banks, and judicious restrictions of the fishery to those places where the oysters are of full size, had till the time of Sir R. Horton brought the pearl fishery to be a regular annual addition to the income of the island. Since the establishment of the British in Ceylon, the appointment of Supervisor of the pearl fishery has been till recently held conjointly with that of Private Secretary to the Governor. But as that office is materially connected with the revenue, it ought, observes Mr. Bennett, to form a part of the duties of the agent of revenue[1] of the northern province, and not go to make up the deficient income of the former, by which means the salary would be saved to the public, for a supervisor may be from three to seven years in the receipt of £500. a-year, and not be called on more than once or twice to attend a pearl fishery, and then only for twenty or thirty days.

In digging any where near Kondatchie, the extraordinary depth of oyster shells vouches for the number of ages which have successively witnessed the same persevering, difficult, dexterous and eager pursuit of those delicate baubles. The greatest number of oysters brought in by one boat in a day is less than 50,000, and averages 30,000; the greatest number of boats employed in one day was 162, and the greatest length of time any diver averages is seventy seconds.

The fishery generally commences in the beginning of March, the sea being then in its calmest state in these latitudes, and continues till the end of April, the Government having instituted an official inspection of the pearl banks by a committee of the civil servants, including the supervisor, in the preceding November. On their.

[1] The office of Supervisor is now combined with that of Master Attendant of the Port of Colombo.

report, the banks selected for the purpose, which depend on the maturity of the oysters and value of the pearls obtained from the samples inspected, are advertised to be fished, and the report of the committee is then published in the Ceylon and Indian newspapers. Oysters of the large bank sell as low as 7 rupees, or 14*s.* per 1000; those of the small bank average 25 rupees. All persons frequenting the pearl fishery are privileged from arrest on any civil process, but the powers of the Supreme Court in criminal matters are not affected, and justice is summarily administered in disputes connected with the fishery. During the stay of the Supervisor and his department, a strong military guard, with a proportion of artillery, is stationed at Arippo.

The monopoly, as it is called, of the pearl fishery, though it presents scarcely one legitimate feature of a monopoly, has, like the game laws in this country, acted beneficially in preserving this large and unexceptionable item of revenue to the colony. If the pearl fisheries had been thrown open to all speculators, as has most injudiciously been suggested by one writer, a very short time would have sufficed to annihilate this mine of wealth for ever, and the only benefit would accrue to a few foreign adventurers, who in one season might appropriate this portion of the island revenue, and thus benefit by presumptuous ignorance.

The pearl fishery is capable of affording no continuous employment to the people. Even supposing (contrary to the fact) that a fishery could be had once a year, still there are only a few weeks, not exceeding thirty days in March, during the lull of the monsoon, when the sea is calm and the currents diminished, that the fishery can possibly be carried on. Very few natives of Ceylon are engaged in the enterprise. In 1833, the latest successful one, only 10 out of 135 boats were Singhalese, and only 150 divers out of the 1250, who came from the Coromandel coast for employment, and who each carried back to India £3. 15*s.* as his wages for eight days' work. But more than this, the pearl fishery is not a monopoly in another sense, inasmuch as every individual is at liberty to embark in it to the extent of his capital, the right to fish being either put up for sale at public auction, or the oysters on being landed, sold in the same open manner by the renter, in any quantity, and to any individual who may choose to speculate; the price, moreover, is regulated, not by the caprice of monopolists, but with immediate reference to competition from the pearl fisheries in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere.

A lottery has been proposed by Mr. Bennett, who thinks the revenue might be increased three-fold thereby. And certainly, as under the present system a spirit of gambling prevails, the evils otherwise resulting from such a mode would not appear to be sensibly increased. He also recommends that the sale should be peremptory, and the cessation of the practice of reducing the rent of the fishery in case of its failure, as the speculators do not, in the event of

success, hand the overplus to Government. Large pearls sell at prices nearly as high as they may be purchased in England; trash, or seed pearls, as the very small ones are called, sell much higher, and are principally intended for the Chinese market.

The seat of the chank (Voluta gravis) fishery extends from the northern extremity of Calpentyn island round by Jaffna to Moelletivoe on the east coast, and the exclusive right to this shell-fish is farmed by the highest bidder for a period of two years. This univalve is an article of considerable commerce throughout India, being manufactured into bangles for women and children, by whom these ornaments are worn round their legs and arms in great numbers, as their circumstances will allow. Spoons are also made of it, which are purchased as curiosities. A chank shell, with its valve opening to the right instead of to the left, is considered of very great value, being worth 10,000 rupees, or £1000. sterling. The shells, under the name of cowries, are circulated as a medium of low value in the traffic of the natives with each other throughout the whole of India.

Of late years, the demand having diminished, the income has declined from between £3000. and £4000. per annum to between £300 to £400.; and this amount is received, not as formerly for permission to dive for the living fish in the deep sea off the coast, but for a license to dig for the dead shells, which are found in considerable numbers in the sand. This monopoly is on the point of being abandoned, with the view of affording additional employment to the inhabitants in the immediate vicinity.

The number of sailing canoes daily engaged in fishing off Colombo during the south-west monsoon is considerable. They are formed of a single tree, which is either hollowed by means of fire, or scooped out by the simplest tools, and are in general from fifteen to eighteen feet long. The body has a considerable bilge, and gunwales are raised upon it, consisting of two planks of light wood from twenty to twenty-four inches in breadth, running the whole length of the boat, and united at the head and stern by a transverse plank of the same breadth as the longitudinal ones, by means of regularly drilled holes, through which strong coir cord is passed, and neatly interlaced crosswise: this is afterward payed over with a coat of dammer as a preservative. The breadth of beam of the Ceylon canoes is from twenty to twenty-four inches, and their great height and extreme lightness would render it impossible to keep them upright without being balanced by an outrigger from one side. This is formed of a solid log, shaped like a canoe, but with pointed ends, and is extended for about six or seven feet from the side by two arched stretchers convexing towards the false canoe, to which they are lashed by strong coir cord passed through neatly drilled holes in order to prevent friction as much as possible. These canoes have one mast, upon which a very large square sail of country cotton canvas is hoisted; and the head and stern being alike, the sail is carried either way and the course altered in a moment to the

opposite direction without shifting or neutralizing the outrigger. They daily venture out ten or fifteen miles from the shore, and notwithstanding their apparently frail construction, an accident rarely occurs. Their filling with water does not distress them much, as they cannot sink. The men are excellent swimmers, and as long as the out-rigger remains entire, they carry sail without inconvenience or danger. The man steers the canoe with one foot, by means of a paddle fixed to it over one side of the stern, and at the same time fishes with both hands; the boy notices the sail, and throws water on it to make it hold wind the better. The velocity with which these boats skim over the surface of the water; for so light is their draught that they can scarcely be said to sail through it, is surprising. These boats are similar to those mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, and Solinus as being used in their time in the same seas.

The fisheries of Ceylon are one of the most important of the capabilities of the island: its coasts on every side may be said to teem with fish of the best kinds for all the purposes of home consumption and exportation, and a more ample field for lucrative speculation cannot possibly present itself. The natives are so accustomed to a light diet, and so partial to fish, that a mode of curing upon an improved system, would both ensure large profits to those concerned in it, and prove a blessing to the colony.

During the government of Sir Edward Barnes, an ordinance was expressly enacted for the encouragement of the fisheries, by the imposition of a duty of fifteen per cent. upon the prime cost of salt fish of every description imported into the island, and all salt fish cured within the island was permitted to be exported duty free.

So greatly, however, has the high price of salt operated to the prejudice of the Ceylon fisheries, that the island is still dependent for supplies of salt fish, which in the interior especially is an article of general consumption and in constant demand, on the Maldives and the continent.

The native process of salting fish is most objectionable. In the first place, no care is taken to obviate the rapid progress of putrefaction: for instead of salting the fish as soon as it is taken out of the water, which is indispensable within the tropics, it is carelessly done after having been some time landed, and exposed on a sandy beach to a vertical sun, and is then generally that part of the cargo which could not be sold in its fresh state. The consequence is, that fish so exposed is soon impregnated with almost as much sand as salt, and if affected by casual moisture or absorption, it becomes rotten before it can be conveyed to the interior where the demand lies.

As the Ceylon fishing boats are built exclusively for sailing, they have no room to stow more than a few fish, and cannot carry salt for the purpose of curing fish in the only way likely to be effectual in so hot a climate. This might be obviated by a certain number of fishing boats being attended by a Dhoney as a rendezvous and or the carriage of salt, when the crew of the latter could salt the fish as

soon as caught and conveyed to them. This plan, however, would require more capital than the native fishermen can command, or would be disposed to risk if they could. But another additional and important advantage would arise from the adoption of this division of labour; as the crews of the fishing boats could in that case keep much longer at sea, and live and sleep on board the Dhoney until it was fully freighted.

Persons accustomed to salt and cure fish in cold climates, would require, however, some experience before they could become equally perfect in the same process within the tropics, where the fish requires air and shade, as well as occasional exposure to the sun.

It is suggested by Mr. Bennett, that the mode adopted by the nutmeg curers at Banda, would answer very well for fish, *viz.* by open platforms of split bamboo cane, raised in tiers at regular distances, with a proportionate space according to the size of the fish. By this means, the objectionable mode of letting the fish come in contact with the sand, would be obviated, and any quantity might be entirely cured by smoke, by lighted wet rice straw being laid under the lower tier, which would ascend through all the intermediate spaces to the roof. Country salt fish, owing to the improper manner in which it is cured, is very seldom eaten by Europeans, compared to what it would be under an improved system; for even when the sand can be got rid of, there still remains an incipient degree of putrefaction, which renders it necessary for charcoal to be boiled with it, and even then the evil cannot be entirely overcome.

Independently of the large demand for salt-fish in the interior, the fact that there are 180,000 Roman Catholics, who are rigid in the observance of their religious fasts, will be considered a sufficient guarantee for the success of a fish factory upon a very extensive scale.

The Bentotte river supplies a very excellent oyster, which the Singhalese divers detach from the rocks, at the bottom of the river, with mallets. The diver descends without any of the precautions or apparatus used at the pearl fishery, notwithstanding that sharks have occasionally been seen in the river. Having reached the bottom, a depth of some fathoms, he begins to knock off the oysters from the rocks, and having filled his net, jerks the rope which is attached to the canoe, as a signal for hauling it up, but being more buoyant, the diver reaches the surface first, and having inhaled a fresh supply of air, repeats his labour till the quantity of oysters required is obtained. The Bentotte oyster has the appearance of a lump of uneven rock. Oysters are little esteemed by the natives, who are extremely simple in their diet, and so contented, that they never trouble themselves about luxuries, when any extra exertion attends their acquirement.

Fresh-water fish are caught in Ceylon by means of kraals, which are extremely curious and intricate, and the fish once in, find their retreat cut off. These kraals extend directly across a river, just leaving space enough for the Pardie boats to pass and repass. In

the rainy season, the dells of the interior occasionally become the beds of torrents, up which rush thousands of a small silvery fish. These are caught in great numbers by the Moormen, the only class of natives who venture to expose themselves to the pitiless elements, in small weirs, or bamboo fishing baskets.

In no part of the world can the angler look for success with more certainty than Ceylon. Not only is there a great variety of fresh-water fish, but the sea sends up shoals of its inhabitants to feed on the fæcal matter ejected from the mountains into the rivers: in neither case is the angler necessitated to put his patience in requisition, the finny tribe in this country having not yet acquired the fastidiousness for which the European family are distinguished. In fishing for small fry, the natives bait their hooks with a single grain of boiled rice; larger fish they secure by means of weirs and nets; or if in a soft bottom and shallow water, they use conical baskets, made of thin slips of bamboo, which being lowered gently over the fish, the prize is secured by the hand, a hole to introduce the arm being left at the top of the basket.

A tax on fish existed in Ceylon from time immemorial, and the people were not only reconciled to it from habit, but, according to Sir Emerson Tennant, attached to it from a conviction that they derived assistance and protection from the authorities in return for the payment. It consisted of a duty, varying from one quarter to one sixth (a very heavy proportion) of all the fish caught, which was regularly collected by the Government, and out of the proceeds parties were paid to protect the fishers, to assist them in case of danger, or times of distress, and to regulate all the affairs of the craft, the care of the brood, and the season and time of fishing, &c. The tax was annually farmed to renters by public sale; and during the last ten years of its existence, it returned upwards of £6000. per annum to the Colonial Treasury. So heavy an impost upon the food of the people was naturally felt by the British authorities to be open to reproach, and in order to render it less offensive, it was attempted on three successive occasions to get rid of its objectionable appearance by imposing a license duty upon the boats in lieu of an assessment on the capture. But singular as it may appear, this change, though a substantial improvement (being not only a relief in amount, but a relief from many vexations in the former mode of collection) proved most distasteful to the fishermen, who disliked the direct payment of money, and preferred their ancient system of payment in kind; the headmen, too, being paid by a fixed salary, had no longer a concurrent interest in the gains of the rest of the caste, who, in turn, being relieved from the obligation of exertion to make up the former amount of the duty, gradually relapsed into indolence and indifference; the quantity of fish taken diminished, the price rose, and the revenue fell one-third, from the inability or unwillingness of the fishermen to take out their license. It was found impracticable

to overcome the inveterate prejudices of the people in favour of their ancient custom; the experiment was an absolute failure, and the Government was compelled to revert to the old system, which continued unaltered down to the arrival of the Commissioners of Inquiry in 1831. These gentlemen, without instituting an inquiry as to the past history of the tax, were contented upon theory to condemn it, as "being raised on the subsistence of the people," and omitting to inform themselves of the absolute failure of the former experiments for its amelioration, they actually recommended a fourth trial of the very expedient, which had already been found unsuccessful upon three previous occasions. It was in vain that the colonial authorities pleaded the value of their own previous experience, represented the ascertained hopelessness of the license system, and prayed to be permitted to reduce gradually the amount of the tax, but to continue it in the form in which the fishermen had become familiar with it. European theory prevailed over local experience; and after a lengthened correspondence, the tax was reduced, first from one-quarter to one-sixth in 1834, to one-tenth in 1837, and finally abandoned in 1838. The result was, that each diminution of the duty, though it certainly trebled the value of the fish taken, and led to an increase in the trade, still caused a defalcation of one half in the revenue. But though ultimately abandoned by the Government, the tax was practically continued by the fishermen, who were so wedded to their old habits, that those of the Roman Catholic religion, who formed nearly one half of the entire body, transferred the payment to the Roman Catholic Church, not only unaltered in form, but in some instances, increased in amount, and the tax is now as regularly farmed by the Roman Catholic clergy as it was formerly by the Government.

The privilege of its collection from the fishermen is sold yearly at the respective churches by public auction, and the purchaser of the rent binds himself to the priest of each church with due security for the payment; and should any of the fishermen fail to contribute his quota to the renter, he is excommunicated by the priest, and no intercourse is allowed to be kept between him and the rest of the congregation. The issue of the transfer is, that the fishermen complain that they have lost the protection of the authorities, and the aid they formerly received; while the public complain, that the number of boats, instead of increasing, has diminished, and that the price of fish offered in the market, instead of decreasing has been doubled.

Upon the establishment of a railway communication with Kandy, there cannot be a doubt that vast quantities of fresh fish will find their way into the interior, and there is no speculation in Ceylon which would better remunerate the European capitalist, than a large establishment such as I have before described.

CHAPTER VI.

Mode of Government—Value of civil appointments—Present composition of the Executive and Legislative Councils—Their deceptive character—Ceylon possesses every element requisite for free institutions—Reasons why they should be conceded—Defence of Ceylon, naval and military—Strongholds in the maritime and central provinces.

THE administrative Government in Ceylon is vested in a Governor, with a *direct* salary of £7000. a year.[1] The *direct* salary of the Colonial Secretary is £2000. per annum; of his Assistant, £920. per annum; Treasurer, £1500. per annum; Auditor General, £750. per annum; Comptroller, £750. per annum, half salary; Surveyor General, £800. per annum; Assistant ditto, £500.; ditto, £300.; Commissioner of Roads, £420.; Chief Medical Officer, £300.; Master Attendant of Colombo and Inspector of Pearl Banks, £700.; ditto, at Galle, £500.; ditto, at Trincomalee, £400.; Bishop of Colombo, £2000.; Senior Colonial Chaplain, £800.; ditto, £700.; Singhalese Colonial Chaplain, £400.; Colonial Chaplain, Galle, £600.; ditto, Kandy, £600.; ditto, Trincomalee, £600.; Colonial Chaplain to the Scotch Church, £500.; ditto, to the Dutch Church, £350.; Government Agent for the Western Province, £1200.; Assistant, ditto, £320.; ditto, at Kurunaigalla, £820.; ditto, at Kaigalle, £325.; Government Agent for the Southern Province, £1000.; Assistant, at Galle, £300.; ditto, at Matura, £550.; ditto, at Ratnapoora, £325.; ditto, at Hambantotté, £275.; Government Agent for the Eastern Province, £1200.; Assistant ditto, at Trincomalee, £380.; ditto, at Batecalo, £410.; Government Agent for the Northern Province, £1200.; Assistant ditto, at Jaffna, £300.; ditto, at Manaar, £350. half salary; Government Agent for the Central Province, £1200.;

[1] It may not be out of place to contrast the princely income of the British Governor of Ceylon with that of his Dutch predecessors. The result will shew, that after allowing a very considerable margin for the additional expense now incurred by the Governor in residing for a part of the year at Kandy, his salary still exceeds in a threefold proportion that of the Dutch functionaries.

Salary per month 250. fns. Board wages, 25 rds. For spices, fire-wood, salt, 10 rds.

The following provisions per annum:—540 cans of wine; 3 casks of beer; 90 cans of European vinegar; 45 ditto of sweet oil; 2 casks of European butter of 300 lbs. each; 2 lasts, or 150 parrahs of rice; 1 last, or 75 parrahs of wheat; 1 leaguer of arrack; 50 pounds of wax candles per month; 75 cans of cocoanut oil.

In addition to the above, the Governor was entitled to one-fifth part of the amount of the rent of the pearl fishery; one quarter rixdollar upon each ammomam of areka-nuts exported from Ceylon, 24 per cent. of the Alfandigo rent, or the rent upon cloth; 5 per cent. of the chank rent; different articles from the different stores at prime cost; some lands in the country and fish sufficient for the consumption of his table, the whole averaging in value from £2500. to £3000. a year. The salaries of his subordinates were proportionate.

Assistant ditto, at Kandy, £300.; ditto, at Badulla, £200.; Collector of Customs for the Western Province, £1000.; Controller of Customs, £750.; Comptroller of Customs for Northern Province, £550.; Assistant ditto, £225.; Post Master General, £400.; Chief Justice, £2500.; Senior Puisne Justice, £1500.; Second Senior ditto, £1500.; Queen's Advocate, £1200.; Deputy ditto, £1000.; Deputy ditto, for Colombo District, £400.; Registrar of Supreme Court, £600.; Deputy ditto, £210.; District Judge of Colombo, No. 1. South, £1000.; District Judge of Colombo, No. 1, North, £500. half salary; District Judge of Colombo, No. 2, £550.; District Judge of ditto, No. 4, £625.; ditto, No. 6, £325.; District Judge of Amblangoddé, £225.; District Judge of Galle, £1000.; ditto, of Matura, £650.; ditto, of Tangalle, £225.; ditto, of Hambantotté, £275.; ditto, of Batecalo, £410.

The form of government by which the affairs of the island are administered, is of a very exclusive character, though Ceylon already possesses every element requisite for the working of popular representation. It is composed of a Governor, Executive and Legislative Councils, the first of which consists of a Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, the Colonial Secretary, Queen's Advocate, Colonial Treasurer, Auditor General; and the last, in addition to the preceding officers, of the Government Agent for the Western Province, Government Agent for the Central Province, Surveyor-General, Collector of Customs for the Western Province, and of six unofficial members, including Mr. Casie Chitty, a native magistrate, and Mr. Diaz, a Singhalese Christian, both of the Established Church. An analysis of the elements which go to form the population of Ceylon, will shew, we venture to affirm, that whether wealth, civilization, intellect, education, enterprise, a numerical standard, a feeling in favour of British supremacy, the equality with which the persons likely to be returned as representatives are distributed over the country, be considered, it possesses a strong and valid claim to a privilege, and, I may add, a right, to which every colony of Great Britain is entitled to under similar circumstances. Independently of those holding official rank, civil and military, it possesses a highly honourable and respectable mercantile community, both European and native, a large and increasing landed proprietary, a numerous and intelligent native aristocracy, both in the maritime provinces and interior, an influential body of professional men of every grade, and lastly, a body of Moormen, Parsee, and Tamul capitalists, presenting, when combined, a political ensemble rarely, if any where else, to be found within the British dominions.

However justifiable such a form of Government as that now obtaining in Ceylon may be in the instance of a military post, it is a mockery and delusion in its application to a country, vieing with, if not surpassing many countries of Europe in the exuberance and magnificence of its resources. It is a grave offence against constitutional liberty to continue such a system, into whose composition, by infusing a mere unit of liberalism, the most arbitrary acts may, under that specious

covert, at any time be committed with the sanction of nine-tenths of its members.

Neither the revenues, nor the expenditure of Ceylon, now averaging respectively half a million sterling, will be properly, or economically administered, until free institutions are conceded. Moreover, there are grave, if not fatal, objections to the competency of the present body, administering the affairs of Ceylon, to take up any loan on behalf of the colony, and certainly without some such assistance, the industry of Ceylon, in all its phases, must continue to languish. There are political motives also of the highest moment that should have their weight in facilitating the extension of the boon. There is a large native proprietary still excluded from office, it may be from the highest grounds of expediency, but still it is to be deplored; here is a medium by which at least a portion of their lost influence may be legitimately restored to them. Some of their number have, with but few of the advantages within the reach of Europeans, given evidence of the highest ability and capacity; if it would be premature to employ them as yet in an administrative, there is no reason to believe that any injury would result from calling their services into requisition in a deliberative[1] capacity. The question rests then with the people of Ceylon: they have a clear right; it will be their own fault if they do not soon obtain it in its full enjoyment.

The naval defence of Ceylon is entrusted in time of war to the Indian squadron stationed at Bombay, and to the British squadron stationed at Trincomalee; the former protecting the western coasts of India, from the mouth of the Indus to Point de Galle; the latter the Bay of Bengal or the eastern coasts of India, extending from Point de Galle to Arracan. It is almost impossible to conceive therefore a more perfect state of security than that likely to be enjoyed

[1] In 1781 a species of deliberative council, composed of the chiefs of the Mookwas, who still form the principal component of the population of that district, and called the Staats vergaderung, prevailed under the auspices of M. Burnand at Batecalo. Though very defective in its powers, it soon gave proofs of its utility. The natives were quick to perceive that their interest was now identified with the due administration of Government, they ceased to display any jealousy towards other colonists, and the progress of the province was so rapid, that in a few years its population had doubled, its produce in grain had quadrupled, and a part of the colony, which had before been considered next to valueless, became, under this beneficent stimulus, remarkable for the contentment of its people, the number of cattle it reared and the abundance of grain it produced! On the arrival of the British, this institution fell gradually into disuse, when the rapid decline in the industry of the province again drew the attention of the authorities to the subject, and Sir Alexander Johnston prevailed on the Governor to re-establish it. The result was soon again visible in the gradual improvement of the province and its inhabitants, but from some cause, which I have been unable to ascertain, the boon was again discontinued, and the province instantly reverted to its pristine state. Could a stronger proof than this be possibly adduced of the urgent necessity of conceding free institutions to the colony, looking only at the interests of its native population?

by our Eastern dominions during the most fiercely contested warfare in the Atlantic, Mediterranean, or Channel. Not only does Great Britain possess the only harbours in this wide range of coasts, but has ports of refitment (in Trincomalee more especially) which would enable her, if a Fabian policy were requisite in the face of any great disparity in numerical force on the side of her opponent, to cripple all his movements by the ease and expedition with which she could recruit her force and again put to sea. I have elsewhere shewn how greatly the power of a steam fleet has been exaggerated for offensive warfare, to how many risks of damage and destruction the complexities of its machinery expose it, as well from the elements as from the fire of artillery,,its utter helplessness in the event of such a disaster. I may now therefore add that whatever advantages accrue from the possession of a steam marine, are in the hands of Great Britain and Great Britain alone in their entirety, she alone possesses ports where a steamer can be refitted and repaired, she alone possesses coaling stations, and an organized system of communication, and by the help of such appliances, any one of the British naval divisions could be apprized of the presence of a hostile fleet, before any decisive *coup de main* could be struck at any important point. It will be seen I have thus far placed Great Britain on her defence; I may add I have viewed her position, subject to all the disadvantages of that deplorable want of tact and defective organization, which with some exceptions characterised her naval operations in the Indian ocean during the late war; but if the picture were reversed, if the weight which is their due be given to experience, an increased knowledge of shoals and currents, and an enemy's tactics, if favouritism be really banished from the Admiralty, I might venture to predict that no enemy's squadron would find its way back to Europe in the hands of its original proprietors.

I have already treated in my description of Colombo, Trincomalee, Galle, and Jaffnapatam, of the state of their defences. The latter place alone would seem to court attack by its inability to resist it from its own resources, but as I have already shewn the powerful reasons which exist against the invasion of our Eastern dominions in the event of an European war, it will be unnecessary to demonstrate the slight risk to which it is exposed from such a quarter. No country could desiderate a more effectual trap for an hostile fleet than that presented by the shoals and intricate navigation of the Strait of Jaffna. For nearly similar reasons, it would be equally supererogatory to demonstrate the utter impracticability of a descent on the coast, the insuperable difficulties of a march overland against any one of the strongholds, the uncertainty of obtaining the co-operation of a fleet, which would have enough to do to defend itself, the impossibility of obtaining supplies, the ease and expedition with which the garrison of any one of the above named fortresses could be recruited from the continent, I shall therefore pass on to consider the military defences of the interior in reference to our late wily and treacherous,

but now perfectly subdued enemy—the Kandians. The reader will have already gathered from the narrative of the Kandian war and the more recent insurrection, how much the utter want of all accurate knowledge of the country, ignorance of the habits of the people, and indecision on the part of the executive authority contributed to redouble the weight of the blow then so severely felt by the local Government.

The Central Province is now secured at six points, *viz.* by a citadel at Kandy, and posts or field-works at the following places, Madawalatenne, Ruwanwellé, Ratnapoora, Badulla, Himbliatawella. The number of posts in the Kandian country was formerly nearly double, but the extreme dispersion of the force was soon found to be impolitic and unnecessary. The maritime districts have, in addition to those already named, the following fortresses—Batecalo, Hambantotté (tower), Tangalle, Matura, Galle (an irregular work), Caltura Putlam, and Paltoopane.

Most of the old chiefs who could not be brought implicitly to champ the bit of European supremacy are now no more; the remnant yet left has either lost the power, or is unwilling to impede the consolidation of the British rule. The young chiefs brought up in a different school, are content to aspire for the posts with which it is alike the policy and duty of the Government to invest them whenever qualified. The people emancipated from the yoke of the chiefs, and in the free enjoyment of their own labour, have long been indisposed to return to the old state of things, and finally the Government, by means of the roads it has already opened, has set its seal to what promises to prove a perpetual lease of power by penetrating the inmost recesses of that once mysterious and impenetrable land.

CHAPTER VII.

Education under the Portuguese—Dutch—British—Present state—Want of a Collegiate institution—Efforts to promote Education by the several Missions—Anticipated results—Christianity in Ceylon—By whom originally introduced—Subsequent Mission of St. Xavier during the ascendancy of the Portuguese—Persecution of the Christians by the Raja of Jaffna, and his overthrow—The Reformed religion introduced by the Dutch—Baldæus—Valentyn—Their zeal and success, although impeded by Batavian policy—Aspect of religion under British rule—Offences—Laws, Courts, Administration of Justice, &c.—Trial by Jury.

We are not informed as to whether any or what measures were pursued by the Portuguese for the propagation of their language, and the secular instruction of the natives. That these objects were entirely neglected by them, it is impossible to suppose, however bigotedly they devoted themselves to the promotion of the Romish faith, in the face of the evidence yet remaining of the wide spread of their language. It will not, however, be worth our while to dwell

on the means employed to accomplish that result, we shall therefore pass on to their successors, and their proceedings.

However sordid and contemptible the policy of the Dutch[1] may have been in some respects, it must be recorded to their honour that they established schools for the instruction of the natives in the rudiments of useful knowledge, and in the principles of Christianity. These schools seem to have been judiciously managed. A school was erected in every parish through the maritime provinces where Dutch rule extended. Each school had from two to four teachers in proportion to the number to be taught. Every ten scholars were at the same time, under the care of a superintendant, who examined alike their proficiency and the conduct of the teachers. There was likewise an annual visitation by the Dutch clergy, each of whom had the schools in a particular diocese committed to his charge. The schools were used in many cases for divine service.

Upon the arrival of the English in 1796, the salaries of the masters and catechists were left unpaid for about three years, and the schools consequently fell into decay. At the expiration of that period, Mr. North, who filled the office of Governor, spared no pains to re-establish these institutions on their original footing. Under his auspices, the parochial schools were increased to 170 in number, improved in management and usefulness, and the salaries of the masters were eked out by their acting as notaries in their several districts. He at the same time restored and remodelled an academy at Colombo, which soon assumed a flourishing aspect, numbering amongst its members the sons of the Modeliars and the principal native gentry. The time has now arrived for the establishment of a first-rate collegiate institution in Ceylon, a designation to which the Colombo academy can lay no claim. Moreover, such an institution should combine qualifications, many of which circumstances render impossible at Colombo. The only fitting locality is in the mountain zone, which, by its central position, accessibility, bracing temperature and

1 The Dutch had not been long in possession of the island before they had recourse to rigorous measures for the diffusion of their own language, and the eradication of that of the Portuguese. With this view it was ordered, under penalty of a fine for neglect or disobedience, that every planter or proprietor in the island should cause the hair of all his male slaves who could not speak Dutch, to be cut close; but that all who could speak it, should be suffered by way of distinction, to wear long hair. As might have been expected, this direct mode of enforcing an alien tongue on an unwilling people, defeated the ends aimed at by its promoters: the regulation adverted to was found to be impracticable, and the Portuguese language, instead of being eradicated, positively gained ground, and as we have elsewhere observed, a jargon of it has become the household language in the maritime provinces. What is most remarkable, is that the Dutch themselves speak it, and it is the only medium through which a burgher now holds intercourse with a native. The policy of the British Government in this particular has been equally politic, humane, and just. No compulsion has been attempted, and though English, is now being generally taught in the schools; the stimulus used for its diffusion has been applied in too indirect a manner to excite the antipathy of those whom it was intended to benefit.

seclusion would render superfluous a voyage to Europe in quest of those advantages.

Such however was the miserable parsimony of the Home Government, that the annual expense of all the schools in the island was limited in 1803 to £1500., the result of which was the abandonment of the greater part, and a diminution in efficiency of the remainder. Thus was stunted for several years, the intellectual growth of the natives, and their moral improvement obstructed for the sake of £3000. a year, (£4500. per annum having been found sufficient by Mr. North), while very soon after, the most atrocious peculations and frauds on the revenue were committed on the part of Government servants with impunity, and persons of the most infamous character, and the most glaring incompetency through a system of favouritism, now happily extinguished or checked, obtained lucrative situations over the heads of the honourable and virtuous, while for others, posts were created equalling or exceeding the amount required for the mental pabulum of a people, for whose improvement we were as much responsible as for their government.

In 1831, when from the dispersion or death of those who had formerly filled the office of masters, every thing had to be commenced anew, the subject attracted the attention of Government, and a Commision of Inquiry was appointed to report on the state of education. The schools are described in that report "as extremely defective and inefficient, and the control exercised, insufficient to secure the attendance either of the masters or of the scholars; many abuses prevail, and the Government schools in several instances exist only in name." This report produced some effect, and on the arrival of Sir R. W. Horton, arrangements were made for having the English language generally taught.

A Central Commission is now energetically employed in training schoolmasters, founding schools and preparing educational works. It is entrusted with the expenditure of £8000. to £10,000. annually.

The early missionaries in Ceylon seem to have soon arrived at the conclusion that the prospects of the conversion, and even education of adults, were far from encouraging. They addressed themselves therefore to the rising generation as alone susceptible of new impressions, but even here they were thwarted by the innate love of dissembling and subterfuge of the higher class. For example, a petty headman complained to a British officer, that although he wished his son to attend school, as thereby complying with the desire of the Government, he did not like his son being punished. The officer replied, "I did not know that the teachers punished the children; but has your son been guilty of any crime?" "No," he replied, "none that I know of; and yet," continued he, "I believe after all that he deserved to be punished for having allowed it to be found out that he had told a lie."

The instruction of females was one of the first subjects to attract the attention of the friends of education. A great aversion was at

first shewn to send boys to the schools, much more therefore girls, who were universally held in contempt. The difficulties of bringing a girl's school to any degree of perfection in Kandy, were almost insurmountable; for in addition to the indifference or dislike manifested by most of the parents to the instruction of females, so many licentious examples were exhibited to their view, that persons of any decency of conduct and character were afraid to send their children through the streets, without some one to protect them, when they had arrived at an age capable of making steady progress. Moreover, the young females of the lower class, who were taught at home from their infancy to undertake the most laborious services of the household, were generally more needed to assist the mother than the males, which occasioned their frequent absence from school as soon as they were able to be of any considerable service in domestic affairs. At so low an ebb, however, was the most elementary instruction, and so uncommon, that for a considerable period a child who could read was surrounded by crowds of eager listeners. One great incidental effect produced by the girls' schools is, that since their establishment, the Kandian ladies have learnt both to read and write, and in fact, it is to be hoped that a stern necessity such as this, will, with the prospects of preferment concurrently opened, goad the higher classes into the acquisition, not merely of elementary knowledge, but of the more finished attainments. That they will otherwise lose their social position, is clear, if proof were required, from the circumstance that the Gahaleyas, one of the lower grades of the lowest class, whose very sight was formerly pollution, are now being educated with considerable success by the Baptist missionaries in the neighbourhood of Mátalé. Female education in the northern province has progressed but slowly, with one exception. The American missionaries have however met with wonderful success, owing to their more effective organization in the same province. At most stations they have succeeded in making the attendance of female children an indispensable condition to the establishment or continuance of village schools.

The real cause of the appreciation of the advantages of education now manifested by the natives of nearly every grade, arises from the fact that they saw from the attention paid to it by the Government that those young persons who were properly qualified, were always appointed to offices of trust, and were in general more highly esteemed than those who were deficient in this respect. To the honour of the Chalias, it should not be unnoticed that though oppressed by successive Governments, they always exhibited a great desire to place themselves within the reach of instruction, and endeavoured to give their children as good an education as circumstances would permit.

The success of the American seminaries has in every instance been much more signal and well founded than those of the other missionary bodies. In point of fact, with equal energy and zeal, the latter have not manifested that shrewdness, tact and acumen, without which the

former qualities,[1] however commendable, are either wasted or seriously compromised. Thus, for instance, it was at once evident to the American missionaries, that the keystone of native degradation and superstition, turned on the doctrine of fatality, and its handmaid astrology. To subvert this radical evil, and to supply an antidote, they did not at once commence by initiating their pupils into the theory of the Christian scheme, but as soon as they had acquired the rudiments of learning, judiciously aimed at restoring the tone to the mental system by the inculcation of the principia of astronomy, on a clear and intelligible basis. The field was then prepared for the reception of religious truth, which if sown prior to that preparative course of mental discipline, must have been infallibly choked by the dense jungle of oriental superstition. And yet plain and obvious as the utility of such a course cannot fail to appear to the most ordinary capacity, how little and imperfectly has it been followed by missionaries generally.

Another ground of the success of the American missionaries is to be attributed to their having combined a knowledge of medicine and other scientific acquirements with the missionary character. By this means, they have at once acquired the influence and authority over the native mind, which the Buddhist priests or Brahmins previously contrived to gain by the exercise of their very slight and even empirical knowledge of the healing art.

They have moreover assumed a high and independent position in their intercourse with the natives, and by enforcing payment in return for the benefits of education, wherever practicable, they have done more to render its advantages an object to be desired than all their fellow labourers put together.

Judging from the slight experience I have had of the Singhalese character, I should have ventured to surmise, without requiring to be confirmed by the testimony of those who are more intimately acquainted with them, that few people surpass them in rapidity of perception, and that an innate quickness, with us the exception, is with them the rule.

We shall content ourselves with adducing a few of the more salient points illustrative of the state and progress of education. In the early stages of the American mission, boarding schools seemed to them to be the only means they could employ for rousing the attention of the community to the advantages of education, for removing the pupils from contaminating influences, and for laying a foundation for such permanent results, as the state of things in the country demanded. They found heathenism entrenched behind false systems of science as well as of religion, and those who held the ignorant multitude

[1] In thus criticising the system pursued by the various missionary bodies in Ceylon, it is but candid to state, that two of the Wesleyan missionaries, Messrs. Clough and Gogerly, have eminently distinguished themselves in the field of Pali and Singhalese literature.

under their influence and control, felt themselves to be quite safe and strong in their high places. At an early period they had pleasing evidence that some of the pupils were desirous of embracing Christianity. Such were the most forward and influential in the schools, consequently their example was most salutary upon their associates. They were easily weaned from their fathers' houses, and learned to estimate the value of their existence by what they were, and what they hoped to be in the boarding school. Under such circumstances, it was an important object with them to conform in all things to the wishes of the missionary, and thereby secure his approbation and favour. This natural and amiable trait of character had great influence on the members, and induced them to be baptized and admitted into the Church. The parents at first manifested but little interest in what was going on in the schools. They were satisfied with seeing that their children were well fed, clothed and instructed, and they little knew to what a transforming process their offspring were being subjected. At the time of baptism, an alarm was sounded among the parents generally: it was said the children were becoming Christians, an evil which could not be tolerated. Previous to the ceremony, they had some reason to apprehend that an assault would be made upon them for the purpose of rescuing the candidates from the threatened calamity. All, however, was quiet, and they were admitted into the Church in presence of a large congregation of natives. This event gave a new impulse to thought and feeling in the community. Though many denounced such feelings as dangerous innovations, there was a gradual yielding on the part of parents, and of the people generally, and a tacit consent that their children while supported by the mission, should conform to the wishes of the missionaries, in regard to a profession of Christianity. It was not long before it came to be an honour, and was regarded as the surest course to worldly emolument. They were now in the full tide of success, and had to prepare for the time when the genuineness of the Christianity of their converts would be put to a severe, and in some cases a cruel test. It was for a long time a deeply interesting question, whether these exotics, reared at so much expense and trouble, would endure the deadly blasts which they knew awaited them as soon as they should have been transferred to the moral deserts around them. Caution is necessary in the judgment, for in some instances when they were ready to pronounce the plants withered and dead, they have discovered after indications of life and strength. One generation should at least be allowed to pass away before a final judgment be pronounced. Finally, they weaned them from the milk of dependence, and placed them on the strong meat of self-reliance, by requiring the parents of all who could, to give security for the payment of board, leaving merely a few charity students selected from the children of native Christians.

At length circumstances occurred, which enabled the missionaries to exhibit proofs of the high ground on which they determined to

act for the future. When some of the pupils were detected in immoralities and attending heathen dances, they were dismissed from the institution at Batticotta. It caused a great sensation, and the parents came to implore that they might be taken back, offering any terms to that end. But the missionaries were inflexible, and the result shewed the judgment with which they had acted.

Some years since, the pecuniary embarrassments of the American mission, which led to the withdrawal of their schools, had the effect of raising up heathen schools, to which the children of the more influential and bigoted heathen, who had been accustomed to pay for tuition, were sent. Females were, however, again deprived of education, and there was a great obstacle subsequently to the re-establishment of the mission schools, by the fact that teachers then dependent on the heathen for support, opposed them in every way.

Circumstances have since changed for the better, several of the stations have been re-occupied, and it is now urged by the missionaries, that a Tamil free school for both sexes should be established in every village in the peninsula of Jaffna, the seat of a dense population, in the belief that ere long there will be an opening and a demand for a Christian teacher and catechist; a grant of money has been recently made to this useful mission by the Ceylon Government, on the condition that it is to be expended in the diffusion of English education, in addition to the amount already devoted to that end, and that the schools should be open to visitation. A great demand has lately arisen for teachers, in striking contrast with the many applications for employment formerly received; in itself a proof that the value of education is felt more and more.

Bungalows for schools are in most cases now erected by the villagers themselves. Till lately, the reaction produced by the discovery that there was a limit to the temporal benefits to be expected from the mission, and which had to a great extent divested it of its factitious charms, effectually checked all voluntary efforts. Now, within the circle of the mission range, there is a school to every seven hundred inhabitants; the pupils in the Tamil and English schools form about one-sixteenth of the whole population, and the girls are to the boys as two to three.

As we shall have occasion to enter fully into the facts connected with the original introduction of Christianity into India, when we come to treat of that vast region, we may at once proceed to mention, that the first direct intimation of its existence in Ceylon is to be found in the travels of Cosmas Indicopleustes. He states, that there were several Christian Churches established there in the sixth century, communities probably subject to the surveillance and jurisdiction of a Nestorian primate. The Persian traders to Sieledība (Ceylon), appear to have been very numerous, since there was a church erected for them, the clergy of which received ordination in

Persia; a principal part of their cargoes consisted of Persian horses for the use of the king. In the ninth century, representatives of some of the leading Christian sects continued to conform to that faith, and met with the protection of the king, while many learned Hindoos frequented their meetings. There is some reason to suppose that the new religion met with little countenance among the Singhalese, and that the Christian converts were almost exclusively confined to the mixed races inhabiting many parts of the eastern sea-coasts and the northern lowlands.

We are again reminded of the existence of Christianity in Ceylon in the fourteenth century, by Sir John Maundeville, who then visited it, and mentions, that "Toward the est partye of Prestre Johnes Lond, is an yle gode and gret, that men clepen Taprobane, that is full noble and full fructuous, in that yle there dwellen gode folk and resonable, and manye Christian men amonges them."—Chap. 30. p. 364.

The formularies and doctrines of the Romish Church were first introduced into Ceylon in 1542, by the celebrated Francis Xavier, who has been styled the Apostle of the Indians, and who commenced his devout labours in the neighbourhood of the pearl fishery, whither he had been invited by the inhabitants of Manaar, in consequence of the news of his success on the Indian peninsula. As soon as he landed, he caused some portions of the Creed to be printed with short explanations and prayers, which he formed into a sort of confession of faith. But what he more particularly taught the natives to repeat was the Paternoster, Ave Maria, &c. while he made a forcible impression upon their minds by the austerity of his character and his temperate habits. The priests whom he had sent before him were well received at Manaar, where they found a considerable number of Nestorian Christians, who were willing, despite of the dissonance in their opinions, to enrol themselves among his followers, but the Jaffna prince, who was a Malabar by descent, and a follower of Siva in religion, witnessed their progress with jealousy, and it was not long before he ordered a massacre of 600 inhabitants of the island of both sexes. His elder brother, to whom the crown properly belonged, he also endeavoured to destroy, and it was only by escaping to Goa, where he was well received by the Portuguese, and admitted into the pale of the Christian Church, that he was saved from death. Xavier, who was a true member of the Church militant, at once proceeded to Cochin, to obtain assistance and co-operation for the destruction of the Jaffna tyrant, and entered the bay of Manaar with a small fleet in April 1545, but the enterprise was for the moment rendered abortive by an accident. The Portuguese subsequently subjugated the whole kingdom of Jaffna, but the chief soon shook off the yoke, and again commenced a persecution of the Christians. In 1590, he appeared with a considerable fleet in the bay of Manaar, when there were only sixty men in the fortress, but he met with so warm and unexpected a reception that he was compelled to make a precipitate retreat. In the following year he renewed the

attempt, but with no better success, though reinforced by a considerable body of Malabar pirates; and was himself vanquished and deposed by Don Andrea de Mendoza, who was despatched from Goa by Matthias Alberquerque, the Viceroy, to effect the capture of the island. Thenceforward, in proportion as the Portuguese extended their dominion over the maritime districts of Ceylon, they devoted themselves to the propagation of the Romish faith, to accomplish which they spared neither cajolery, persecution, or violence, and have left behind them evidences alike of their barbarity, and its retributive consequences.[1]

The remnant of a Christian Church was discovered some years ago in the interior.[2] In their dress, colour, general appearance and manners, these people did not perceptibly differ from the rest of the Singhalese, holding nearly the same rank as the Goewansè, and being liable to the same services, though not strictly belonging to the caste. Their religion, there is every reason to believe, was in a very rude and degenerate state. Their only minister was called Sachristian, an ignorant man, who could not read, and who had only a few prayers by heart. They worshipped the Virgin Mary, and prayed before an image of Christ on the cross: they baptized their children and married and buried according to the forms of the Roman Catholic Church, conformably with whose doctrine they believed in purgatory. To what extent their faith was contaminated by the superstitions of the surrounding people it is not very easy to determine. It is reported that they would occasionally visit the temples of Buddha, and make offerings of flowers at his shrine, which is credible enough, when we remember that their religion was not founded on judgment and reason, but on tradition and credulity,—the basis of all superstition. There is no doubt that they were descendants of the numerous converts to Christianity made by the Portuguese at the time that they had so much influence in the interior. In the maritime provinces also, there are an anomalous class of inhabitants, termed Buddhist Christians, descendants of the converts of the Portuguese, who on perceiving that the wearing a cross and prostration before a host were not incompatible with the service of Buddha, determined that in a multitude of deities there must be safety, and worshipped with equal honour the gods of the Hindoos,

[1] Under the Portuguese, Ceylon formed the diocese of a bishop, and Juan Monteiro was the first Primate and Vicar-General of Ceylon, whose remains were deposited in the fort of Colombo in 1636. In 1658, there were in the fort of Colombo two parish churches, one dedicated to the Virgin, and the other to St. Lawrence. There were likewise five religious houses, viz. Convents of the Cordeliers, the Dominicans, the Augustines, the Capuchins, and the College of the Jesuits. Without the fort were seven parishes, some of which retain their ancient names, as St. Sebastian. There were two churches near the present Custom House, St. Francis and St. Cruz, and two others, St. John and St. Stephen, near the racket ground.

[2] In the appendix will be found a brief narrative of the life and proceedings of Padre Vaz, a successor of Xavier, who, like a true knight-errant of the cross, penetrated into the Kandian country, and, if we are to believe his assertions, was preserved by a series of miracles from death and persecution.

the devos of the Buddhists, and the saints of the Roman Catholic calendar.

However purer the Reformed religion, which was professed by the Dutch, might be, when compared with the semi-pagan and debasing superstitions of the Romish Church, it cannot be predicated in their favour that they entered upon the task of propagating it either with equal ardour or from similar motives to the Portuguese. The simplicity and earnestness displayed by their clergy or missionaries in a novel undertaking, and among a strange people, while redounding to the credit of the individuals manifesting it, were neutralised by the efforts of the Government in another direction. What could avail the single-minded efforts of Baldæus and Valentyn against that tide of avarice and rapacity, now the characteristic of this people, during whose prevalence every consideration that was not subservient to those ends was deemed a matter of secondary import. By refusing employment to any but Christian natives, they adopted a sure method of creating hypocrites,[1] but they were far from giving the Singhalese a favourable impression of their religion. It ceases, therefore, to be a subject for astonishment, that, when they departed, their religion departed with them. Some allowance should doubtless be made for the comparatively chilling effects produced by it on a people, who with a natural predisposition to a religion illustrated by magnificent symbols and display, had embraced the Romish faith as correspondent in a great measure with their own notions of what a religion should be, and were but little disposed to become the disciples of a creed which required a considerable share of austerity and self-denial in its disciples.

Under the administration of the Dutch, the Roman Catholic part of the population, whether of European or native extraction, was subject to various restraints and disabilities. They were not permitted to have a separate burial ground, and were compelled to pay an extravagant sum for permission to inter their dead in the Protestant cemeteries. A tax was imposed on the marriage of Catholics, which almost amounted to a prohibition. Though persons professing that faith were very numerous in the European settlements, they were excluded from all civil offices. These restrictions ceased on the arrival of the British, and were formally repealed in June, 1806, when Catholics were placed on a level in every respect, both as respects the free and unmolested exercise of their religion, and the admission to all civil rights and privileges with their Protestant fellow-subjects, and all marriages which had taken place since August, 1795, accord-

[1] Almost all the Singhalese in the maritime districts have been baptised in infancy, chiefly by the Government proponents or catechists appointed under the Dutch, and claim Christian baptism for their infant children, and marriage for their sons and daughters, although they have never perhaps attended a place of Christian worship, except when some of the ordinances of religion have been performed for their friends. The immoral lives of these persons, most of whom are as constant in attendance at the heathen temples as their Kandian neighbours, has had a powerful effect in keeping back the latter from embracing Christianity.

ing to their rites, were declared valid in law, although the forms appointed by the Dutch Government had not been observed. "The Portuguese," says an able writer, "were under the influence of a system of bigotry, which, when it becomes a predominant feeling in the human breast, equally disregards the suggestions of caution, the admonitions of prudence, and the higher considerations of humanity. The Dutch did not bend before the grim Moloch of religious bigotry, nor did they worship at the shrine of superstition, but cent. per cent. was their faith, gold was their object, and Mammon was their god. But the idol of the Dutch is as unfavourable to the growth of the softer virtues, and to all that tends to humanise the exercise of power, as that of the Portuguese, and the insensate avarice of the one proved as injurious to the happiness of the Singhalese, as the enthusiastic bigotry of the other." The Roman Catholics have now numerous chapels; the principal one is situated in the suburbs, and is called St. Lucia. The Vicar-General resides there, and the annual conference is held in August, when the missionaries who belong to the congregation of the order of St. Philip Neni, of Goa, are changed from one station to the other. The vast majority of the fishermen belong to this school. There is another and separate body of Roman Catholics, under the control of a bishop, which numbers among its adherents the more wealthy and influential individuals. The whole number professing that religion in Ceylon, is estimated at from 180,000 to 200,000 persons. By a recent bull, the two Roman Catholic bishops are allotted distinct sees; the Bishop of Torona taking the northern, and the Bishop of Usula the southern division of the island.

It will readily be conceived that any body of religionists connected with the Portuguese branch of the Romish Church, and its off-shoot at Goa, are not likely to be distinguished for the purity and elevation of their faith. In the case of Ceylon, it is very questionable whether the tenets of Buddhism, divested of their idolatrous parasites, would not serve as a brighter beacon to light the path of morality than the insensate and infinitely more debasing tenets of Rome. Thus, if nine-tenths of the Romanists in Ceylon were interrogated as to the objects of their worship, the chance would be that none of their number knew, or perhaps had ever heard of Him whose name they professedly bear, while they could repeat fluently enough a fable connected with the canonization of some Portuguese or Italian priest, who by some extra development of fanaticism might have purchased for himself a place in the Romish calendar.

The ascendancy exercised by the Romish priests over the minds of their flocks is very complete in the places where that religion chiefly obtains, far exceeding that of their Buddhist predecessors; and they have so far shewn no disposition to release that hereditary hold over the pockets of their followers, so natural, and at the same time so becoming in the persons of the successors of the Apostles. As one instance of the elevated and disinterested views by which they are

actuated, it may be mentioned, that, on the abolition of the fish tax by Government, they had the modesty to assume its suspended functions, by demanding, under pain of excommunication, an actually increased impost from those of their body engaged in that calling.

The churches of the Romanists in Colombo are very grand and gorgeous; many of them have been built from funds wrung from the earnings of the devoted fishermen; others are of very humble construction. Here is a picture of a chapel in the Poneryn district: "It consists of a little room, about twenty feet by twelve, with white-washed mud walls and a mud floor, having a number of poles and other instruments in one corner. In the middle was a screen, behind a coarse pile of chunam and mud, in which were three niches; the two outer ones occupied by small, coarse and filthy-looking figures of St. Peter and St Anthony. The middle figure was covered, and none but a man was allowed to uncover it. The priest was not expected to visit it for several months, and the male attendant was away."

With respect to the Anglican Church in Ceylon, little requires to be said. Until recently the number of its members was very limited, comprising chiefly the majority of persons of an official character, and a few native converts. At that time Ceylon was in the diocese of Madras, and the Church was virtually confined to archdiaconal supervision. The advent of English capitalists has naturally produced a change in these respects. Ceylon has now a bishop of its own; the members of the Church are daily increasing; missionary posts are multiplying; more than one native has been ordained priest; an effective episcopal supervision is maintained over the whole island; and what is more important still, the motives and conduct of native converts are beginning to be tested in a fitting manner. In a recent charge to his clergy, the bishop authorised ecclesiastical censure, and in certain cases excommunication, against natives apostatising or relapsing into idolatry after baptism, and a suspension from all Christian privileges, except burial. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has two stations in Ceylon, one in the southern province and another at Calpentyn. The native chiefs who are Christians have, on the part of themselves and the people under them, offered assistance in money, labour, and materials for the erection of churches and schools, if they will only provide clergymen and teachers. Several churches are now on the point of being built in the interior, and several stations are about to be occupied by the two missionary bodies. The bishop has set an example of voluntary effort by raising within the colony a sum equal or double to that advanced by the society.

The results of the Church mission[1] have, as till lately has been the case with all the missions with the exception of the American, been

[1] The Church Mission has three seminaries for training a number of young men selected from their various schools, who are boarded and educated, with a view to their becoming schoolmasters, catechists, and assistant missionaries. The chief institution is at Cotta, five miles from Colombo. The course of study

almost entirely of a negative character. Christianity itself has made but lee-way, yet its ministers have succeeded in sweeping away a vast mass of the prejudices which formerly confronted them. Their present hope rests almost entirely on education; by it alone are the outerworks of heathenism to be carried, and it is an engine the more powerful, in that the Singhalese, after having been subjected a short time to its influence, acquire a stock of knowledge far surpassing that gained by English boys of the same age.

Up to the hour of the conversion of most natives, the all absorbing inquiry has been, "What shall I eat, and what shall I drink, and wherewithal shall I be clothed?" and these wants do not cease with his conversion. Dismembered from his caste and kindred, polluted in his person, and a renegade in the eyes of his countrymen, he is to a great extent deprived of the scanty resources he before enjoyed. Whether the convert be man or woman, old or young, single or married, he is encompassed by a host of difficulties arising from age, sex, or standing in society, difficulties touching the mode, means, and facts of his subsistence. No one is competent to grapple with these questions, unless he has been properly initiated into the domestic habits of this people. The native Church in Jaffna, so far as human instrumentality is concerned, is the offspring of the school establishments in the district, more especially of the boarding schools of the American mission. The boarding school was an asylum where its inmates were at rest in a new world. They had no occasion to care for what they should eat, drink, or wear. They were pensioners on the bounty of Christians in other lands, and were under the immediate superintendence of those who exercised more than a parental care over them. Under such influences, what was to be expected from the beneficiaires? Certainly, the very best that human nature could allow us to expect, nor have such expectations been entirely falsified. Many of the pupils indeed were personally interested in inspiring their countrymen with the most favourable views of Christianity, in order to make way for their own labours. From the nature of their education and training, they are much better fitted to aid in the promotion of religion than of heathenism. This is true, even if they should apostatise; they must obtain a livelihood by teaching what they have learnt. Several points have been gained, which are of primary importance to the interests of the native Church. They have gained access to the people, and the interests of the mission are interwoven with the population of almost every village within their limits. Nominal Christianity is gradually prevailing, and by its prevalence it is becoming more and more easy for all who wish to do so, to place themselves in circumstances favourable to their hearing the Gospel.

comprises Singhalese, English, History, Geography, Geometry, Latin, Greek, Arithmetic, Algebra, Theology, &c. Many of the pupils have shewn under examination a proficiency seldom attained in England by persons with equal advantages.

One of the most disheartening obstacles to missionary success is the almost unconquerable selfishness of the heathen, their view of the excellence of Christianity depending on the number of rix-dollars received in their employment.

On one occasion a native teacher, who had been dismissed for some cause, was very violent in his opposition to the missionaries. About a year or two after he had a quarrel with his wife, which resulted in their separation. Soon after this he rubbed off his ashes, and came with a very grave countenance to the missionaries, and with great pretensions of penitence for his past conduct. Unfortunately for himself, he had informed some of the assistants that he was very desirous of obtaining a situation as teacher. He did not, however, meet with a very favourable reception from them, as they had learned enough of his character to look upon him with suspicion. They gave him no encouragement that he would be employed. Notwithstanding the cold reception they gave him, he continued his visits and attended church regularly for several months. He was soon however convinced that he could not succeed in deceiving them, and that there was no hope of his obtaining employment in the mission. His zeal, therefore, again soon grew cold, his penitence vanished, and he was soon as zealous in his heathenism as ever. And this is not a solitary case.

The employment of native agents has not then been altogether satisfactory, either in respect to their fidelity, or the amount of good accomplished by their instrumentality. Some of them the people see by their conduct are hollow-hearted, and serve them merely for the sake of their wages, and being habitually suspicious of each other, they easily persuade themselves that *none* of the native assistants act from any high motive. A minute and careful examination of the native converts, generally, has led even the missionaries to form a less favourable opinion as to their sincerity than they formerly entertained. "The native Church," say they, "is mercenary in its views and practices, and slow to imbibe evangelical principles of benevolence." This circumstance is to be ascribed to the peculiar circumstances in which they have been brought forward to their present standing. The feeling is, that it is their privilege to receive and not to give. "Even those," say they, "who are truly converted have many and great defects of character." Their former habits of sin,—habits in which they have been trained from infancy,—are not easily overcome and relinquished. They are still in the midst of the heathen, and they are compelled to breathe a polluted atmosphere. Latterly the missionaries have firmly resisted irregularities, and have excommunicated those teachers who have married heathen wives and attended heathen ceremonies.

In cases, however, where the converts have been isolated from the heathen, the results have been much more favourable. It was at one time confidentially asserted and firmly believed, both by natives and Europeans, that no persons of good caste would ever disgrace them-

selves by becoming Christians; yet hundreds have joined, though the work has been difficult and the progress slow. Though the great body of the people still underrate and reject Christianity, and wish to be let alone, preferring education without Christianity if they could obtain it; nevertheless, the missionaries maintain that the whole country is, in a measure, leavened with Christianity, and the conscience of the people has to a great extent been gained.

The Wesleyans and Baptists have several stations in Ceylon, and the Central Educational Commission has placed under their care several establishments for the education of masters and of children, on a scale more costly and comprehensive than they could have formed from the resources of their societies. Their normal school for the training of native masters has been established at Colombo, and bids fair to realize the most sanguine hopes of its promoters. It already numbers forty male and ten female pupils, who give promise of the highest efficiency. In the district of Jaffna their schools have met with similar success, and the education of girls is at length becoming a highly important part of their duties. After the example of the Americans, they no longer support the pupils of their institution in this province, but require security for their board.

In 1840, when the Wesleyans first excited attention to their proceedings in the district of Batecalo, the people maintained that they bewitched their converts, or that they possessed the juices or essence of some dead men of renown, and that they dropped a portion into the water with which they baptised the people, so as to render them zealous for Christianity. One missionary thus speaks of the district of Negombo: "The inhabitants in general are deeply degraded. For indolence, improvidence, selfishness, and deadness of heart, they cannot be exceeded. They will reply to the expostulations of the missionaries, that they will become Christians, if the God whom they declare will grant them some immediate benefit as a proof of his omnipotence. Such is their utter degradation, that out of every hundred persons, seventy would deliver false evidence on oath for a pice, or a glass of arrack each. This is to them neither a secret nor a cause of shame. One village is notorious for its brutality. In all the villages may be seen numbers of young and old, almost in a state of nudity, hurrying to their graves. Two-thirds of the whole population of Gangabaddé-pattoo and Belligam-Korle, in the Southern Province, are appoohamies, or gentlemen in appearance by day, and thieves by night. The people gamble in every direction, and the losing parties roam about by night, in gangs of forty or fifty, to make up their losses by robbery."

Of the southern and eastern provinces of Ceylon, which they have occupied in considerable force, the missionaries report more favourably. In many cases, natives have raised chapels at their own expense. They believe a spirit of inquiry to have been excited among the heathen population in thousands of instances, especially among the higher classes and priesthood. This has led to a close investiga-

tion of the doctrines of Christ, and a comparison of them with their own systems. A change is visible to all; there is an evident falling off in the public displays of the heathen priesthood, both in their ceremonies and festivals, and a loss of influence over the native population, as well as a diminution in the offerings at the temples.

Results such as these are, in some degree, to be attributed to the more direct favour shewn to Christianity by the local Government. Thus, in recently proposing an ordinance for the instruction of the natives, the Colonial Secretary intimated that Ceylon was thereby virtually declared from thenceforth a Christian colony, and by a subsequent ordinance it is provided, that within certain distances of the chief towns of the island, the public pursuit of business, or any trade, in sight or hearing of places of Christian worship, and during the hours of divine worship, shall be punishable as an offence. The beating of tom-toms and discharge of fire-works is also forbidden without a licence.

Before closing our remarks on the state of Christianity in Ceylon, we cannot refrain from bearing our testimony to the single-mindedness, judgment, and truthfulness, which has characterized the missionary body in that colony. They have not, like too many of their cotemporaries in the Pacific, the West Indies, and the Cape, added by their own presence a plague to the evils they had come to cure. They have not, like too many of their brethren there, deemed a sordid greed and agrarian acquisitiveness, audacious exaggerations, and the vilest hypocrisy, impudent meddling and vulgar insolence, to be necessary components of the missionary character! On the contrary, they have practised self-denial in every form and shape, have worked in an exhausting climate with more than superhuman energy, have always under rather than overrated their own success, and have, alas, in too many instances, left their bones to bleach on the shores of the island they had come to save!

The Singhalese, though not given to violence, are, even more than the Hindoos, extremely addicted to litigiousness, the slightest pretext affording them ground for a manifestation of it; hence their disregard of truth need not be a subject of astonishment, any more than their readiness to commit wilful perjury when a purpose has to be served. The causes of this litigious tendency were the former corrupt administration of the laws, the frequent change of officers, the liberty of renewing trials almost indefinitely, and the privilege of appeal from one court to another. It must nevertheless be admitted that the British system of jurisprudence, and the trial by jury, have operated, in some degree, beneficially in mitigating the evil, and though evasion is, as it were, burnt into the character of the whole people, yet the higher and educated classes are at length beginning to discover, that honesty is the best policy, in Ceylon as elsewhere. In the several courts of justice, oaths were formerly administered to the natives, whether Buddhists or demon worshippers upon the Hallan, consisting of a

couple of large cylindrical copper rings, containing small iron balls. These rings are of an oblong form, about twelve inches in circumference, and represented the bangles of the Hindoo goddess Patiné, which the kapurall, at devil ceremonies for the sick, places between the first and second toes of each foot, and keeps in a revolving motion at certain intervals throughout the night, to the sound of conch shells and tam-a-tams. When produced in court for the purpose of administering an oath to witnesses, these bangles wrapped in a red cloth, and kept in a round box, decorated with annular stripes of red, yellow, and black paint, were held by the kapurall towards the witness, who, extending his hands in a prayerful attitude, and bending his head, repeated a similar oath to that taken in British courts of justice. Oaths were administered to Buddhist priests upon the sacred books of the temple, to Hindoos upon the water of the Ganges and tolse leaves; to Arabs and other Mahommedans upon the Koran by a priest. From circumstances which had transpired indicative of the little regard the Singhalese, or rather the more strictly Buddhist portion of them had for the Hallan as a means of eliciting truth, representations were made to the Government some years ago by the civil servants. In point of fact, the Singhalese had not been slow to perceive that there had long prevailed an indifference on the part of the local Government as regarded the administration of oaths, the result of which was a corresponding degree of perjury on their part. Evidence may still be readily procured by bribery; hence the police vidahns should be selected from the Dutch or Portuguese wherever practicable; as the truth can with difficulty be extracted from Buddhists but by an appeal to their superstitious fear, the Bogaha tree and not the Hallan, which is only binding on devil worshippers, ought therefore to have been made the medium of administering oaths. An instance is given by Mr. Bennett in support of this assertion. "A defendant in a civil action proposed that judgment should be given in favour of the plaintiff, instead of the trial proceeding, if he would swear that the debt claimed was just: the plaintiff readily advanced with the palms of his hands pressed together to be sworn upon the Hallan; but to that form of oath the defendant objected, the plaintiff being a Buddhist, and therefore, according to his ideas of right, ought to be sworn upon the sacred books within a temple or under a Bogaha. The priests of the temple could alone decide the point raised by the objection, no other mode of swearing Buddhists except on the Hallan being legal, while the code of regulations forbade resort to any unusual way of administering oaths to Singhalese witnesses; but when the plaintiff heard the interpreter repeat the directions of the court, to send for the priests from the temple, he, fearing that the oath was about to be put to him under a Bogaha or in a temple, as it had been formerly done under the Dutch government, voluntarily submitted to a nonsuit." The

Bogaha is of rapid growth and easily propagated, so that every court of justice might possess one near or within its precincts. Truth may then be expected from Buddhist witnesses, as they dare not under that circumstance commit perjury. Within late years the system of adjuration has been entirely abolished, a simple affirmation being found to be equally efficacious in eliciting truth, and obviating the frequent commission of perjury before prevailing.

There have been several charters from time to time issued for the better administration of justice in Ceylon; three were issued during the reign of George III., the first in April 1801, the second in August 1810, and the third in October 1811. Under these charters there was a Supreme Court of Judicature,[1] and a High Court of Appeal; the latter was abolished by the charter of 1833. At the same time minor courts of exclusive original jurisdiction in all cases whatever, except in those of the more atrocious crimes tried before a jury in the Supreme Court, were appointed in the several districts of the island; thence called District Courts: in these causes are tried by the District Judge and three native assessors, from which an appeal lies, even in interlocutory judgments or orders in the course of the trial, to the Superior Court. The appointment of three assessors, has practically turned out to be one of the most specious, yet most delusive attempts ever made to hoodwink a community. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the assessors to whom the judge expounded the law of a case, coincided in his view. But in exceptional cases, where the opinion of the assessors and judge varied as to matter of fact, the judgment of the former has been overruled or attempted to be overruled in almost every instance; and a judge who had moral dignity enough to be unwilling to act "under instructions," and simplicity enough to imagine that in tracing the motives and tendencies which had led to the commission of an act by natives, the mental ratiocination of natives was not altogether valueless, has been superseded from this and cognate causes, to the great scandal of the executive authority as there administered. The Supreme Court, composed of the Chief Justice and two Puisne Judges, was appointed as a court of appellate jurisdiction for the correction of all errors committed by the District Courts, or in cases where the parties were unwilling to accept their decision. The Governor has the power to respite the sentence of the Supreme Court, in the case of persons condemned to death. In any civil case also where the value exceeds five hundred pounds, the parties, by giving sureties to the amount of three hundred pounds, can appeal to the Queen in Council. The judges now, unlike those of the High Court of

1 In civil cases laymen are associated as assessory with a Judge of the Supreme Court, and in a recent case, where the opinion of the assessor differed from that of the Judge and was overruled, the defeated party appealed to the Privy Council by whom the judgment was reversed.

Appeal, only *administer* the laws which are framed by the Executive, with the aid of the Queen's advocate and his deputies, and passed by the Legislative Council. The judges are aided by a respectable bar, several of the native practitioners having passed through a preparative course in England. The barristers are here termed advocates, the solicitors proctors, and are entitled to the affix of Appoohamie, or Gentlemen. The criminal sessions are held four times a year, in February, May, August and November. In other places the sessions are held twice a year; in the northern circuit in February and July; in the southern in March and September; and in the midland in February and August. According to the Charter granted to the island in 1833, one of the three judges must always remain in Colombo. Though the magistrates of the District Courts have no power to condemn a person to suffer death, to be transported or imprisoned for more than a year, to suffer more than one hundred lashes, or to be fined more than ten pounds, yet all civil cases exceeding £5. in amount, and nineteen-twentieths of all criminal cases originate there, cases many of them of the most intricate character, requiring a knowledge of every branch of law. By the Charter of 1833, a power of altering or modifying the law in Ceylon was confined to the Crown through the medium of a Charter. The inconvenience of this course was necessarily soon felt, as the local Government was thereby fettered from introducing any improvement, modifying any provisions having a pernicious effect, and correcting any unforeseen tendencies; a supplementary Charter was accordingly conferred in 1843, and on being found in some respects defective, another was promulgated in the following year. Under its provisions, Courts of Request, police magistrates, justices of the peace, coroners and deputy coroners, have been appointed in numerous instances, the duty of holding inquests having previously been one of the functions of the District Judge, and ere long it is to be hoped that the District Courts of Ceylon will be presided over by men connected with the profession of the law, and be no longer remarkable for decisions at variance with its most elementary principles. The judicial division of the island comprises three Circuits, called the Northern, Midland, and Southern Circuits of the Supreme Court, but there is besides the Home Circuit, now designated the Colombo District Courts. For an account of the Circuit and District Courts, and other modifications, I must refer the reader to the Appendix.

The law prevailing in the maritime provinces, is the Roman-Dutch law, called the Statutes of Batavia, which is founded on the Pandects of Justinian, and rendered applicable as far as possible to local circumstances. Though resting on a similar basis to that of nearly the whole public law of Europe, yet the stringency of some of its provisions, and the harshness of its general tenor, have caused it to be disliked by the natives, who would much prefer the substitution

of English law, as the more lenient and better adapted to their improved state. In the central province the Kandian law, as far as it can be ascertained, still prevails.[1]

Trial by jury was introduced into Ceylon in 1811, by Sir A. Johnston, who had so well digested his plan, as to leave no doubt of its success. Its insular situation and comparatively small population, pointed it out as the proper place for an experiment of the system, prior to its being transplanted into India, and diminished the fear of any bad consequences in case of failure. In order to adapt it, as much as possible, to the religion and prejudices of the natives, the priests of Buddha and the Brahmins were consulted, and the plan matured in conformity with their suggestions. Every free native of Ceylon twenty-one years of age is qualified to be a juryman. Persons only of dishonest, or otherwise bad character are excluded. They are summoned to the session in turn, by the fiscal or sheriff of the province, and especial care is taken that no religious ceremony or civil pursuits and duties be interrupted by the summons. On the first day of the session, all the jurymen summoned attend in court, their names are called over, and they hear the judge's charge. The prisoners are then arraigned, each having the right of being tried by thirteen jurymen of his own caste, unless special reason is given against it to the satisfaction of the judge, either by the prisoner or the advocate fiscal. When the caste is decided on, the names of the jurymen of that caste who are present in court, are put into an urn by the registrar who withdraws them. The prisoner may object to five peremptorily, and to any number for sufficient cause. The jury are then sworn, and the trial proceeds. Particular care is taken on the jury retiring, that they shall hold no communication with any one till the verdict is given. The jurymen are so summoned, that in two years every juryman appears once in court, and hears the charge of the judge, about a fourth of them attending at each session. Their great number, and the mode in which they are chosen by ballot, precludes the possibility of its being ascertained beforehand who will sit on any jury, while the prisoner, by the unlimited right of challenge, has every protection that can be desired. The verdict in Ceylon is given by a majority of the jurors, who, under a rule of the Supreme Court, are not permitted to divulge either their own opinion, or that of any of their fellows. The exclusion of every

[1] In the district of Putlam the Mahommedan law prevails, as also in all cases litigated between two parties of that faith. In the northern province a peculiar description of native law, called the "Thesa Walama," obtains, a knowledge of which can only be attained after some residence. It was collected and codified by the Dissave of the province in 1707, and the British Government approved of its adoption among the natives, it being considered well adapted to their habits and opinions. Some of its peculiar characteristics are that daughters do not inherit equally with sons, and a woman's property cannot be incumbered with the debts of her husband.

person of notoriously bad character from the rolls of jurymen, has greatly raised the tone of morality, and desire for truth, among the natives, by degrading in their estimation those who are found wanting, making the office of jurymen one which all its possessors consider a mark of honour. By their frequent attendance on the court, they are continually brought in contact with Europeans, and have every opportunity of becoming acquainted with their sentiments, and profiting by the information contained in the judge's charge. So great has been the combined effect of these circumstances, that the abolition of slavery, which had been positively rejected by these very jurymen in 1806, was in 1816 spontaneously adopted by a large proportion of the slaveholders in Ceylon. They had before been unanimous against it, they were now almost unanimous in its favour. Among the causes of this remarkable change of sentiment, the most powerful was the constant endeavour of Sir A. Johnston, in his charge at the commencement of each session, to impress on the jurymen, most of whom were slaveholders, the feelings with which slavery was regarded in England, and the difficulty they must often find in impartially discharging their duty as jurymen in cases concerning slaves, while they themselves continued slave proprietors. This effect, so desirable to every humane mind, has not been the only advantage consequent on the introduction of trial by jury into Ceylon. It has also been attended with considerable reduction both in the number and expense of the judicial establishment, while it has increased its efficiency. When the English judges were judges both of law and fact, there were two, and sometimes even three judges on a trial: one trial has been known to last six weeks, and ten days was by no means an uncommon time. The trial by a jury of natives, who from their ability to unravel the perplexed web of oriental ratiocination, are so much better qualified to appreciate the evidence brought before them, has not only rendered unnecessary the presence of more than one judge, but a trial is seldom known now to last more than a day, or a session more than ten days, thus relieving witnesses and other parties from a tedious and expensive attendance at the courts. By the increased intercourse that has arisen between the English judges and other law officers, and the native jurymen, the latter have become acquainted with the principles on which justice is administered; many able and public spirited natives, well qualified to act as magistrates, have also been brought under the notice of the government, and are found to perform their duties with the greatest efficiency, while the attachment of all classes to the British government has been increased by the judicious disposal of these newly created distinctions: and the public spirit of all classes been excited.

CHAPTER VIII.

Population of Ceylon—Impediments to its correct enumeration—Tendency to increase—Peculiar disparity in the sexes—Returns of the estimated Population of the maritime provinces in 1814 and 1824—Estimated Population of Ceylon in 1824—Ascertained Population in 1835, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1843, 1844, 1845—Estimated Population in 1848—Average to the square mile—Estimated Population of Colombo and Kandy—Components of the Population of Ceylon—The Veddahs or Aborigines, originally divided into Nagas or snake worshippers, and Yakkas or devil worshippers—Irruption of Wijeya, and his treacherous usurpation—Migration of the Yakkas into the wilderness—Calumnies of the Singhalese Historians—Assistance rendered by the Yakkas to Panduwasa, and subsequently to Pandukabhaya—Fabulous legend current among the Singhalese in respect of their origin—Receive the name of Veddahs posterior to the reign of Dootoogaimonoo—Boundaries of the territory now occupied by them.—Division into two communities—Wild and Village Veddahs—Detailed description of their appearance, mode of life, &c. &c. according to Knox—Their rank in the Singhalese classification of caste—Exaggerated accounts of their ferocity consistent with the policy of their Kandian headmen—Indistinct notion of a superior power—Their simple and timid manners, and rude virtues—Measures now being taken for drawing them within the pale of civilization—Formation of Villages, Education, &c.—The Singhalese, their national costume—The Tamuls or Tamulians, their division into tribes, description of each, Costume, character, &c.—The Mookwas—their origin, circumstances connected with their arrival in Ceylon, form of Government, character, customs—The Moors of Ceylon—Their supposed origin, ceremonies attending a betrothal—The marriage rite, and its subsequent observances—The rite of circumcision—Funeral ceremonies—Character of the Moors—The Burghers, Portuguese and Dutch, their position and prospects respectively—English society in Ceylon—Its inflexible resistance against the inroads of Oriental luxury—The Malays—Their banishment by the Dutch from Java, Malacca, and Sumatra, and their unswerving fidelity to the British Government—Military qualities—General character and attire—Kaffres—Parsees.

THE population of Ceylon has only been determined within the last few years with any degree of accuracy, and even now there is no positive certainty, but that the ungrounded apprehensions of the timid natives may have in many cases kept them aloof from the enumerators. It is no longer questioned, that the extraordinary discrepancy observable in every census, arose from an expectation on the part of the natives, that it was resorted to for the purposes of taxation, or for the more rigid enforcement of Raja Karia. What wonder is it, therefore, that the efforts of the Government to arrive at a solution of this *vexata quæstio* were so long defeated? The

rebellion in which the majority were engaged, was another impediment: men compelled to desert their hearths and homesteads, and skulk in the ravine or jungle, could scarcely be expected to be accounted for in a statistical return. We must come down, therefore, to a later period, if we wish to form a correct notion of the tendency of the people to increase or decrease. Fortunately, there are many circumstances indicative of increase independently of the Government returns. It is in fact a matter of eyesight, and is in the highest degree encouraging; inasmuch as it proves that it is the result of the improved condition of the people. The disparity in the number of the sexes exhibited by the returns is a curious phenomenon, and peculiar to Ceylon. It exists in the greatest degree among the Singhalese, where the disproportion of females averages 12 per cent., but it is even observable in the case of the Malabar population in the northern province, where the disproportion averages six per cent. This disparity is greatest in the poorest parts of the country, and where the population is thinnest, and where it is most difficult to support life, and smallest where there is least want. In some of the villages on the coast where food is abundant, the number of females rather exceeds that of the males, hence there is reason to hope that the daily improvements in agriculture and incitements to industry now existing, will eventually modify, if not correct this discouraging circumstance altogether. Ceylon formerly supported with ease four times the population now so partially spread over its surface, and with its augmented resources, is capable of yielding a supply of food for twice their number. The maritime provinces are the only parts of it that are even moderately peopled, and in the eastern and central provinces the population is sparse to a degree.

The alleged population of the maritime provinces, was in 1814, 467,000 souls of both sexes and all ages; in 1824 of do. 595,105. Total estimated population of Ceylon in 1824, 852,000; ascertained population of do. in 1835, 1,215,000; of do. in 1837, 1,243,066; of do. in 1838, 1,266,739; 1839, 1,350,611; 1840, 1,381,062; 1843, 1,421,631; 1844, 1,447,140; 1845, 1,472,649. Estimated population of Ceylon in 1848, 1,551,350. Estimated population of Colombo in 1832, 31,519; 1848, 44,550; of these about 500 are Europeans, excluding the military, the latter with their families number 1,000. Descendants of Europeans, 3,500; giving a total of about 5,000 whites. Estimated population of Kandy in 1819, 2,850; of do. in 1848, including military, 7,620. Average to the square mile 62·10.

In enumerating the various races inhabiting Ceylon, the wild people supposed to be descended from the remnant of Yakkas,[1] or

1 Some have endeavoured to account for the origin of the Veddahs, as if from a race of Malabar fugitives, but there is not a tittle of producible evidence in support of the assertion, and the only circumstance that can be said to give colour

Yakshakes (devil worshippers), will properly claim the first share of our attention. Unwilling to conform along with the rest of their race to the doctrines of the Buddhist faith as professed by the conqueror, and driven by oppression and treachery into the wilderness, these primeval children of Lanka's forest wastes were compelled to endure an amount of hardship and suffering, in comparison with which the treatment of the Britons by our Saxon forefathers may be considered merciful, and under it they gradually sank into the debased condition in which they are now found, and in which for upwards of twenty centuries they have continued to live. Perjury, and the slaughter of a helpless and unoffending people, were not events with which Buddhist historians would willingly inaugurate their annals in Ceylon; they have therefore infused an alloy of fable into the genuine history of this period, and veiled under the cover of a divine avenger the atrocities of the kinsman of Gautama. Known in later days by the names of Vaddahs, Veddahs, Weddas or Bedas, this race inhabits a vast tract of forest country, comprising an area of nearly 1500 square miles, denominated Veddah Ratté and Maha Veddah Ratté, the former in the district of Bintenné,[1] and the latter in Wellassé and a part of Ouva, the whole being bounded to the east by Batecalo, to the south by the Mahagampattoo and Ouva districts, to the west and south-west by the Kandian mountains, and to the north by the Mahavellé-ganga. Sometimes the Veddahs roam as far as the coast, but they retire into their own country on the approach of the rainy season. On the invasion of Wijeya, the Yakkas escaped into their present haunts, where they have preserved the purity of their race and their primitive superstitions. Much as the Singhalese historians affect to despise and abominate the Yakka race, whose breasts their countrymen had early imbued with those feelings of terror and distrust, which in after times were perpetuated by their descendants in constant acts of violence towards the unhappy

to such an opinion, is the jumble of the Malabar and Singhalese tongues in which they express themselves, but this may be accounted for by their vicinity to the Malabar settlements in the north-east part of the island.

[1] In the ninth month after his sacred character was established, Gautama arrived at the town of Maha-welligam, the Yakka capital in Ceylon (now called Myungana, near the village of Bintenné), then reported to have occupied a space twelve miles in length by eight in breadth, on the banks of the Mahavellé-ganga. The majority of the Yakkas appear to have been converted to the Buddhist faith, and to have driven those who adhered to their ancient superstitions into the rocky island or islands called Yakgiri. Tradition places these isles to the south-east of Ceylon, and the legends which are preserved on that coast of sunken cities, may refer to some territory of which the Bass (Baxas) rocks are the only visible remains. A portion of Gautama's hair, cut off when he became a Buddha, was enclosed in a golden casket, over which a dagobah (Myungana) was built, in the town of Maha-welligam, which relic is said to have prevented the return of the Yakkas whom Buddha had expelled, and whose religion he had superseded.—*Forbes*, *p.* 201. vol. 2.

Veddahs, and wrongly as they have denounced the Yakka aborigines, as being identical with the demons which they worshipped, yet they are nevertheless constrained to mention the services they performed to the conqueror. Thus Panduwasa, the nephew and successor of Wijeya, when seized with the leprosy, or more properly tiger-sickness, that had terminated the life of his predecessor, in his apprehension that he had inherited the curse of the Yakkas with the throne of his ancestor, sent for the demon worshippers, by whose interposition[2] we are told his malady was effectually healed, and he in return promised protection and favour to the oppressed exorcists.

We subsequently find them enlisted in the service of Pandukab-

2 The legend of the origin of this people is one of the most extravagant ever conceived by the imagination. When Panduwasa was afflicted with the tiger disease, a compound of cough, asthma, fever and diabetes, the gods consulted on the means by which he might be restored to health, and found that it could not be effected without the aid of one not born of woman. The difficulty was to find such a person. Eiswara, however, volunteered his services, and changed himself into a monster like a Brachmea. In this shape he was bitten in the sole of the foot till it bled, by Rahoo the malicious king of the Asurs, who had gone under ground in the form of a beetle, (Bingooroo). The incident being noticed by the gods, they rallied Eiswara, and asked him if he were fit for the enterprise who could not protect his own feet. Rahoo being preferred and sent on the service, discovered Malaya-Raja, king of Mallawadaise, the son of Vishnu, sprung from a flower. Rahoo, changing himself into an immense boar, laid waste the royal gardens, to the great consternation of the gardeners, who fled to the palace and told what was passing. The King, who was a keen sportsman, hastened to the spot with his huntsmen, whom he ordered to drive the boar towards him. The boar when pressed, at one bound flew over the head of the King, who shot an arrow through him in passing, but without effect, the animal continuing his flight. The King, irritated, instantly gave pursuit with his attendants in the direction that the boar had taken, and landed in Ceylon at Oorastotta (Hog ferry) near Jaffna; the boar alighted near Attapittia. A piece of sweet potato that he brought from the garden in his mouth, and which he here dropt, was immediately changed, it is said, into a rock which still preserves its original form, and is still called Battalegallé, or sweet potato rock. The King came up with the beast on the hill Hantana, near Kandy, instantly attacked him sword in hand, and with the first blow inflicted a deep gash. On receiving this wound the boar became transformed into a rock now called Ooragallé, which is very like a hog, and is said to retain the mark of the wound. The King while surprised and unable to comprehend the meaning of the marvels he had just witnessed, received a visit from Sacrea, Vishnu, and other gods, who explained the mystery that perplexed him, and the object in drawing him to Ceylon; he alone, not being born of woman, having it in his power to break the charm under which Panduwasa laboured. Malaya-Raja, complying with the wishes of the gods, ordered the Cohomba-yakoo dance to be performed, which, it is said, drove the sickness out of the King into a rock to the northward of Kandy, which is still called "the rock of the tiger-sickness." The King returned to Mallawadaise, and left most of his attendants in Ceylon, at the desire of the grateful Panduwasa, who alloted them the forests as their exclusive possession—a certain extent to each man, that they might enjoy their favourite diversion of hunting. Such is the Singhalese notion of the progenitors of the Veddahs, whom they believe to have possessed originally more than human power, but having gradually degenerated, to have become what they now are, wild and barbarous.

haya, who defeated his uncles and seized the throne, on which occasion the Yakka chiefs, Kalawelo and Chitto, were invested with increased privileges, and were honoured at public festivals with a seat of equal height on either side of the monarch. Hence it may be inferred that the Yakkas were sufficiently numerous and powerful to render it politic to the conqueror to conciliate them, and though they were thenceforward denominated by a general appellation derived from their Singhalese masters, they appear for twenty-three centuries to have maintained their distinctive character, being never mentioned under their aboriginal name of Yakka posterior to the reign of Dootoogaimonoo, when they appear in an account of the attack of the rocky mountain of Ritigalla, by one of the chiefs of Dootoogaimonoo, contained in the Singhalese work Saddhamma Lankara.

The Veddahs are divided into two communities, varying considerably in their manners and mode of life. One, called "the wild or forest Veddahs," build their huts in trees, live in pairs, only occasionally assembling in greater numbers, and exhibit no traces of the remotest civilization, nor any knowledge of social rites; the other, called "the village Veddahs," who may be said to be a link between the Singhalese and their wilder brethren, congregate in villages, live in huts, and cultivate—if scratching the earth, scattering seed, and sticking roots into the ground, can be dignified with such an appellation—small patches of Kurakkan, maize, and a wild species of Brinjal. In times of scarcity they will eat decayed wood, mixed with honey, and made into cakes, but this not so much for nourishment as to distend their empty stomachs and allay the distressing feelings of hunger. These domesticated Veddahs hold their wilder brethren in great fear and abhorrence, and seldom meet without coming to blows.

Knox offers us a detailed account of these people, which we shall give the reader in his own words; for if the manners and character of the Singhalese are declared by every successive writer to present the slightest possible variation from the description of Knox, little change can be looked for in a race scarcely deemed human, and still less capable of being improved by their but half-civilised neighbours. Speaking of the wild Veddahs, he remarks: "The land of Bintenné is covered with mighty woods, filled with abundance of deer. Here are found the wild men called Vaddahs, who live apart from the other inhabitants, but speak the Chingulay's language. They kill deer, and dry the flesh over the fire, and the people of the country come and buy it of them. They do not till any ground for corn, their food being confined to flesh, and fish when they can catch it. They are therefore very expert with their bows: they use a little axe fastened to their sides, to cut honey out of hollow trees; a few who border on the Singhalese provinces engage in commerce, but generally speaking they have neither towns nor houses, but live by the

rivers under trees, the boughs of which are cut and laid round about them, to give notice of the approach of wild beasts, by their rustling and trampling. Some of the more civilized are, to some extent, subject to the King of Kandy; for when met with, they acknowledge his authority, and bring elephants' teeth, honey, wax, and deer's flesh to his officers, and they in lieu thereof make them a present of arrows, cloth, &c. of the same value, fearing lest otherwise they should appear no more. The wild Veddahs, moreover, when in want of arrows, will carry a load of flesh in the night, and hang it up in a smith's shop, placing by its side a leaf cut in the form they wish their arrows made. If the smith finish them according to the pattern, they will further reward him, but if he break faith, they will seek the first opportunity for revenge. When the smith has made the arrows, he leaves them in the same place where the Veddahs hung the flesh. At one time, the wild Veddahs laid in wait for the carriers from Kandy, who brought down bullock loads of betel nuts to the seaports, and took back cloth, and compelled them to supply their wants, threatening otherwise to put them to death. At last the King sent parties of troops to effect their capture, but they would never have been taken, but for the treachery of some of the tribe, who had been bribed to betray the rest. When their chief was brought before the King, he expressed contrition, and was pardoned, but was sent into a different locality, with an injunction not to return to his former haunts, nor to revert to his old practices, but as soon as he had regained his liberty he returned to his old vocation in the same spot, intelligence of which being brought to the King, he ordered their capture, dead or alive.

"The Veddahs, conscious that there was no hope of pardon, would not be taken alive, but were shot by intestine perfidy. The heads of two chiefs were hung on trees near the city, and ever since the Veddahs have ceased to disturb the country. On one occasion, when the King set out on a sudden expedition against the Dutch, on being summoned to attend him they complied, and with their bows and arrows did as good service as any of the rest, but when they returned, fearing another summons, they retired into the innermost recesses of the forest to evade it."

They never comb, cut, or clean their hair, or shave their heads, but tie it up on their crowns in a bunch, and let it hang from their shoulders. In consequence it is very bushy, matted, and discoloured by the sun, and shades their face in a very luxuriant and disgusting manner. The cloth they use is neither broad nor long, and scarcely sufficient to cover their buttocks. Both the wild and partially civilised have a religion and deity peculiar to themselves. The latter build temples, but the former offer their sacrifices under trees, and the men and women dance around. Each company has its specific territory, and must not wander out of bounds to shoot game, or

gather honey or fruit. Thus on one occasion, to the knowledge of Knox, a Veddah was seen by his neighbour gathering fruit from his jack-tree, and being remonstrated with, he proceeded from words to blows, and one of them shot the other. Hence arose a conflict between two companies, the issue of which was the death of from twenty to thirty of their number. Though ignorant of every art except such as hardly deserve the name, they are very nice as to the shape of their arrows, and the smith has difficulty in pleasing them. The King once sent all of them his best wrought arrow-blades in return for a present they had sent him, but they did not satisfy them; for they ran to a rock near a river, and were seen to grind them into another shape. On the other hand, the Singhalese cannot use their arrows, so peculiar are they. The cord of their bows is made of a tough fibrous plant.

They cut a hollow in a tree, into which they put honey, and then filling it up with flesh, stop it up with clay. This is their reserve for times of scarcity. Deer's flesh they cut into long slices, and dry in the sun, but if the best of Ceylon venison is lean and insipid in its natural state, it will be easily conceived that it would require molares of no ordinary character to masticate it after undergoing this process.

The way in which they have been erroneously supposed to catch elephants, is by striking an axe into the sole of their feet when asleep, and thus laming them, but to this it may be objected, that the sole of the elephant's foot is too hard to be pierced by an axe at a blow, besides, stupid as he frequently is, he is yet too wakeful to afford them such an opportunity. The real mode is with long-bladed arrows and bows, with which they creep close up to the animal, lying on their backs, and holding the bow with their toes, which they use with the same facility that we do our hands, shoot to the heart, or the yet more vulnerable part, the ear. Should the elephant have escaped receiving a mortal wound, the hunters follow on his track until he falls exhausted, or by a fresh attack, when, besides the ivory, they recover their arrows. Activity saves them from danger in this pursuit, and so cautious and stealthy is their pace, that they seldom startle any game they want to approach; hence the Singhalese believe that no wild animal will fly from a forest Veddah. The wild buffalo, elk, wild hog, and samver are also their favourite game. Their arrows are winged with the deep red feathers of the peacock. Their marriage portions are hunting dogs. Savages as they are, their manners are said to be courteous. Discontented Singhalese have deserted their own houses and friends and gone and lived among them, and always met with civil treatment.

They have hardly any knowledge of numbers, according to Davy, and cannot count above five; and are wholly ignorant of the virtues of medicinal plants. Attached by habit to their untrammelled, yet

miserable mode of life, any other more refined must at first be intolerable to them. Like most savages, they consider themselves at the height of happiness, when they have eaten to repletion. Their only other enjoyments consist in movements that can hardly be called dancing, and guttural sounds little akin to melody. In their saltatory movements, which are accompanied by singing, they begin jumping about with their feet together, till becoming warm from exercise, their hands, hitherto inactive, are employed in stroking their bellies, till by gradually becoming more animated they clap their hands as they jump, and nod their heads, throwing their long entangled forelocks from behind over their face.

They may be said to have rather a black hue, fiery eyes, an intensely wild expression of feature, moderate stature, the latter not exceeding five feet five inches in height, but are well made and full of activity. Their dress is the scantiest covering that can possibly be used, consisting of a small piece of cloth depending in front from a string tied round the loins, to which a small bag is frequently attached. The Veddahs observe neither the rites of marriage[1] nor burial, taking a woman, and when tired of her, parting from her and seeking another; nor do they give their children rice names, as do the Singhalese, but they believe that they propitiate the great demon with offerings, and resort to the horrid practice of consigning their dead to the wild beasts of the jungle instead of burning or burying them. In the classification of Singhalese castes, the Veddahs rank in the Goewansé of the highlands, and Vellalé of the maritime provinces (cultivators), a high caste, and the one by which all temple and state honours have been monopolised from time immemorial, though agriculture is their exclusive privilege in the specification of employments peculiar to each. Perhaps, after all, the condition of the Veddahs is not more debased than that of the Singhalese would have been, had they been compelled to use the same exertions, endure the same privations, and live as outcasts in a foreign wilderness.

The Veddahs till lately had Kandians of the neighbouring districts for headmen, through whom they kept up a sort of communication with the Government, but this was to some extent a source of their degradation; for their wild nature was exaggerated, and no pains were taken to amend their habits, extend their comforts, or improve their appearance; inasmuch as the less civilised they were, the more easy was it for the headmen to impose on their credulity, and thus

[1] To procure a wife, says Davy, the Veddah does not commence a process of courtship, but goes immediately to the parents, asks their consent to have their single daughter, and if the first to ask, is never refused. They appear to be without names. A Veddah interrogated on the subject, said, "I am called a man; when young I was called the little man, and when old I shall be called the old man."—p. 117.

obtain for a trifle ivory and dried deer's flesh, the produce of their bows. In addition to these evils, the children were, even within a recent period, frequently trepanned by the Moormen of the vicinity, which has served to render them suspicious of strangers.

During the Kandian dynasty, the Veddahs paid tribute in wax and elephants' tusks, and obeyed headmen of the neighbouring districts. They were afterwards led by the influence of these persons to join in the rebellion raised against the British Government in 1817.

Without any regular religion, the Veddahs, like every other wild race, appear sensible of the existence of an invisible and superior power, which exhibits its influence by undefined terrors, hence their belief in and worship of evil spirits. They also make offerings to the shades of departed ancestors, and to figures temporarily prepared to represent the controlling spirit of some planet which they believe to exercise an influence over their fate. The midnight of their spiritual darkness is now however beginning to yield to the dawn of Gospel light through the efforts of the Wesleyan missionaries; nor have their temporal interests been neglected. Tools, grain and seeds, have been distributed among them, and plots of ground allotted, on which many have been induced to settle. One of them was lately created a police vidahn. Their minds not being preoccupied by any hostile religious system, these simple children of nature were readily induced to embrace nominal Christianity, and many of them have become sincere and hearty converts. The Government Agent for the eastern province has located, with the assistance of the Wesleyan mission, fifty-three families in two villages, whose previous habits were scarcely superior to those of the wild beasts among whom they dwelt: Another village has since been formed; more than 200 Veddahs have been baptized; and two schoolmasters are settled among them to educate the children and conduct worship.

Some interesting incidents are detailed by Mr. Bennett, respecting this mysterious and unfortunate race, which, after due curtailment, we shall venture to present to the reader. A friend of that gentleman's, who was an excellent shot, and had in his time bagged many a tusker, having on one occasion rambled too far from Mattawellé, in the Nadekadoe district, in the eastern province, fell in with a party of straggling Veddahs, armed with bows and arrows and accompanied by several dogs, by whose barking he was first made aware of his danger. Expecting nothing less than death, he determined to sell his life as dearly as a man with a couple of guns could possibly do against so many, but he was in no danger; for one of the Veddahs directed one of his companions to bring the Portuguese some flesh and honey, and thereupon laying down his arrows, he respectfully approached him with repeated salaams. This demeanour at once inspired confidence, and the sportsman, addressing them in low Singhalese, inquired if they had many elephants in their country. They

evidently understood him; for one of them ran and brought some arrows to him, which he said had been headed by a smith at China-Kanda, to whom they had taken some honey and beeswax, with a mouüa (Cervus Aristotelis), in return for the arrow heads, some of which were about three inches long, and of the exact shape of the leaf of the Naghas (Messua ferrea), or iron-wood tree, and the rest about fourteen inches long, and an inch and a half broad, for killing wild buffaloes and elephants. These savages, continues Mr. Bennett, were extremely civil, and so far from offering him the slightest annoyance, they asked him to their village, which the more surprised him, as he had always understood that they lived in trees. Confident in safety, for he had abandoned all idea of danger from the moment he had heard their original conversation about himself, which from his knowledge of high and low Singhalese, as well as Tamul, he had understood, he visited their village, as they called it, upon their promising to conduct him to Mattawellé afterwards. Though these people resembled the Singhalese, and spoke to him in that tongue, their general language among each other seemed to his ear to be a confused jargon of that and the Malabar tongue. Their village consisted of straggling sheds, constructed like the huts of the lower classes of Singhalese, with sticks and mud (the smoke issuing from every aperture), and surrounded by thorn bushes scattered about without regard to order. When asked if any of them lived in trees, they shook their heads, and pointing to the Kandian mountains, said, "those in the high and very far country did." All the Veddah party had scraps of cotton[1] round the waist and chewed betel, which must have been obtained at some bazaar. Some of them had been to the Kattragam Dewalé.

Mr. Bennett himself had two village Veddahs, anything but fine specimens of humanity, brought before him during his residence at

[1] A ludicrous instance of Veddah negligence of the toilet is given by Lieut. De Butts. The decision of one of their elders having failed to satisfy the parties to a dispute, it was agreed that the case should be referred to the district judge at Alipoot, into whose presence they were ushered in *puris naturalibus*. That functionary, conceiving perhaps that the scales of justice could not be equally poised in the face of so glaring an impropriety, ordered the whole party to be summarily ejected, and to apparel themselves, as best they could, before they again appeared before him. To incur expense for such a trifle, was an idea that did not for a moment disturb the quiescence of these sylvan denizens, and a middle course was after due deliberation suggested and adopted. A wardrobe was improvised by the charitable villagers, and the Veddahs, headed by their ancient, reappeared on the scene. Some were swathed like Egyptian mummies in immense rolls of country cloth, which enveloped their entire persons, arms and all; others appeared enveloped in blankets, the very sight of which, with the thermometer at 90°, induced the most disagreeable sensations. But the uniformity of nature's dress was no longer visible, and in lieu thereof the most variegated crew that can be conceived stood before the indignant representative of British justice.

Hambantotté. They were not more than five feet two inches in height, their hands small, but their feet were long and flat; hair matted and tied in a bunch at the back of the head, a large bushy beard almost covering the face; eyes small, piercing, and constantly in motion to the right and left, and their ears seemed almost as restless as their eyes. They shewed no surprise at a looking-glass, nor any of the curiosity of the monkey, to see what was at the back. Their jargon was with difficulty understood by the Malay interpreter, though they comprehended his Singhalese easily enough. They were presented each with a Malay knife, some nails, a common bazaar handkerchief, a betel knife, some tobacco, several sorts of seeds and cuttings of the cassada, at which latter they at first sneered, but upon being shewn how to plant it, and being given some specimens of the roots that would be the produce of their labour, they seemed rather pleased. On being told by the Mohandiram to shew how they kindled a fire, they proved their independence of flint and steel for that purpose; for in less than three minutes, with two dry sticks, of which one was hollowed a little in the middle, and the other pointed at one end, the elder Veddah steadying the former on the ground by placing a foot upon each extremity, inserted the latter in the hole, and then whisked it about rapidly between his hands, while his companion, holding a handful of dry leaves to the orifice, caught the sparks elicited by the friction, which he soon blew into a flame. Some claret was given them, which they received in their joined hands as a substitute for a cup; but it had scarcely entered their mouths, ere it was spouted over the floor, while their countenances exhibited all the effects the most nauseous medicine could have had upon the palate. These people frequently defraud the Singhalese, who venture to barter with them, by concealing a lump of clay in the centre of each cake of beeswax. It is so artfully effected that it cannot be discovered, unless by means of an intense light, or by breaking the cakes, and therefore the Singhalese think it safer to put up with the roguery, than by exposing it, to run the risk of Veddah revenge. Nevertheless they have virtues, and from what Mr. Bennett saw of these two Veddahs, he says he would no more fear going through that country unarmed, than, except for the comparative comforts one must abandon in the one for the privations of the other, to travel in any part of the island; for he feels convinced that it only requires tact and kindness to bring the wildest of them within the pale of civilisation. In point of fact, they may be said to be rather rude than savage, being as free from ferocity as any trace of polish. On being informed they might go, the Veddahs advanced and salaamed very low, touching their foreheads with the palm of their hands. One of them dropped a small nail, and instead of taking it up with his fingers, did it equally well with his toes, which he seemed to have just as much at his command. Two months after

this interview (subsequently to which he had directed that every kindness should be shewn them throughout the district), a couple of elephant's tusks, nearly six feet in length, found their way into his front verandah at night, but the Veddahs who had brought them never gave him an opportunity to reward them. "What a lesson in gratitude and delicacy," he observes, "even a Veddah may teach."

Ceylon is chiefly inhabited by the Singhalese, (Singha-hallée, people of lion's blood), who occupy the whole of the interior and that part of the maritime provinces extending from Chilau on the west, to Batecalo on the east. The better educated portion residing in the maritime provinces, have learned the English language, are in the habit of mixing in English society, are a highly respectable and honourable class of persons, and many of them have been entrusted by the British Government with various offices of responsibility, in which they have always given satisfaction. They are every where employed as interpreters, and no department of Government could be carried on but for their assistance.

The dress of the Singhalese is very neat, and remarkably well adapted to the country. The headmen in the low countries generally wear a comboy, which is a piece of cloth about three yards long, wrapped round the waist, and fastened by a broad band or strong belt. Their shirts reach only just within the top of the comboy, where they are bound tight with it. The dress for the upper part of the body, is a waistcoat and jacket. On great occasions, they have a large broad-lapped coat with a stand up collar, button-holes down the front from top to bottom, about two inches long, and worked with gold or silver thread, and on the other side, large metal or gold or silver buttons, about an inch and a-half in diameter. When full-dressed, as they always are when they appear at Government House on a levee-day, they wear several gold rings set with different kinds of precious stones; a gold or silver belt about three inches broad, hung over the left shoulder, attached to which, a little below the right breast, is an elegant gold or silver-headed sword. Nearly all of them have begun, in imitation of the English, to wear shoes and stockings. From their connexion with the latter, their dress is now undergoing a great change, and many appear now, half in the Singhalese, and half in the English dress. Thus a Singhalese gentleman may be seen with shoes, stockings, and trowsers, like ourselves, but over the trowsers appears the native comboy. And as their cundy and combs make it difficult to put on a hat, in order to look like the English about the head, they take out their combs, tie the cundy lower down the neck, and stick their hat or cap on above, taking care to secure it on their oily head by a leather band that comes under the chin, and is fastened on the opposite side. Many

of them also wear stocks and cravats instead of as formerly three gold buttons in their shirt collar.

The dress of the common people is the comboy, a jacket open at the front, and a pair of sandals. To make themselves look a little smart, they tie a gaudy coloured handkerchief cornerwise round the neck, with the corner hanging down the back, and if they have two handkerchiefs, they tie the second in the same way round the loins. Labourers, when working, strip off everything except their amudé, which is nothing more than a square piece of cloth or a handkerchief tied across the loins. Children of both sexes go without the least particle of clothing till they are five or six years of age. They have generally a string or a silver chain tied round them. The dress of the women, in the lower class of life, is a comboy and a jacket, which is closed in front. They frequently throw aside the jacket, or take their arms out of the sleeves, which they throw carelessly over their shoulders. In the interior, the women of the lower castes, and poor women of any caste, never wear jackets at all. The women of the middle class wear underneath the jacket a pair of stays, made of strong stiff cloth, and much worked. This too is the ordinary dress of females in the upper class of life, though their stays are more elegantly worked and trimmed round the neck and bottom and wrists with lace, and upon the whole is a very neat and becoming dress. When the Singhalese ladies appear in public, which they seldom do, except on occasion of levees, their dresses are extremely splendid. They then wear shoes and stockings. The shoes are often made of white satin, with high heels, and sharp pointed toes turned up. Their comboys are then of various coloured silks or satins, put on with great care and taste; their jackets are covered with lace, and their necks are laden with a profusion of elegant necklaces of diamonds or pearls, and precious stones, separated from each other by gold beads; their heads are elegantly adorned with gold hair-pins, the heads of which are richly embossed or set with precious stones, and are very costly.

The dress of the Kandians differs in some respects from that of the people in the maritime provinces. The men wear no combs; have their hair parted in front, and tie their cundy farther down into their necks. Every petty headman, and all above that rank, wear hats of the shape of a tea-saucer, made of white calico, stiffened and plaited. Any one who wears a hat, and is connected with a temple, has it made of black. The dress of the Kandian nobility is very peculiar. Instead of a single comboy, containing, as they generally do, three yards of cloth, they have tight calico trowsers, buttoned from the ankle to the knee, and several folds of white cloth, each ten yards or more, wrapped round them, and doubled many times backward and forward across the stomach, which gives it a large protuberance. They have thus an appearance of great obesity, and with difficulty waddle along. Their jackets have very full sleeves, which

reach from the shoulder about half way down to the elbow, the collars are very large, and reach down to the middle of the back, being stiffened with rice conjee, and neatly plaited. This peculiarity of dress, together with their long grey beards, neatly combed and falling down upon their breasts, and their assumed gravity, gives them a very patriarchal appearance.

The married women among the Singhalese do all the household work, and go to the bazaars to sell the produce of their gardens. They carry all their goods for sale on their heads in baskets. A poor woman may often be seen with a basket load of the produce of her garden on her head, and carrying one little child astride on her hip, supported by one of her arms passing across its back, and with another little child dragging her comboy on the other side. The men never carry burdens on their heads. They have an elastic piece of wood or pingo, called a kata or kat-li, generally made of areka tree, about five feet long and three inches broad, made very smooth, and a little tapering towards each end, where there is a notch. To each end they tie their loads of paddy, &c. and carry it across their shoulders.

The Tamulians, commonly, but erroneously called Malabars, inhabit the northern and eastern provinces, that is, from Batecalo to Jaffna northward, and from Jaffna to Putlam southward, and are the descendants of the people of Pandi and Sollee, by whom Ceylon was formerly overrun and occupied, who, though finally expelled from the greater part of the country, were, by the policy of the conqueror, permitted under certain stipulations to retain the northern districts. They are divided into four principal tribes, all of which profess the Brahminical religion. The first is called Pirama, and is, chiefly engaged in agriculture or commerce, and is alone permitted to undertake the priestly office. It is divided into the three following sects—worshippers of fire, of the race of Agni; worshippers of Siva, of the race of Kasiyappa; worshippers of Vishnu, of the race of Baradwaja. Those of the second tribe are called Katriyas, and constitute the royal race of warriors. Though recognised in their classification, this tribe exists not in Ceylon. The third tribe is called Vaisya, and constitutes the nobility. It is divided into merchants, commonly called Chetties, the most honourable, industrious, and enterprising race of men in the island, husbandmen and herdsmen. The fourth tribe, analogous to the Kshoodra-wansé of the Singhalese, is called Sutra, and on it, in like manner, devolve all the lower offices of life. They are likewise bound to serve the three grades of Vaisya, during the public ceremonies, and were till lately incapable of raising themselves to any superior rank. They are divided into two classes, the one including all kinds of domestic servants, and the other all kinds of town or public servants. The

domestic servants are eighteen, and the public servants are forty-five in number.

The Chakravarties, or Kings of Jaffna, were Katriyas sprung from the stock of Shólen by a Piramen woman of Manavey in Ramanathapuram, and hence they took upon them the ambiguous title of Ariya Vansam to signify both sides of their parentage; for the word Ariyer is applied in Tamul to the Piramener as well as to the Shólen.

According to Casie Chitty, there is a tradition among the Singhalese, that Sinha Kumara, otherwise styled Wijeya Bahoo Kumara, the founder of their dynasty, was the son of Shólen, the representative of one of the three branches of the Katriyas, who extended his sway over the country called Shólamandalam, or Coromandel, extending along the west side of the Bay of Bengal, from Point Kalymere to the mouth of the Krishna.

This branch traced its origin to the sun, and the Pándians who reigned over the country called Pándimandalam, or Madura, in the southern Carnatic, claimed their descent from the moon. Hence Wijeya by marrying the daughter of a Pandian, united the race of the sun and moon in the sovereignty of Ceylon. So far Mr. Chitty's statement is intelligible, and it is only when he refers to Lord Valentia, who happened to pass a few days in Ceylon, and might have possibly heard of the custom then prevailing among the Singhalese chiefs, of selecting a Nayakara, or Malabar prince, in preference to one of their own number, and might consequently have inferred that it had long prevailed; and to Mr. Joinville, whose statements can seldom or never be depended upon, in consequence of the little light that had been thrown on the Singhalese annals in his time, that he falls into error. "The Singhalese," he remarks, "although forming a distinct nation, and differing in their religion, language, and manners from the Tamuls, had no kings of their own race;" and he quotes the writers before named to prove that "a Singhalese could not be king of Ceylon, that is, that every person born of a Singhalese father or mother was excluded from the throne." By the word "Singhalese," Mr. Chitty clearly refers to the followers of Wijeya, who were of the Singha race, and not to the Yakkas or aborigines. Now with the exception of an occasional interregnum, caused by the invasions from the Continent, the result of all of which was the expulsion of the invader, the Singha race were in possession of the throne, from B. C. 543 to A. D. 1739, when the Singhalese royal family became extinct, and the crown devolved on the brother of the queen, who was a princess of Madura. The statement of Mr. Chitty can scarcely be supposed to refer to the short period, hardly exceeding half a century, which elapsed between the accession of the Malabar dynasty, and the dethronement of its last prince by the British: it has therefore been founded on some misapprehension of facts.

The Madeipaliyar, who are an extraordinary race of people found in the province of Jaffna alone, properly belong to the tribe of Katriya, and may be compared in some respects to the Bandaras among the Singhalese. They are descended from the offspring of the Chakravarties, not by their queen-consorts, but by the ladies of their harems. Respecting the etymology of the word "Madeipaliyar," there is much division of opinion. The Vélaler, through motives of jealousy, derive it from the term Madeipali, or kitchen, where they say it was the duty of the mothers of the Madeipaliyar to attend; but according to the Madeipaliyar, their name is derived from the word "Madappan," an epithet generally applied by the Tamuls to any village that was the seat of jurisdiction over five hundred smaller ones, a circumstance illustrated in the persons of their ancestors, who were the chieftains of such villages in former times.

The Tamuls are a more enterprising, active, and industrious people than the Singhalese, and in general of a stouter build. Their manner is also less cringing; they are more independent and adventurous, and more faithful subjects and servants of Government. Many of the Chetties are employed by the merchants and others in various parts of the island, as Konnikkopolies, that is, collectors of bills at a certain per centage, and in this way a great deal of money passes from time to time through their hands, and they are very seldom found dishonest. The native merchants are almost all of this class. They deal largely in cloths, rice, &c.

The dress of the men is a long piece of white muslin, or calico, tied round their bodies, neatly and gracefully, and reaching down to the ankles, and a jacket somewhat like the one worn by the Singhalese. They wear turbans, and have large bunches of ear-rings in each ear, four or five rings, the smallest about two inches, and the largest about three inches in diameter. These sometimes reach as low as their shoulders, and make the aperture in the ear very large. They generally have a long muslin scarf thrown over one shoulder, and reaching to the ground behind and before. The poorer classes have few ear-rings, and those of smaller dimensions, and a great many have none at all. They also go without any covering on the upper part of their bodies. Their hair, too, is carelessly fastened up, sometimes the cundy is made on the top of the head, or on one side above the ear, and several have their heads shaven, with the exception of a lock at the crown.

The dress of the women consists of a single piece of white cloth, wound round the waist, and brought up across the breasts and over the shoulders, and tucked into the comboy. Their heads are without any covering: their hair is turned up and fastened in a cundy. It is quite astonishing to see the quantities of jewels worn by some of the women. Besides a necklace, often very valuable, they have rings in the top as well as the lower part of their ears, gold ornaments in

one of their nostrils, bracelets and rings on their ankles, fingers, and toes, for they are shoeless.

Like the children of the Singhalese, those of the Tamulians go *naked* till they are five or six years of age, having nothing more than a silver chain, sometimes with a small bell hanging to it in front, or a small piece of cord tied round their loins.

In the above description of the Tamuls, we have confined ourselves strictly to any peculiarities observable with reference to the branch of that people established in Ceylon, inasmuch as every particular will ultimately appear in our description of that part of the peninsula which they now inhabit. If the reader, then, is for the present deprived of a fuller acquaintance with an interesting people, he must bear in mind that a compliance with his wishes in this respect, would be at variance with the methodical character of the work.

Among the various tribes of natives settled in the district of Putlam, the Mookwas, or as they call themselves, Mukuger, from Kuga, the ferryman mentioned in the Ramayana as assisting Rama and his retinue in crossing the Ganges, on their way from Ayodhya (Oude), constitute a very industrious and peaceable community. These people are partly Mahommedans, and partly Roman Catholics, and according to their own traditions, which are supported however by no kind of evidence, were originally emigrants from Ayodhya, or some part of Oude, but they are ignorant of the period when this event occurred. There is a race in Kutch, or Kuchchhava, lying west of Guzerat, called Mookwanas, which, from the similarity of the name, might appear to have some connection with the Mookwas, but the striking resemblance of the latter, both in their customs and habits to the Nairs and Mookwas on the coast of Malabar, leads to the belief that they originally emanated from one of those two tribes, and renders the former hypothesis of their origin unnecessary.

When the coast of Malabar was overrun by the Mahommedans, from Arabia, the natives were persecuted by the former, in consequence of their refusal to embrace the doctrines of the Koran, to avoid which, the Mookwas transported themselves to Ceylon, and established themselves in the northern province. The first place they touched at was Kudramalai, whence they migrated southward, and in course of time formed several settlements. Some time after the arrival of the Mookwas in the district, their chieftain Vedi Arasen, had to contend with a rival called Manika Taleiven, who then presided over the people denominated Karreyar, and possessed a territory on the south side of the district. Manika Taleiven, having despatched some of his officers to Vedi Arasen, to solicit the hand of his daughter, was rejected in his suit, upon which he collected a considerable body of armed men, and declared war against the Mookwas, whom he threatened to exterminate. As the latter were at that time

in a weak and defenceless state, they implored the assistance of the crew of an Arab vessel, then at anchor off Kudramalai, and with their aid slew the rival chieftain, and put all his troops to flight. This encounter is said to have taken place in the plains between Mangalaveli and Kattakadu; and to support their assertion, the Mookwas point out an ant-hill in the vicinity, known by the name of Maniken Puttoe, as the place where the remains of the fallen chieftain were interred by the victors, after their revenge had been fully satiated. In return for the services of the Arabs, the whole of the Mookwas embraced the Mohammedan religion, which many of their descendants subsequently renounced in favour of Christianity, through the influence of the Portuguese.

After the defeat of the Karreyas, the Mookwas determined to send an embassy to the court of the Singhalese monarch, at Seetawaka, in order to ingratiate themselves into his favour. When their delegates reached the capital, and presented themselves to the Emperor, he received them and their presents with great satisfaction, and granted them on copper sannases[1] the fee of the whole district of

[1] First Sannas, or Deed of Gift.

"In the year of Saka, 1467, on the fifth day of the moon, in the month of Esala, Raja Wanniya, having presented at the royal palace of Madampa thirty pairs of elephant tusks, the village of Navakkadu, Sitravela, and Puttalama were granted to him, together with this side of the mountain Kudiremale, this side of Uuluvahu Kubuka, situated on the Kala Oya, this side of Diwrungala, and this side of the rock of Paramakanda inclusive, also a signet ring, a jacket with frills round the collar and a silver sword were bestowed on him as samakattu; as these villages have been marked by breaking off the branches of trees, they are granted as an inalienable possession. If there be any who should violate this decree, they shall be born as dogs and crows.

"This resplendent edict is granted to Raja Wanniya in perpetuity, as long as Etugalla and Andagalla, and the sun and moon endure. Done in the reign of Tami Vella Bahoo of Madampa."

The other grant runs as follows:—

"In the year of Saka, 1469, in the month of Nikini, the seven vilas of Pomparippoo, and the villages Lunavila, Senaikudiyiruppu, Mahana bandavla, and Milapotana, with the dry and irrigated lands inclusive, were granted to Nava Ratna Wanniya, of Lunavila, during the time of the Emperor of Seetawaka. These lands were bestowed on him, because he presented two white umbrellas, one lance, one sword, one jacket with frills round the collar, one signet ring, two pair of elephant tusks, and two pieces of cloth embroidered with gold."

This resplendent edict was granted in perpetuity.

A comparison of the above sannases, with the account given by the Mookwas of the land allotted them, exhibits a considerable discrepancy, one sannas having been conferred by the King of Madampa, and the other by Bhuwaneka Bahoo, according to Mr. Chitty, but I would rather say by Mayaa Dunnai, Emperor of Seetawaka, at two distinct periods. This is, however, accounted for by the circumstance, that these sannases were granted to their chiefs in aftertimes, to confirm the original donation made by a former Emperor, whose name I will not repeat, as the date assigned by them to his reign is not consistent with facts. At a subsequent period another body of Mookwas migrated eastward, and settled as we have elswhere related, in the country adjacent to Batecalo, each of the seven clans forming the colony having appropriated to itself a district.

Putlam and Calpentyn, as paraveny, or, as it was afterwards called, Koppumuri paraveni, from their breaking off branches of trees, and planting them as boundaries to their respective portions of land, when the division took place. Finally, a royal tribunal was constituted at Putlam, called Muttrakudam, of which eighteen of the principal Mookwas were appointed members, under the presidency of a Dissave, with the title of Wanniyas, and the following privilege: "That the offices they held should be hereditary in their respective families; that they should not be capitally punished for any crime; that they should be exempted from the payment of tithes; and lastly, that their relatives, to a certain degree, should be exempted from performing any personal labour for the Government."

The tenure by which the lands were held was of a feudal nature, and they were intended to be inalienable; but in process of time, the Indo-Moors coming into the district, gained such an ascendancy by their money capital, as gradually to buy up, for a trifling consideration, the whole of their lands; the Mookwas are, therefore, no longer in possession of their ancient property. After the Dutch conquest, the Muttrakudam, at Putlam, was abolished, and the Land Raad established in its place. Of the aforementioned Wanniyas, six were dismissed as superfluous, and the remainder appointed to act as members of the above court, under the presidency of the Opperhoofdt of Calpentyn, with exemption from tithes on land cultivated by themselves. Since the island has been a British colony, the Land Raad has been abolished, and in consequence the office and title of Wanniya has become practically extinct, although their descendants still enjoy some trifling privileges, and assist the agent in assessing the tithes in the ditrict.

The Mookwas are divided into seven distinct tribes, each denominated after its founder, or the particular calling followed by him. They are as follows: Pichanda vagei, Nallanda vagei, Pala vagei, Koyta vagei, Kalanga vagei, Mudivilanga Pandiya Tever, Vilangona vagei.

The Mookwas bear a close resemblance to the Tamuls, both in their physiognomy, manners, and gait. The dress of the men consists of a cloth wrapped round the waist, a shawl thrown loosely across the shoulders, and on the head they wear a turban, but like the Singhalese they never perforate their ears. The women, however have their ears bored, and decorated with gold earrings of various kinds, and their dress does not in the least differ from that of the Moors.

The Mookwas, both Christian and Mohammedans, were formerly

During the government of the native princes, the Mookwas would seem to have been in possession of the whole lands in the district, and for a considerable period maintained a sort of aristocratical government under their chiefs, till the district was conquered by the Dutch, who abridged their powers, and undermined the sources of their income.

placed under the orders of a headman, styled Vidahn Odyar, who held a commission under the hand and seal of the Agent of the Province, and through him the people were formerly called upon to perform service to Government.

With regard to the ceremonies of marriage among the Mookwas, those who are Christians follow the rules of their church, and the Mohammedans abide by the ordinances contained in the Koran, but both sects observe the custom of having the tali, or gold string, tied round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom to confirm the union: on which occasion they generally decorate their houses with white cloth, and display many honorary distinctions. Besides this ceremony observed also by the Tamuls, the Mookwas observe the *feast of purification* on the seventh day after a girl has become marriageable, by inviting their friends and relations to an entertainment, and decorating the house with white cloth, &c. This ceremony has, however, fallen into disuse among the Christian part of the Mookwas. In like manner, when a boy attains a certain age, the ceremony of tying the talachila, or head-cloth, round his head for the first time is performed. It is done in an auspicious hour, under the roof of a pandal, erected for the purpose, either in connection with the dwelling-house, or detached from it, and decorated with white cloth.

The people are invited by presenting them with a number of trays of betel, calculated according to their rank; and when they are assembled, the young man, on whom the ceremony has to be performed, is seated on a covered stool, and the barber, first asking permission of the assembly, shaves off his beard, after rubbing it with milk. When he is shaved, he is conducted under a canopy to a well, and cloth is spread before him to walk upon; he washes his body, returns to the pandal, and places himself on his seat. The talachila is then placed on a salver, and handed round to each of the guests to touch, after which the chief of the caste takes it up, and ties it round the head of the youth. On this occasion, the guests severally make a present of money to the parents, and return to their houses.

The Mookwas differ from all other castes in Ceylon, with regard to the right of succession and inheritance: when a Mookwa dies, his sons and daughters inherit equally the property acquired by him during his lifetime; but the property which he had received from his ancestors, called Madusum, devolves, as among the Nayrs of Malabar, to the sons of his sister, or in failure of heirs in that branch, to the sons of his mother's sister's daughter, and so on to the fourth degree; but in failure of heirs in all these degrees, it then goes to his own children. The prejudice of caste is more rigidly attended to than among any other tribe, the least infringement subjecting the offender to *ipsi facto* expulsion from the community, and a deprivation of the services of the barber and washermen: they are consequently very circumspect in their conduct.

The Moormen[1] now found in Ceylon are not descendants of the Moguls who invaded the peninsula. They resemble them neither in manners, appearance, nor dress, although they profess the same religion. One branch of them are the descendants[2] of the Arabs, who in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, were led by commercial pursuits and the thirst for wealth, to make themselves masters of several seaports of India, and many of the islands. Among these Arabs was a law common with the Jews, whose religion and ceremonies they in many respects followed, that they should only intermarry with their own people, but those who had fixed their residence in these distant regions were compelled to sanction a connexion with Indian women. When the Moguls spread rapine and bloodshed throughout India, the riches of the Arabs rendered them an object of their cupidity. Harassed and persecuted by their conqueror, they fled, and returned to their country, leaving behind their children born of Indian women, who, by embracing the Mohammedan religion as their fathers had done in Arabia, obtained a quiet residence and the appellation of Moormen. The other branch of Moormen are the Indo-Moors,[3] who settled in large numbers in the districts of Chilau and

[1] The appellation of Moormen is of course incorrect, that name being properly confined to the Saracens who invaded Spain, and the people of Mauritania, in Africa, in general. In consequence of a more lax employment of the term by some writers, it has finally come to be applied to the Mahommedans of all sects and countries in Africa and Hindostan.

[2] The records extant respecting the origin of the Moors, are far from authentic, and their own traditions are vague, distorted, and unsatisfactory. According to one of these traditions, the Moormen of Ceylon are, equally with their brethren on the Coromandel coast, descended from a tribe of Arabs of the posterity of Hashem, who were expelled from Arabia, by their prophet Mahomet, as a punishment for their pusillanimous conduct in one of the battles in which he was engaged against the partisans of Abu Jaheel, and who afterwards founded a colony at Kaiilpatnam (the Colchis mentioned in the Periplus), and from thence moved in successive migrations towards this island, and along the borders of the peninsula as far as Rameswaram. The Singhalese impose on the Moors the title of Marakkalaya, or boatmen, which either arises from the circumstance of their having been formerly engaged in the export trade of Ceylon, or from their crossing over to the island in boats from the opposite shore, when they made their settlement.

[3] It is noticed by Casie Chitty that, in the Tamul language, the Moors are usually denominated by the term Sonaher, and that they do not object to it. "If this," says he, "should be their proper appellation, it completely overturns the notion of their Arabic origin; because it can hardly be reconciled with a passage in the Maha Bharata (the date of which is fixed by Wilford at 3200 years B. C.), where the Sonaher are mentioned as then existing in Hindostan, and serving in the armies of the contending princes; besides which they occupy the thirty-seventh place in alphabetical order, in the classification of the several tribes of Hindoos in the Nigandu Salamini. Independently of these incidents, their cast of features and modes of life, added to the circumstance of their speaking no other language than the Tamul, will sufficiently prove their descent from the latter nation, or from a branch of them, and he concludes that by mingling afterwards with the Arabs, Moguls, and Pathans, by intermarriages, they gradually degene-

Putlam at a subsequent period, and have assimilated themselves so closely to their western brethren, as to be no longer distinguishable.

As the objection to our entering into a full description of the Tamul castes and their customs does not apply to the Moors, we shall proceed to delineate, as briefly as possible, the peculiarities which distinguish this people from the other races which go to form the population of Ceylon.

Among the Moors, the term marriage is usually expressed by the Arabic word *Kavin*, and its synonyme *Nikkka*, and is by them considered the most important step in life; they are therefore taught to look on it as a matter of strict obligation, and a foretaste of the joys of the sensual paradise promised by Mohamet to every one of his true followers, and great attention is bestowed on the performance of the various festive and pompous ceremonies which precede and accompany the celebration of the solemn contract. According to one of the precepts of Mohamet, a man who has no means to support a wife, or to pay her dowry, should not enter into the conjugal state, and in that case he was recommended to retire from the world and employ himself wholly in exercises of devotion and mortification. He, however, allows children under the age of ten years to enter into the state of matrimony; but to the credit of his followers, very few instances of the kind occur, and where they do, it is among the admirers of the enthusiast *Imam Abu Hanifa*, and the sect denominated *Hanafi*, not unlike the voluptuous Epicureans.

Among most nations of the world the bridegroom or his parents take the initiative in bringing about a marriage; but it is very remarkable that among this people the bride or her parents are accustomed to assume that position. Thus when a man has a daughter who has attained a marriageable age, without consulting her in the least, he fixes his choice on some youth, and sends a party of friends to sound his parents. If he be satisfied that the proposal is not likely to be rejected, he proceeds to negotiate in person. After an interchange of courtesies, he states the purport of his visit, and inquires of the young man's father what portion he purposes giving to his son as *kay kooly* (marriage present), and what portion to her for *stri-dhanam*, or dowry. These are named, and if approved of, a day is fixed for the betrothal. Previous to its arrival, great preparations are made by the parents on both sides; the bridegroom's father invites his friends and relatives and the village headman, or *markair*, to attend and accompany his son; and on the day of the nuptials the youth attired in his best apparel, and attended by music

rated from the parent stock, and became constituted into a separate and distinct body by adopting the tenets of Islamism."

This theory does not appear to be supported by circumstances to the degree supposed by the writer; much of it is founded on mere conjecture, and the circumstances of similarity of language and feature may be shewn to be undeserving of the consideration shewn to them in this instance.

and every demonstration of joyousness, is conducted with all the marks of distinction his rank and condition will allow to the house of the bride. As the party approaches the gate of her dwelling, her father advances to meet his destined son-in-law, and sprinkles his clothes with rose-water, which is considered a mark of honour and affection. A party of matrons then come out with a basin of water infused with turmeric, mingled with bits of kusa grass and cotton seeds, and whirl it round his head three times: this is called the ceremony of *alatti*, and has been borrowed from the Hindoos: it is supposed to prevent any mischief befalling him from the invidious looks of the populace during his progress. The father then conducts him and his attendants into a pandal (previously set up for the purpose in the compound, and decorated with white cloth and cocoa-nut blossoms), and makes them all sit down on carpets or mats already spread on the ground.

After the party has refreshed itself by masticating betel, the subject on which they have met is introduced by some elderly person present, and after endless interrogatories, the betrothal takes place, and an indenture styled *Mudira kaduttam*, or ring contract, is drawn up.

Previously to affixing his signature to this instrument,[1] the father of the bride places before the assembly in different trays covered with white cloth the part of the sum alluded to in the contract, and also three pearls, three coral beads, one gold ring, one pagoda, one hundred betel leaves, and an equal quantity of areka nuts cut into small slices. The *Mahalli*, or priest, takes up the ring, and having held it out to the assembly that they may severally touch it, as the Tamuls do their tali, he puts it on the finger of the bridegroom, uttering, "*Bismilla hi, irrahi man nir raheem*" ("in the name of the most merciful God"), to which the assembly responds, "*Athumdu lillahi rebbil alameen irraheem*," &c. ("All praise be to God, the preserver of the world, the Saviour of men," &c.)

The contract being then signed by the respective fathers is delivered to the priest, who files it among the records of the temple. After the ceremony, the bride's father distributes betel to the assembly, and besmears their breast with pulverised sander, (the signal for departure,) and they take their leave.

It often happens that between the betrothal and the solemnization of marriage, a considerable interval elapses, during which the bride's

1 "In the year of the Hegira 1250, and on the 11th day of the month Jamadilawal, A, the son of B, of Calpentyn, consents to take unto him as his spouse, C, daughter of D, of the place aforesaid, paying her for the portion of her virginity 200 ounces of gold of the land of Mis'r, (Egypt, the Misraim of Scripture and Misrast'han of the Puranas) as is ordained by the law. And the said D, on these conditions, solemnly promises to pay him a sum of 500 rds. as a free-gift, besides one house and garden, one shop, two cows, one chest, one lamp, one bowl, one ewer, one rice stand, one betel plate, and one gold ring weighing a pagoda. And of the said sum of 500 rds. the said A. acknowledges to have received this day 250 rds. in advance. "Witnesses, Head moormen and priest."

father is obliged to send occasionally some trifling present to the bridegroom; but a short time prior to the marriage he is expected to send a costly one, consisting of a variety of cakes and confectionery, with a quantity of sugar, eggs and plantains, to which are added betel leaves, areka nuts, a quantity of milk, and a cup of pulverised sander. These presents are called "*seer*," but the last by way of distinction, "*Perum seer*." They are conveyed in trays, borne upon men's heads, under a canopy of white cloth, and accompanied by tom-toms, and other sorts of music. If it does not suit the convenience of the bride's father to send these presents, he can pay an equivalent in money; but should he neglect to do either, the omission would occasion disputes, and perhaps ultimately break off the match. In the 66th article of their special laws, it is stated that even after the betrothal, if the parties disagree, and are unwilling that the union should take place, the presents that have been interchanged are reciprocally restored; but this custom does not prevail in all parts of Ceylon, for the bride is not obliged to restore anything to the bridegroom, even though she should have been the cause of the separation, but the bridegroom must restore to her everything he may have received, and should he be the recusant party, must make a considerable addition besides.

Although the Moors ridicule their Tamul neighbours for consulting the Brahmins regarding propitious days or hours for the celebration of particular events, yet they observe as *nahas*, or ominous, several days during the lunar month, on which they would never solemnise a marriage or perform any other ceremony whatever. The days thus set apart by them, and the reasons they assign for their prescription are, that Adam was expelled from Paradise on the third day of the moon; Jonah was swallowed by a whale on the fifth; Isaac was thrown into the fire on the thirteenth; Joseph was lowered into a well on the sixteenth; Job became afflicted with disorders on the twenty-first; Zachariah was murdered on the twenty-fourth; and Mohamet had his front tooth broken by a sling on the twenty-fifth. Their marriages are commonly celebrated during January, April, June, August, October, and November, with the exception of the *nahas* days above specified.

Previous to the marriage ceremony the parents of the parties erect a *pandal* in their respective dwellings, supported upon twenty-one poles, more or less according to their own fancy; but as an even number is considered ill-omened, they always take care to avoid it. Like the Tamuls, they have a particular pole placed in the east corner, called *Kanni Kal*, or "virgin-pole," and the erection of it is attended with many idle ceremonies. It is generally well washed, and then besmeared with pulverised sander and turmeric, and perfumed with burning incense before it is put into the ground, and when placed in the hole destined to receive it, a piece of gold, a pearl, a coral bead, and some paddy, all tied in a piece of silk together, with a pot of milk, are thrown in. After the pole has been thus set up, another

pot of milk is poured on the top of it, in such a manner that it shall run down on the floor of the *pandal*, and by this observance they intend to symbolise the future prosperity of the intended union.

After the setting up of the virgin pole the others are also fixed; and the whole being complete, the *pandal* is ornamented with white cloth, cocoa-nut flowers, green leaves, &c. In the pandal at the bride's house, a magnificent seat in the form of a throne is set up for the bridegroom, which is adorned with artificial flowers of various descriptions, and neatly interspersed with tinsel, and other glittering substances, presenting a very imposing sight on the bridal night. These preparatory ceremonies being concluded, a day is fixed, on which invitations are sent to all the friends and relatives on both sides, not confined to the village, but extended to those who may have invited them on similar occasions. The assembly is first formed in the *pandal* at the house of the bridegroom, generally at mid-day, where they are sometimes offered a collation; here they remain until the evening, when the bridegroom is brought into the *pandal*, shaved and washed, and is attired in his bridal clothes, in the presence of the assembly; his outer garment being a white gown with long sleeves, reaching from his collar bone to his ankle; the waist is confined by a richly embroidered sash, in which is placed on one side a silver sword or dagger; a scarf is thrown loosely over the shoulders, and he has a turban on his head, formed by a ribbon worked with gold thread; in the front is a plate of gold with an ornament of the same metal on the right side called *mantooli*, resembling a cockade, but this latter addition is confined to the higher classes. Several chains are hung round his neck, and rings put upon his fingers; the rims of his eyelids are marked with black, and his nails dyed yellow, with an infusion of *marutondi* leaves.

When it has been announced that every thing is ready at the bride's house for his reception; he sets out in procession either on horseback, in a palanquin, or such other conveyance as he may have the means to afford; accompanied by all sorts of music, and preceded by a number of white umbrellas, flags, and other insignia of his tribe. Should he in his progress pass the house of a relative, the females of the family should appear and present him with a cup of bruised plantains and milk in token of respect, and repeat the ceremony of *alatti* already described. As soon as he reaches the street where the bride's house is situated; a cloth is spread for him to walk on, and when he arrives at the *pandal* the females there assembled shout several times, and sometimes the friends of the bride's father fire a *feu de joie* to welcome his arrival. Their proper seats having been assigned to the party, the first thing is to cancel the ring contract entered into at the betrothal, and to substitute another for it, in which, after reciting the receipt of the balance, on account of *Kaikooly*, as well as the lands, goods and chattels enumerated in the former contract; the father of the bride is released from all further obligations.

While the men are thus employed, the bride prepares her toilet.

Her hair is neatly braided in a knot behind, adorned with very handsome sprigs of gold flowers set with precious stones, and long pins in the form of an arrow are passed through the knot crossings. She wears earrings like *ogelim* or circles for the ears, mentioned in Ezekiel xvi. 12, and another ring is passed through the nose set with pearls: Isaiah iii. 21; many gold chains are suspended round her neck; her arms are decorated with bracelets, her fingers with rings, and her feet and toes with divers tinkling silver ornaments. Her outer garment is of silk and embroidered, and envelopes her entirely, and her eyelids and nails are dyed as before mentioned. This dress is very becoming, but their females not usually being seen, the bride remains in an inner apartment with her female friends totally secluded from the sight of the male assembly without. After the contract is signed and delivered to the priest, the latter deputes a person who stands in such relation to the bride that she need not appear veiled before him, to ask her whether she is contented to accept her betrothed for the sum of 200 ounces of gold as the portion of her virginity. On her reply in the affirmative, the priest makes her father formally declare his consent in the hearing of the assembly, without which no marriage is legal. The priest and bridegroom then undergo the rite of purification by washing their mouths; and sitting near each other, the priest rehearses a *surat* or passage from the Koran, which chiefly expatiates on the origin and institution of marriage in the persons of Adam and Eve, and on the blessings which attended the earthly career of Abraham and Sarah, of Joseph and Sluyah, of Ali and Fatima, from a strict observance of domestic virtue, and lastly, counsels the party about to enter into the conjugal state to follow their laudable example. The priest then mutters some mystical prayer into the ear of the bridegroom, making him repeat it after him, but inaudibly, and at the conclusion, demands of him three several times whether he accepts his betrothed. Having answered, "Yes, I do," each time, the priest lays hold of his hand, and turning to the assembly, declares, "All ye the Mussulmans here assembled, bear witness, that, in presence of the priest, head moorman and chief men of this place, this man has accepted this woman for his lawful spouse for the sum of 200 ounces of gold of the land of Mis'r, for the portion of her virginity."

In this stage of the ceremony the bridegroom rises and salutes the assembly, who return it either by a compliment or a present of a ring. The priest then leads the bridegroom into the bride's apartment, and joining their little fingers, pronounces a benediction, which is echoed by the people outside, and thus the rite of marriage is concluded; but a contribution of money is made by the guests prior to their separation for the benefit of the bride's father, after which some refreshment is usually offered or a little betel.

In imitation of the Tamuls, who tie a tali round the necks of their brides, the Moors hang a gold string either on the marriage night or

at some convenient time afterwards; this is done by the sister of the bridegroom, after he has consecrated it by a solemn imposition of his hands.

On the seventh or twenty-first day after the celebration of the marriage, the ceremony of bathing is also observed with but little variation from that prevailing among the Tamuls. Prior to the ceremony, the bridegroom's mother takes to the bride's house a quantity of turmeric, a box of sweet odours, a can of gingely oil, some Ilippe seeds, betel leaves, and one hundred areka nuts, with a suit of wearing apparel, and leaves them there. The bride and bridegroom then make their appearance, and sit down by each other on a raised seat; he first rises, and dipping his finger into the oil, anoints her head, and she does the same in return to him. This unction having been accomplished they all retire to a room, where water has previously been placed in different vessels for bathing; and during the time they are bathed, the female cousins on the maternal side disport themselves at the expense of the newly married couple, throwing limes and pellets of clay at the bridegroom. The bride is then attired in the dress brought by her mother-in-law, and they return to the seat in the *pandal*, where he takes some betel, areka nuts, cakes, pieces of gold coin, &c., and ties them in one corner of his scarf, and which he presently unties and throws on his wife's head, and takes from her hand the rolls of betel leaves which she holds.

The Moors abstain from fish diet for a certain period after marriage: on the day therefore that by custom they may resume it, their friends assemble to partake of an entertainment, and from thenceforth the newly-married couple become independent of their respective parents.

When the woman becomes far advanced in pregnancy, an entertainment is given, at which she is arrayed in her wedding garments, and exposed to view, which is called "*displaying her jewels.*" On the birth of the infant, (the expenses attending which are defrayed by the parents of the woman,) the females already assembled shout seven times, if it be a male, and nine times, if a female. When the umbilical cord is cut, the midwife washes the child, pronouncing "There is no other God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet;" and the relatives at this time throw into a basin pieces of money, which are the perquisite of the midwife. On the seventh day their children are named; the father gives a name, which the priest confirms by calling the child three times by it, and exclaiming *Allahu akber! Allahu akber!* "the Lord is exceedingly great," when the bystanders offer up a prayer of thanksgiving and depart.

In the Koran, as explained by the *Suhabul Iman*, the parents are enjoined to have the child's head shaved on this occasion, and to make an offering of a camel, a ram, or a cock, according to their means. Another occasion of rejoicing is on the fourteenth day, when the child is invested with arm-rings, and when the teeth first

appear, cakes, decorated with the kernel of the cocoa-nut cut in the shape of small teeth, are then distributed. This observance notifies also the time of weaning.

With a female, the next thing to be observed is the boring of the ears, and with a male, that of circumcision. In the former case, a *pandal* is set up, as on other festivals, and their female friends are invited; the girl is dressed gaily and seated higher than those assembled, and after having masticated betel, the operation of boring is performed, and a wire passed through the ears. During the operation, a noise is made with cymbals and tom-toms, and when concluded, some trifling present is made to the parents, who distribute a small quantity of soaked rice mixed with sugar, and the cocoa-nut kernel, or rice simply boiled with milk.

Among the Moors, the males never bore their ears, as represented by Thunberg, who has confounded them with the Tamuls. According to the ordinance of Mohamet, a boy ought to be circumcised on the eighth day, as among the Jews, but they commonly defer the rite to the tenth or eleventh year, and even later.

It is to be noticed that great show attends the performance of everything connected with the native character, whether joyful or otherwise, and pomp is the ruling idea of all concerned.

In the case of circumcision, a *pandal* is erected, friends invited, and on the day appointed, the head moorman and priest attend, when the boy is dressed up and placed on an elevated seat to display his clothes. His first visit is to the mosque to say his prayers, whither he is taken in procession, under a canopy, with such appendages of honour and distinction as may be due to his rank; he is then taken through the streets in procession, and should he pass the house of a relative is regaled with bruised plantains and milk, while the women shout. This perambulation generally takes place at night by torch-light, and as it would be inconvenient to circumcise the boy then, it is deferred until the next evening, when the same persons assemble, and the operation is performed by a barber. Loud shouts and discordant music are continued during the time, so as effectually to drown any noise the boy may make. A plate being set before the assembly, money is collected, which, with the habiliments of the boy, become the perquisites of the barber, in addition to the regular fee. No entertainment is provided on this occasion, but a few days afterwards, when a repast is given in commemoration of the event.

The distinction existing between the Jews and Moors in the ceremonies attendant on circumcision appears chiefly to consist in the observance of a vigil on the night before the operation by the former, and the selection of godfathers and godmothers, besides which the parent himself sometimes circumcised his own child.

The Moors practise also many superstitious ceremonies on their daughters when attaining the age of puberty, but they so nearly

resemble those of the Tamuls, that they do not deserve a separate notice.

By the Mohammedan religion, it is inculcated as a duty incumbent on all Mussulmen to bury their dead. As soon as a man or a woman departs this life, the relatives and friends assembled join in loud lamentations over the deceased, extolling his or her virtuous qualities, and actions. The omission of this lamentation would be considered a great misfortune. When the mourning has abated, the corpse is made ready for interment, the feet and hands are tied together, and the face turned towards the *Kibla* or temple of Mecca. A lamp is kept constantly burning at the head, together with frankincense, until every preparation is complete for removing the corpse to the place of inhumation. When a sufficient number of persons have assembled to form a funeral procession, the body is again washed with warm water, about which they pay much attention, carefully cleaning the nails, and painting the rims of the eyelids with a clay called "*Sirma*," said to be brought from Mount Sinai, and strewing sander-wood powder, camphor and rose water on the face, after which they dress it with a cloth about the waist, and a long cloak reaching to the toes.

If the corpse be a male, a turban is put on the head, and the body afterwards wrapped in a large sheet. It is then placed on a bier covered with white cloth, strewed with flowers and green leaves, when it is borne to the mosque with every appendage due to the rank of the deceased, the mourners chanting their creed all the way. On reaching the mosque, the bier is set down upon the ground, and the priest repeats a long prayer, in which some of the bystanders join, after which the corpse is taken from the bier and lowered into the grave with the face downwards, the assembly then recites a prayer and throws earth on the body, saying, "You were taken from the earth, you go to the earth, and you shall come out of the earth." The grave is then filled in and piled up in the usual form; the person who washed the corpse at the house pours three pots of water over it, and places two pieces of plank with a flag on the top at each end, throwing over it some slips of *Piranda* creepers. The priest afterwards placing himself at the head of the grave rehearses a series of prayers called *Talkim*, and then the bread which is carried with the funeral procession is distributed among the poor. The mourners having pronounced the *fatiya*, prepare to return to the house, but after advancing seven paces, they make a stand and again pronounce the *fatiya*, looking towards the place of their interment. The vessels in which the leaves and incense were carried precede the mourners homewards, which when observed by the females of the house, they take it as the signal to depart; the former having reached the dwelling, the priest again pronounces the fatiya, and making a salaam of condolence, they all return to their houses.

On the third day the relatives of the deceased invite the priest and

other officers of the mosque, and having caused them to offer up prayers for the manes of the deceased person, give them an entertainment, which is repeated on the fifth and seventh day likewise.

On the fortieth day they observe a ceremony called *kattam*. One or more of the relatives proceed to the tomb, and cover it with a white cloth burning incense near it; they then send a tray of cakes to the mosque, where the priest and a number of people have assembled to offer up prayers for the repose of the departed soul, which being concluded, they all go to the house of the deceased and partake of an entertainment. On every anniversary of the day whereon the person died, and also on the festival called *Vrat*, which is held in remembrance of the dead, the poor are entertained.

Little will be required to be added to complete our account of the Moors of Ceylon. After Europeans they are the finest race of men in the island, have a martial appearance, with a soldierlike gait, are almost all tall and well formed, with countenances both handsome and intelligent. The aged have a peculiarly dignified appearance, from their noble flowing white beards. The Moors dress in a neat and becoming manner. Their robes are of fine white calico, of a very large size, drawn in tight at the waist, round which they have a belt of worked calico. On their heads they wear a small cap or turban.

The Moors of the higher class are chiefly merchants and capitalists, and those of the lower are the most industrious and laborious class of the coloured population. They still keep up a constant intercourse with their own tribes scattered over the coasts of the peninsula, Their priests and headmen take the designation of Lebbe às an honorary affix to their names. The Moors have at all times distinguished themselves by their fidelity to the British Government, and no body of natives has derived more signal advantages from the security thereby attained, and the subsequent development of the resources of Ceylon. There is hardly any commercial opening in which they or their capital is not engaged directly or indirectly. Though found in all parts of the island, the Moors are most numerous in the district of Putlam, where they form nearly the whole of the population.

The Moormen seldom mix with the Singhalese or other natives. In some instances they live with native women of other classes unmarried, in which case they bring up all the children as Mohammedans. Learning is but little cultivated among them, though most of the men can read Tamul or Arabic. The religious services of their mosques, and the prayers they repeat aloud in their houses night and morning, are in Arabic; but this is an unknown tongue, and the only language understood by them generally, is Tamul. They are a people very difficult of access, and every attempt to address them on religious topics has been defeated; no missionary society has succeeded in establishing schools among them; but individuals have been

known to send their children to a Christian school, where they have learnt to read the Bible in English. The priests, like those of Buddha, are mendicants; and a venerable looking Mohammedan padre with his long white gown, the sleeves of which reach about six inches beyond the ends of his fingers, or a wide-sleeved green silk dressing gown, and trousers of the same kind as wide as sacks, may be occasionally seen thus engaged, blessing the charitable with the assurance that they shall purchase the abode of the pious after death by their almsgiving. Persons of other religions are not allowed, without degradation, to enter their mosques; and no man who wears shoes or a hat is permitted to enter without taking off both. They have no benches or seats in their mosques. Each mosque looks like a large empty barn, and the worshippers perform their adorations squatted on the ground with their feet drawn up under them. The priests do not use a pulpit. Once a-year, in the month of May, they obtain leave from the Government to celebrate the feast of Hussein Hassen, which they keep up for several days. On this occasion they walk in procession through all the streets in the town, preceded by a band of musicians, and persons in masks fantastically dressed dancing before them. Some of them who are strict observers of religious duties abstain from work on the Friday, on which day the mosques are open, but the greater part attend to their avocations as on other days.

Polygamy is allowed among them, but either from poverty or its being unusual, they seldom have more than one wife at a time. The women are seldom seen abroad. Whenever they go to the mosques, no part of their faces is seen but their eyes; they are kept under great restraint, and go in companies to the mosques of from eight to ten.

The Portuguese of Ceylon, who are descended by many crosses from the Europeans of that nation, and native women of every class and description, are to be found in every large town in all parts of the island, as well as in many of the smaller ones, but they abound most in Colombo and Jaffna, and are the most anomalous people in the island. Pride, poverty, and meanness are said to be their distinguishing characteristics. In colour, they resemble neither the Singhalese nor Tamulians. Some are of a duller black than either, and others of a sickly yellow. They retain the European dress, and wear shoes and stockings, where they can afford them. There are few good looking men among them, the majority being thin and ill made. The women, when young, are often pretty, but as soon as they have arrived at the age of thirty, their beauty vanishes, and they frequently become either very fat and shapeless, or on the contrary, extremely thin and repulsive. Without capital to embark in trade, or to purchase Government lands, too proud to rent and cultivate an estate, even if they had capital to purchase it, and not sufficiently trustworthy to be employed by Government in any but a subordinate

capacity, or in any responsible situation among merchants, they pass their time in squalid indolence; those who do work, are generally tailors, shoemakers, bazaar keepers, &c. Education is at a low ebb among them, and the only books in their language, are parts of the Bible, and the whole book of Common Prayer, both of which have, within the last few years, been translated for them by the missionaries. Roused of late by the good example of the Singhalese and Tamulians, they have begun to pay some attention to the English language, and it is to be hoped, that as education is now spreading rapidly among all classes of natives in the island, the Portuguese will be led to see the evils of ignorance and sloth, and embrace the opportunity now within their reach of placing themselves, at least, on a par with the nation from which they are descended, and whose language, in a corrupted form, they speak. The greater part of them profess the Roman Catholic religion.

The Dutch, who, with the Portuguese, have the name of *Burghers*,[1] form a considerable portion of the inhabitants of Ceylon of European descent. Most of them are descendants of officers and others who belonged to the civil and military establishments of the Dutch East India Company, while in possession of the island. Though much reduced in circumstances since the colony was ceded to the British, they continue to maintain an appearance of great respectability, and are much esteemed for their honesty and industry. In general, they partake of the listlessness which characterises the native population, but they are in a great measure free from those vices by which some of the other classes are degraded. Their own language is not much in use among them, except it be among the old ladies; and their household tongue is the Portuguese. Many of them understand and converse in English. They have filled situations of importance and respectability under the English Government, to whom their services have been of great value, and are employed in the courts of justice, where some act in the capacity of magistrates, and others as secretaries to the courts, or clerks in Government offices, and have been found by the experience of nearly half a century to be trustworthy. The dress of the young people is precisely the same as that of the English, though, perhaps, they are more fond of gaudiness and display in their dress than becomes their station in society, or can well be borne by their incomes.——The dress of an old Dutch lady approaches to that of English ladies in the middle of last century, and high-heeled shoes are still in vogue among them. In passing through the streets in the middle of the day, the face of a Dutch lady is not to be seen. In the

[1] The wide dissimilarity between the burghers of Portuguese and Dutch descent, who rarely if ever associate with each other, may in some measure be attributed to the cold and phlegmatic tendency of the latter people, which recoils from that familiarity and intercourse with the natives, which have proved so injurious to the Portuguese.

evening they make their appearance, either leaning over the half doors of their own houses, or walking through the streets and public walks, or driving in their carriages. Their evenings are often spent in gaiety and dancing, to which they are much attached. They do not mix much with English society, but on all public occasions they attend at the Queen's house, and add not a little to the display on those occasions. Within the last few years the hauteur formerly exhibited by the English to all but those of their own nation, has been wearing away, and the intercourse between them and the Dutch, which at one time was formal, and only on public occasions, has become more frequent, and intermarriages have taken place between them.

The English society in Ceylon is widely different in its habits and pursuits to that of the continent. In India a multitude of servants supply every want, and almost anticipate every thought. But the pride of caste amongst the Hindoos, which absolutely compels the Anglo-Indian to maintain a great number of domestics to perform the most trivial offices, is almost unknown to the less scrupulous Singhalese, of whom a less numerous establishment than is usual in India is found to answer every purpose. The palanquins and tomjohns, which are universally used throughout Hindostan, are now rarely if ever seen in Ceylon. In short, the English on the continent seem to accommodate themselves to the climate of the country in which they are destined to reside, while those in Ceylon pertinaciously endeavour to resist the soft allurements of eastern indolence, and to imitate as far as practicable the mode of living in England. The climate of Ceylon, so mild and equable when compared with that of India, has a considerable effect in banishing many of those articles of luxury that are by some considered as absolute necessaries within the tropics. The comparatively brief residence of both civilians and military in the island, is another, and by no means the least of the causes that tend to create a vast dissimilarity between the habits and ideas of the English in India and of those in Ceylon. One of the consequences of this is, that they rarely take the trouble of learning the Singhalese language, it is therefore one of the primary qualifications of an appoo, or head servant, that he speaks with fluency the language of his master.

The Malays of Ceylon are the descendants of the petty rajas and their followers whom the Dutch deemed it politic to remove from Java, Malacca, and Sumatra. On their arrival in Ceylon, many of them entered into the Kandian service, and others were retained by the Dutch. After the capitulation of the maritime provinces, and when our possession of the island was not so undisputed as it now is; three native regiments were formed, called the Ceylon Rifle Regiments, into which they were incorporated along with the Kaffres and Sepoys, and a large proportion of the officers consisted of their own princes.

Two of these regiments have long since been disbanded. The first is still kept up, and is officered by Englishmen and natives. It is chiefly engaged in the military duties of the larger garrisons of Colombo, Galle, Kandy, Trincomalee, and Jaffna, and the Kaffres are chiefly employed in making or repairing roads in the interior of the island.

As soldiers, the Malays cannot rightly be compared with any oriental corps, uniting in themselves with but slight modifications all the high qualifications of the European soldier, with many striking peculiarities of their own. Thus, while they combine to a remarkable degree the bravery of the Frenchman with the stern will of the English and the endurance of the German, they are no less remarkable for their aptitude for every description of military manœuvre, and the facility with which they can pursue a stealthy mode of tactics. For fidelity and attachment to the service in which they enlist, they are without a rival, and the vindictiveness by which they are said to be distinguished, is fatal only to their enemies.

In appearance, the Malays are nearly of a copper colour, and by no means a handsome set of men. They are active, of a slight yet muscular form, rather below the middle size, with flat foreheads, broad faces, large flat noses, firm lips, and the sharp, fierce, and revengeful eye, indicative of their descent from the daring and enterprising rovers of the Archipelago.

Such of the Malays as are not employed in the Ceylon army are merchants and tradesmen, but they are few in number, intermarry only with persons of their own nation, and all profess the Mahommedan religion. They wear a comboy similar to the Singhalese, but have frequently very wide trousers underneath it. Their jackets, which are often made too long for their bodies, in some come close up to the neck, in others hang loose; the sleeves are so long as to extend six or eight inches over their hands. The hair of some is long and tied up in a cundy; in others it is cut short, and always shines with oil. Round the head is tied a gaudy coloured handkerchief in a negligent manner. Their national weapon is a kreese or small dagger made of the best steel, with an ivory or wooden handle often carved. In their persons they are very erect, and their manner of walking is consequential, but every movement indicates the energy of the soul within. Though the faces of the women are equally as broad as those of the men, yet they are not so ugly. They wear earrings and necklaces, dress in a comboy or short jacket, and a kind of scarf is thrown across their breasts and over their shoulders. The men are very ingenious workmen, and are much employed in rattaning couches, chairs, beds, &c., and in making baskets. The people of both sexes are equally averse to the imprisonment of their feet in shoes or sandals.

The Kaffres, who form part of the Ceylon Rifle Regiment, were originally brought from the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch, and

additions have been made to their numbers from Mosambique by the British. They speak the Portuguese tongue, and are in general of the Roman Catholic religion. Their appearance is far from attractive; as they have the thick lips, high cheek bones and curly hair of the African race. They dress in jackets and trousers, but wear neither hats nor shoes. Though they seldom or never intermarry with any other race, yet they have from time to time held connection with Singhalese women, who are less particular than those of the other races. In their own country the Kaffres have a reputation for activity and energy, but expatriation seems to have deprived them of whatever portion of those qualities nature may have originally endowed them with.

The Parsees now found in Ceylon are a branch of the same enterprising people from the various parts of the continent, who hastened to settle in the colony on discovering its boundless resources. They are chiefly merchants or traders in some capacity.

END OF PART THE THIRD.

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